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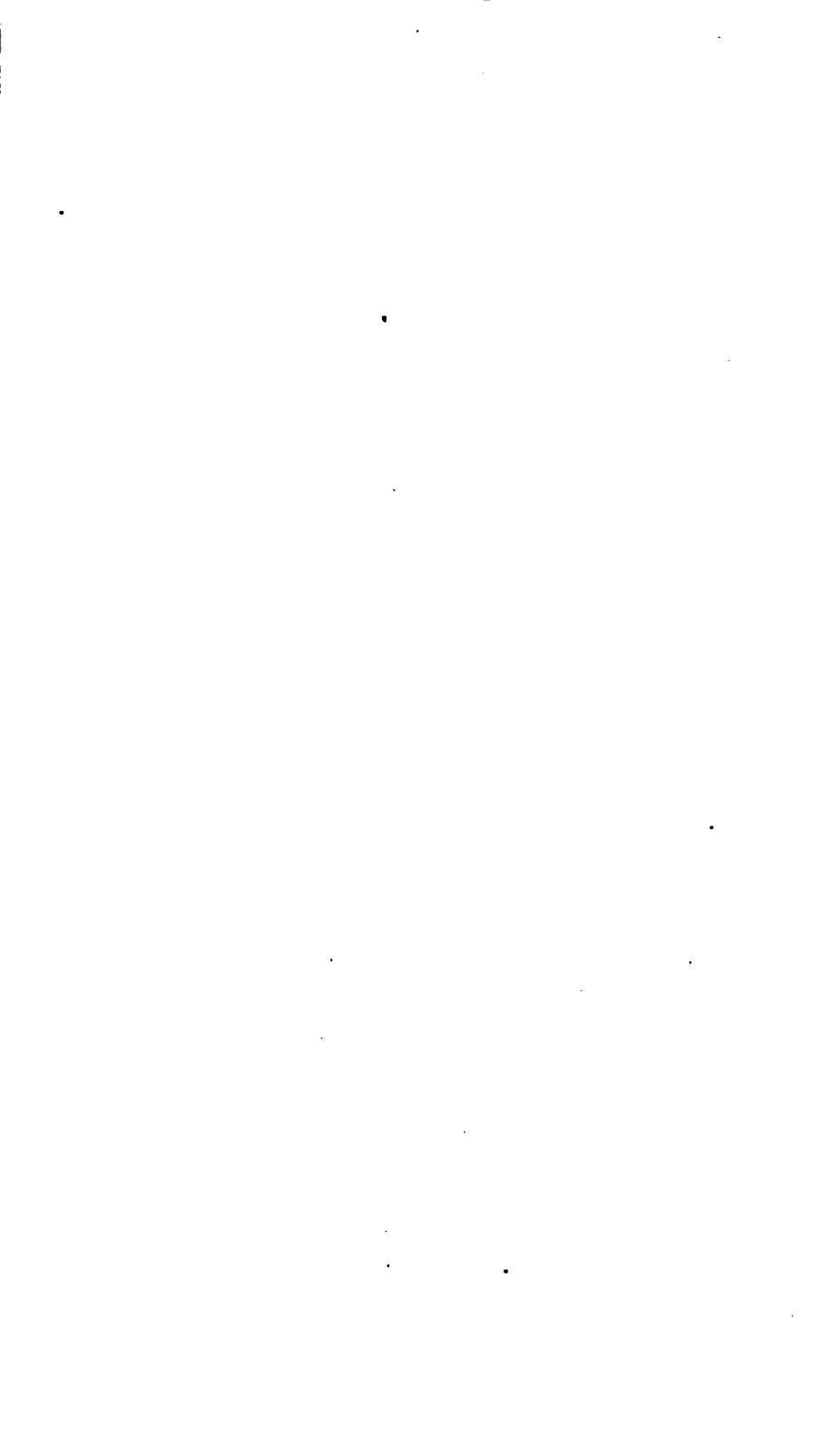
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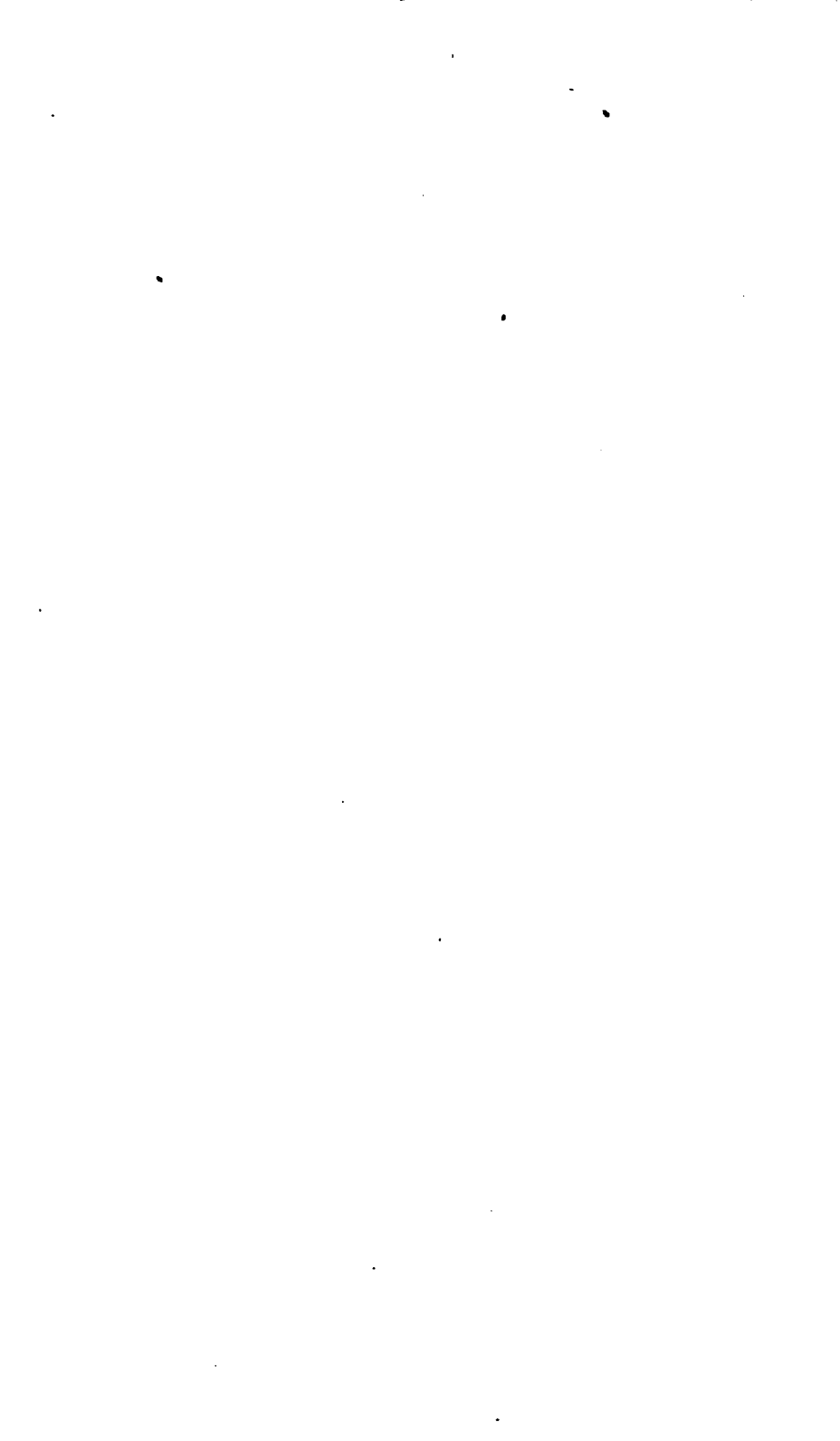
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## ART. I.—ADULT EDUCATION.

*Education in Great Britain, Being the Official Report of Horace Mann, of Lincoln's Inn, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, to George Graham, Esq., Registrar General; with Selected Tables.* London: Routledge and Co. 1854.

Among the many means devised to ameliorate the condition of our working classes none, perhaps, contributes more to their moral and social improvement than the opening of Evening Schools.

Had public Evening Schools been in operation twenty years ago, how different would be the state of society at the present day! We should not have the thousands that we at present find unable to read and write: had we taught adults *then*, they would be more earnest for the education of their children now, and would have prepared for them opportunities of self-improvement that might have saved them from pauperism, and perhaps from crime.

Much, no doubt, has been done for the education of the people since the National System of Education was introduced into this country; and doubtless, succeeding generations will feel and appreciate its happy effects; but we are to remember that, notwithstanding the many glorious and successful efforts made to educate the poor, our "laboring multitudes" remain, to a very great extent, in a sad state of immorality and intellectual deficiency. This can be accounted for in a great measure by the poverty or selfishness of parents who, seeing a demand for juvenile labor, accept, through necessity or a desire of gain, even the low remuneration for it; and remove the child from school, to which, perhaps, he never returns: thus sacrificing, at the altar of slavish toil, a child gifted

possibly by nature with talents which, if properly cultured, would raise him to a position in society that was unattainable by any of his forefathers.\* For such, therefore, we see the great necessity not only for Evening Schools, but also for having these schools placed under the management of properly qualified persons.

There are few who do not acknowledge that by the influence of these asylums of morality and instruction, and such these schools would be if properly carried out, the progress of vice may be retarded, haunts of blasphemy and intemperance deserted, the seeds of knowledge disseminated, and a taste for literature and self-improvement cultivated among that class of society who otherwise might have plunged into the dark abyss of crime, for which ignorance affords but too many avenues. The task that is before us, therefore, is to educate,—as far as existing circumstances will permit, those waxing into manhood, or with whom some of its years have already elapsed.

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\* Children of the laboring classes are employed at an early age—some permanently, others temporarily—at a rate of recompence which, though apparently but trifling, is sufficient for their maintenance, and more than sufficient to induce their parents to remove them from school. It is evident that even the lowest amount of wages which the child of a laboring man will receive—(from 1s. 6d. to 2s. per week) must be so great a relief to the parents as to render it almost hopeless that they can withstand the inducement, and retain the child at school, in the face of such temptation. And this inducement will be almost equally powerful, whether or not there be one where payments from the children are required. It is not for the sake of *saving a penny* per week that a child is transferred from the school to the factory or the fields, but for the sake of *gaining a shilling* or eighteen pence a week; and the mere opportunity of saving the penny by sending the child to a free school would not restrain the parents from making a positive addition to their weekly income, if the absence of the child from school would ensure it.

Many children obtain permanent employment at the age of nine, and all from that age upwards are considered capable of certain kinds of agricultural labor. Indeed, some persons qualified to judge, are of opinion that the business of a farm laborer cannot be thoroughly acquired if work be not commenced before eleven or twelve.

In mechanical employments, labor begins even at an earlier age. Children begin to be employed in factories, in needle-making, button-making, as errand boys—and in various other capacities, some as early as six, others at any time from six to ten. Among the middle classes, children remain longer at school, and the boys become apprentices etc., at the age of fourteen or fifteen. In very few cases—excepting those where the sons are destined for professional pursuits, and placed by fortune beyond the necessity for labor, or proceed to college—is the period of education protracted beyond fifteen. *Mann's Report on Education in Great Britain, page 9.*



It has long been obvious to those acquainted with that state of society which consists of our uneducated laboring classes, that intemperance, and that immorality which proceeds from intemperance, are the predominant crimes to which they fall a prey. Unfortunately no great improvement has been effected among this class as yet, nor have we any assurance that there ever will be, unless men of higher standing and greater weight in society than the teacher take an active part in bringing back the lost sheep to the fold. Unhappily, Philanthropists, in causes like this, are seldom or never to be found in Ireland; and, we fear, under the existing state of things, we can scarcely hope that they ever will.

From the managers of National Schools, however, much may be expected, because they have already accomplished a good deal in juvenile education. Still, in the cause of what may be properly called adult education, much remains for them and for us all to do. To establish Evening Schools, which are the schools fit for adults, in every parish, on a proper system; to secure by the most judicious means a full and constant attendance at these schools, and to manifest our solicitude for the improvement of those pupils who are most anxious for their own progress—would be the first and most important steps for securing a thorough reformation in the social and moral condition of the working classes of our countrymen. No amount of zeal in such a cause should be considered too great, since the consequences of its success are so many boons to society.

By educating the adult, and inculcating in his breast the principles of morality and industry, you save him from the wretched misery and disgrace of the felon's dungeon and the pauper's home. From boyhood he has been inured to labor, and most likely to hardship—his moral as well as literary education neglected—and fitted only for employments where physical strength and animal endurance are required.\*

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\* A child is trained up to working—he is hammered into a hardy laborer, a stout material bone and muscle for the state—this is good so far as it goes: but it is bad because it goes no farther. He is not taught reading, nor religion—above all, he is not taught thinking. He never looks into his other-self; he soon forgets its existence, the man becomes all body, his intellectual and moral being lies fallow. The growth of such a system will be a race of machines, delvers and soldiers, but not men. So much brute physical

We do not attempt to describe the condition of the instructed and ignorant artizan, but we reiterate what we have stated in a previous part of this paper regarding the great and zealous care evinced in the education of children attending the Daily National Schools; but that to which we wish to direct the attention of the reader is, the education of those who in early youth were compelled, perhaps by the poverty of their parents to seek employment which would enable them to contribute to the support both of their parents and themselves. For them should our earnest solicitude be enlisted as well as for those attending our day schools.

What we would, therefore, suggest is, that in every parish an evening school be opened under the patronage of the managers of the daily schools situated in the parish, and that some of the most influential gentlemen of the parish be requested to form a Committee, and that the management of these schools be entrusted to none but competent and efficient teachers. We entertain very little apprehension for the success of these schools under such an arrangement as is stated here; and it would render their success still more certain if a preference were shown on the part of employers for the educated operative. Of course this is but a mere suggestion of ours, knowing as we do the difficulty and inconvenience that would be likely to attend such a proceeding, and how unjust it would be to prevent the uneducated, but well inclined operative from providing for the wants of a family, which of course we could by no means advocate. However, in employing boys whose age does not exceed sixteen years, it would have a most admirable effect on their education, if some slight difference were made between those who could read and write, and those who could not. This distinction, however trivial, coupled with a manifest desire in the employer to encourage the spirit of self-improvement in the employed, would contribute most considerably to the elevation of the social condition and to the temporal interests of the latter. This in itself would be a sufficient inducement to them to attend to their own education in the evenings, and endeavour to acquire as extensive a knowledge as possible of the subjects pertaining to their daily avocations.

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energy swinging loosely through society at the discretion of more spiritual natures, to whom the education, neglected or perverted in another way gives wickedness with power, and teaches the secrets of mind only as an instrument to crush or play with men for their own selfish purposes.—*Wyse on Education Reform*, Vol. I. Page 324.

By these means many of the temptations to evil that bestrew the paths of our laboring multitudes would be avoided, and once the desire for improvement is secured it will be our fault if it does not continue ; because, when the seeds of knowledge are diffused among them they are sure to be followed by a spirit of enterprise and a desire for independence : the people will begin to feel that the power of bursting the bonds that fetter them to slavery and toil is placed in their own hands. The smallest amount of education opens avenues to employment on which the wholly uneducated can never enter, and the mind of the instructed artizan or laborer being accessible to the knowledge contained in books, he can always find employment "in his hours of ease," which will tend to the amelioration of his worldly condition and the improvement of his heart. Let him but feel this, let him but know the blessings that flow from a good education, and the evil consequences of ignorance and debasement, a happy reformation of character will set in and become abiding, and conduce, as it must, to prevent—

"———The Widow's tears  
And the Orphan's cry of woe."

How many of the industrious classes say, "if we only knew how to write and read we should be much happier and better off;" and surely if these poor toil-worn creatures were enabled to read a chapter in that Book of Books, which contains a balm for every wound sent by Providence or inflicted by their fellow-man, what a boon would be conferred on them ! If, on the other hand, we were duly to consider the great connexion between ignorance and irreligion, and their consequences—pauperism and crime—doubtless we would have long since devised some plan calculated to ensure greater success than has yet attended our efforts to educate our laboring population. But let us now begin, let our greatest efforts and most zealous exertions be directed to the education of this class of our fellow creatures, ere they become too far advanced in years ; if not, much apprehension may we entertain of effecting among them any change calculated to further their spiritual or temporal welfare. If we look around among the uneducated working poor, how few do we see that have reached an advanced age ; the prime of their life was spent between over laborious toil and excessive debauch—foolishly thinking to repair the fatiguing effects of the former by indulging in the

latter, and thus were they hurried to a premature and perhaps a pauper's grave.\*

In Germany and other countries in Europe where the law obliges parents to provide for the education of their children, how different is the state of the working classes ! There, should the parent be selfish enough to detain the child from attending school for the sake of enriching himself with the small remuneration paid for his labor, he is prevented ; and succeeding generations must feel the influence of so just a law.† The parents being educated themselves, they appreciate education too well not to have their children educated also, consequently there is a willingness on their part to contribute to the fund set apart for popular education. In countries where so much attention must be paid to the education of youth, the necessity for Evening Schools does not exist as patently as in those where the education of the child rests solely on the will of the parents. A single glance at the social condition of the Working Classes of both countries will be sufficient to show the happy effects arising from enforcing education among these classes, and the evil consequences of leaving it optional with them as is in these kingdoms.

Inability to pay the school fees cannot now be alleged by parents as a cause, justifying them in permitting their children to grow up uneducated, for too many schools exist, wherein they may receive an education gratuitously and of a very superior

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\* The aged operative is now almost unknown, his old age is the wrinkle on the brow of youth, cheeks sunk with premature labour, hair grey with juvenile debauch. Neither is he ever young ! his childhood has passed away without a single childish reminiscence—he is initiated in the gin glass almost from his mother's milk, he lives with the practised vices and is pinched with the true misery of grown up men. And if he flies for consolation at home, he has no true home, a wife sickened over with the same wretchedness as himself, giving birth to children dying from their birth, a progeny, numerous, rickety and scarcely able to sustain the burthens of life, till they reach the age when they too shall be devoted at the same altar ! this is the perspective on which his thoughts of the future must rest, this is the inheritance which he is to leave to his country. From this serious error in the *physical* management of his class necessarily flow a series of *intellectual* and *moral* evils.—*Wyse on Education Reform, Vol. I. Page 324.*

† Yet we are told that all Government interference with the education of the people is at variance with sound principle, involving a departure from the legitimate province of the Government. Against this declaration the proceedings of the National Association have been a strong and unwavering protest in the name of liberty and of progressive civilization.—*Public Education, by Sir James Shuttleworth, Bt. Page 46.*

nature. Therefore, when we see so many of our working classes ignorant, we can only attribute it to the indifference of their parents, and the low estimate in which they held the education of their children. But even now we can adopt such measures as may seem best calculated to remove this evil, and prevent the same indifference to education in the rising generation.

The plan that strikes us as the most effectual is the opening of a well conducted class of Evening National Schools throughout the most populous districts, and enlisting in their support the patronage and interest of the most influential gentlemen residing in the vicinity in which they may be situated. We admit that attempts have been made to establish this class of Schools and have failed; but there is no effect without a cause, and the causes of the failure of these Schools, in Dublin at least, we shall endeavour to explain, and at the same time suggest the means that seem to us best calculated to ensure their future success.

It is greatly to be feared that the failure of these schools is to be attributed to the want of co-operation on the part of those who should evince the greatest solicitude in their promotion, and also to indifference and want of energy in the teachers. Long experience and careful observation justify us in making an assertion which we otherwise would be most careful to avoid. We have already adverted to the great anxiety manifested by the managers of day schools for the education of the children of the poor, an anxiety which must awaken in their hearts feelings of the deepest gratitude in years to come, and entitle, as it does, those gentlemen who labor so energetically in the cause of Popular Education to the respect of all parties anxious for the moral and social improvement of the poorer classes of society. But what we urge is, the necessity of providing for the education of those who have been compelled at an early age, either to seek their own maintenance, or assist their parents in providing for that of their families, whilst by this means they are prevented from availing themselves of the opportunities which our daily National Schools afford for their improvement.

The managers of most, if not all, the National Schools in Dublin are clergymen whose influence, if brought to bear on the adults of their parishes, could not fail to secure the fullest

attendance.\* None can promote education among our laboring poor so much as the clergy, for once their interest is enlisted in the education of their flock, very little is to be feared for its success, and in no country is this more strikingly exemplified than in Ireland.

What we require therefore, is the co-operation of managers, united with that of other influential gentlemen, anxious to promote education among our industrious poor. Could this be effected, we have every reason to believe that most satisfactory improvements would soon be visible in the moral and social condition of the latter.

We are not at all surprised at the want of success that has marked all the efforts hitherto made to educate the working classes of this country, when we reflect upon the small amount of energetic influence that was exercised in its behalf, and the miserable salaries given the teachers for this purpose, which but half stimulated their efforts, and made them indifferent to the success of so laudable an undertaking. That such is, and has been, the case, the failure of evening schools alone affords sufficient proof. Another cause to which we may justly attribute the failure of our efforts to promote education among this class of society, is the fact of having the same teachers to discharge the duties of both day and Evening Schools. Any person acquainted with school teaching knows, if justice be done the pupils during the day, the teacher must necessarily be too fatigued to resume the still more arduous duties of an Evening School a few hours afterwards. We hold, therefore, that no teacher should be allowed to exercise the duties of both schools, and, indeed, such is the opinion of those most competent to judge on matters pertaining to education. Knowing from experience how injurious such an arrangement has proved to the cause of Adult Education, we feel justified in urging its discontinuance, and in recommending that teachers be selected whose business would be to educate our working classes only. This, no doubt, would create additional claims against the funds of the Commissioners of Education, but so trifling, that it should not form an objection to an arrangement being made, calculated, as the one proposed is, to

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\* The clergy have their duty to perform, but they have also their rights. The most important branch of education belongs to them, they ought to be reciprocally associated in its general direction and support—*Wyse on Education Reform, Vol. 1. Page 270.*

promote the advancement of the operative classes in those departments of literature most conducive to their interests and social improvement.

The want of an effective "teaching power" has also contributed to the failure of Evening Schools in Dublin: we must state that, with one single exception, we have never seen in any of these schools what we could term an efficient staff of teachers. The consequence was, that the adult pupils requiring more attention than could possibly be given them, left, and in leaving, spread the report abroad that proper attention was not paid them, thus injuring both the character of the teacher and the school.

We have now stated what to us seem the true causes of want of success in the Evening Schools of Dublin; and though there may be many divisions of opinion on the subject, yet we feel convinced that were these causes removed, the result would be that these schools could compete in success with the daily National Schools of our city, and most materially advance the education of our laboring poor.

Having stated that we would suggest the means that appear to us calculated to remedy the defects of the system at present adopted in conducting Evening Schools, we now proceed to do so, and for this purpose we deem it expedient first to offer a few observations on the qualifications and duties of the teachers to whose charge those schools should be confided.

Besides their literary attainments there are other qualifications which we hold to be of great importance in all teachers, but especially in those conducting Evening Schools attended by pupils who, perhaps, have already attained the age of manhood. They require to have a knowledge of the social condition of such pupils, and also of the nature of their different employments, in order to instruct them in those subjects most likely to conduce to their advancement in life. Adults require to be treated very differently from children; and this it is which leads us to believe that the system on which our daily National School is conducted, is not at all calculated to succeed in an Evening School. In the first place, that passive obedience which is yielded by a juvenile pupil can never be expected from an adult, nor should a teacher demand it. Every teacher, who has had any experience in conducting Evening Schools, will admit how imprudent such a line of conduct would be; he must be aware of the unpleasant consequences that enforce-

ing obedience generally entails. We would strongly urge that teachers appointed to the management of evening schools should divest themselves of that imperative tone of voice, and set aside the airs that so frequently mark the man of petty authority, and assume that frank and easy manner which characterizes the man whose education consists, not merely in BOOK LEARNING, but in a knowledge of the world also. They should be affable and kind to their pupils when imparting instruction, for many of them being fatigued from the weary toil of the day, if treated with harshness are likely to retort, and bid defiance to the teacher's authority, and from experience we have found that a rebellious pupil meets many others to sympathize with him. Kindness, therefore, should be shown to those pupils, for they must be well disposed and deserving, or they would not be found attending these schools, evincing as they do the greatest anxiety to improve. It behoves every teacher to gain, evening after evening, on the affections of his pupils by his kindness and affability, and by conforming himself to their views so long as it does not compromise or interfere with his own authority, of which, by the way, he should not be over tenacious on some points. In a school where a teacher governs by affection every thing goes on well. The greatest and most learned teachers have governed their schools in this way, and most gratifying were the results, both in the moral and intellectual improvement of their pupils.\* Perhaps this will be found even more necessary in governing adult pupils: in fact we hesitate not a moment in asserting, that it is the *only* way by which a teacher can hope to secure their attendance. In no case is it judicious to resort to corporal punishment; with such pupils it can effect no good, but leads to very unpleasant consequences. Adults see their own interest as clearly as a teacher does his; they have already experienced the many disadvantages arising from the want of

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\* The teacher knows little of his profession if he does not understand that no faculty in a child is more powerful than example. Let him be his lesson and it will soon penetrate. Let him, in the intercourse of every day, every hour, seize every avenue to instil by deed the sacred theme. Let him be just and generous, and mild and kind, himself, and he will have already preached, and more than preached, those virtues to his scholars. In the silence of the young heart their unobtrusive voice will be soon heard. He will be surprised by the blossom and the fruit even before he imagines the root has struck. Virtue is to be caught; it infects as well as vice.—*Wyse on Education Reform, Vol. I. p. 242.*



education, and, therefore, require attention, and not punishment, from the teacher; and, if properly dealt with, their anxiety to learn will fully show that their sole object in attending school is to improve themselves. No teacher but one ignorant of the human character will attempt to exact obedience from adults by force. With the adult the teacher's command should assume the nature of a request, and made with calmness and gentleness, yet in a tone expressing a wish to be obeyed. *Suaviter in modo, fortiter in re*, should be the maxim of every teacher. This will not compromise or lessen his dignity, but, on the contrary, gain for him the affection of his pupils, and this once secured, obedience soon follows, and that respect is paid him which neither punishment nor threats could ever enforce. Every teacher should evince solicitude for the improvement of his pupils, but particularly for those whose education has been neglected in early youth. It is surprising, and argues well for the character of the Irish, when we observe the gratitude and respect with which a pupil in after life speaks of a teacher who has shown himself *really* interested in his education. We could here record, did time or space permit, numerous instances that have occurred indicating the gratitude of the Irish to their teachers, which, if equalled, have never been surpassed in any other country. We would have teachers to remember that pupils have their "Public Opinions," and not only among themselves is this opinion maintained, but we regret that it too often happens that parents and guardians are influenced by it, for we frequently see them remove the child from school because the teacher has incurred the displeasure of the latter. With adult pupils this "Public Opinion" is calculated to serve or injure the character of a school most considerably. The questions generally put by an adult about to attend an Evening School, to another who has already attended the same school, or who may know others that have, are—*Is it any good? what sort of a man is the teacher? Is he a good teacher? &c. &c.* Now upon the answers given to these questions depends the attendance or non-attendance of the interrogating adult, or, in other words, on the Public Opinion held relative to the school by those adults, who either have attended themselves, or have heard the opinions of those who were pupils.

Every teacher who has had experience in adult education must be aware of what is here stated; and as the "Public

Opinions" of pupils effect the interest of the school, we would recommend not only teachers of Evening Schools, but teachers of all schools to enlist the "Public Opinions" of their pupils in their favor, for by doing so they are establishing their own popularity and attaining a character for themselves and their schools.—The best plan that can be adopted to effect this is to treat the pupils more as a parent would his children, than as such men generally treat those placed under them.

Having premised so far what we consider important qualifications for those allowed to exercise the duties of a teacher in an Evening School, we shall now proceed to mention the subjects which they should not only be thoroughly acquainted with, but possess a method of imparting to the adult that they may be rendered lucid and interesting. The subjects belonging to an elementary education are those required most by pupils attending an Evening School, therefore to the teaching of these subjects should the teacher pay particular attention. If we can give the adult a sufficient knowledge of the elementary branches, that will place the power in his own hands should he feel inclined to prosecute the study of those of a more advanced nature, we do as much as can reasonably be expected from us. Every adult should be taught Spelling, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, the outlines of Grammar, and the Geography of his own country at least. This is a very simple but a very useful course, and if effectually taught, the teacher has done his duty with justice to the pupil and credit to himself. There are other subjects to be mentioned hereafter, which if time and circumstances permitted, their introduction would add materially to the character of the school. But having stated what appear to us the *essential* subjects that should engage the attention of the teacher, we beg to offer a few suggestions on the methods of teaching them. Of course we do not here pretend to offer more than a suggestion, knowing the many admirable plans at present adopted by competent and experienced masters to whom the subject of teaching is more familiar: however, having seen the systems we are about to describe carried into practice effectually, and believing them superior to any others at present in use, we should consider it a neglect of duty on our part were we to omit mentioning them here.

In teaching Orthography, the method we propose to be adopted is, to have the adult to write on some subject, and the

more familiar the subject is to him the better ; or to desire him write down some of the principal events he remembers to have taken place in the country within the last month, year, or any period of time the teacher may wish to mention. Now adults take the greatest interest in such exercises, and do all in their power to vie with each other in expressing their ideas in the best manner they can. There is scarcely any lesson at which the spirit of emulation is carried to such a pitch, or which receives more of their attention.

Objections to this system may be urged on the grounds that it does not effect enough ; we admit this, but if it effects *something* it answers our purpose. We are aware that we do not add to their stock of words, but if we are not doing that we are teaching them how to spell those words with the meaning of which they are already acquainted, and how to arrange them in proper order. The teacher may, at the same time, introduce words better adapted to express the same ideas where he sees it necessary. By this system it is clear that the pupil is being taught easy lessons on composition or indeed we might term it, *natural* composition, for we suppose him ignorant of the rules and principles of grammar. It does not occur to us that there is any other disadvantage attending the system stated here, but that to which we have just referred, and to remedy this the master has only to teach Orthography by Dictation. "It is simply this," writes Dr. Sullivan ; "the teacher reads a sentence from a book or dictates one composed by himself, to the pupils, who either write it down verbatim, or merely spell the words as they occur as if they were writing them down." By these means the pupils may write down words whose meaning they do not understand, and perhaps words they never heard before ; it remains then for the teacher to explain to them the meaning of such words and correct any mistakes that he may find in the Orthography. We hope that our suggestions in teaching this subject may meet the approbation of and be adopted by those teachers who are, sending from their schools day after day to fill respectable situations in society, pupils sadly deficient in this most essential branch of education. It is to be regretted that even in what are termed *respectable academies* the old system of making a pupil get by heart a column of words and repeat them *Parrot-like* to the master, is still continued, a practice that should be discountenanced by every intellectual teacher.

We are happy to state that in the National Schools of Ireland, this ridiculous and stupid system is not permitted, but by means of that valuable little work, *The Spelling Book Superseded*, by Dr. Sullivan, a system of Orthography is taught that bids fair to render the pupils of these Schools superior to most others in this most useful branch of learning. We strongly recommend this book to the parents and guardians interested in the education of children, and we certainly feel no hesitation in asserting, that the system for teaching Orthography laid down by the author is one that every teacher should adopt.

Teaching reading to the adult pupil is a tedious and difficult task, perhaps there is no instance where the teacher's patience is so strongly tested, and he must be a *teacher* and not a mere scholar who will accomplish it. The plan we should suggest to be adopted in teaching this branch is, to make the pupil put together every little group of words that makes *sense*, and when he has spelled them some few times over, to ask him when he has gone through a sentence in this way, what he understands from it. This is an arduous and monotonous task no doubt, and one that can only be effected little by little, and by proceeding steadily and slowly along. To an intellectual teacher, various plans will suggest themselves, we will therefore leave him to adopt any one that he thinks best calculated to suit the faculty of the pupil, submitting our own merely for his consideration. Adults having but little time to devote to literary acquirements, it should be the business of every master to teach them what is really *practical* and of the most service to them in their various stations of life. Now when teaching them to write, after teaching them to form the letters of the alphabet, we would suggest that they should be then taught to write their names. This will be doing more for them than could be accomplished by many lectures from the writing-master. When able to write small-hand in a legible style they should be taught to draw out an account in a proper and business-like manner. This is sure to receive their greatest attention, for they have already learned its utility, and felt the great disadvantage of not being able "to make out a bill," as they say themselves. We now suppose the adult competent to write from dictation, in which he should be exercised at least twice a-week. On the remaining evenings we would

strongly recommend *letter writing*; it will be found to afford an instructive and most useful exercise. By adopting this plan the master will give the adult *practical* and *really useful* knowledge, which should be the object of every teacher anxious to raise the character of the operative poor. In Arithmetic let the pupil be first taught those rules that are *indispensable* to his business in life, and let him be taught them *well*. Let him be given none but *practical* questions of which others of a similar nature are likely to occur in the business of every day life, and not such as he may never again hear repeated except by the teacher himself. Notation and Numeration should be well understood by the pupils before other rules are introduced, or his knowledge of Arithmetic must necessarily be defective, and the farther he advances in this science the more unwilling will he be to return to these rules, for he looks upon learning them then as commencing the elementary branches again. In many schools we find these rules sadly neglected.

English Grammar is a subject in which we cannot expect an adult to make great progress, as he considers other matters of more importance to him. His opinion on this point is indeed very correct, and we would therefore recommend teachers of Evening Schools not to devote too much time to this branch if they find their pupils deficient in others more essential. However, we hold that every pupil who can read tolerably well should be acquainted with the parts of speech, and know how to connect subjects—Verb and Object, and Preposition and Object together, in order to understand *properly* what he reads.

Geography affords, and particularly that of their own country, a most interesting lesson to adults. We know of no plan so effective as that of teaching by means of outline or sketch-maps. The natural features of a country are so engrafted on the mind by these maps that they are never forgotten, and the pupil is ever afterwards familiar with the position of every principal town, mountain, river, and lake, of the land that gave him birth. In Prussia, and many other States on the Continent, every pupil is obliged to know the Geography of his own country, and indeed were that plan adopted in these kingdoms we should not have so many pupils unable to tell the source of the Shannon, though at the same time conversant with all the particulars of the Ganges.

We recommend masters, when teaching the geography of any country, to sketch the boundaries first, and make the pupils acquainted with the outline and principal features, so that when they come to be taught from the regular maps, they may be able to tell at once the names of the principal cities, mountains, rivers, and lakes, without waiting to read their names. By teaching Geography in this way it becomes an intellectual and an interesting subject, and not a mere wordy exercise, as it is in many of our private academies at the present day.\*

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\* Mr. Mann thus describes a Prussian teacher instructing according to this plan:—

The teacher stood by the black-board, with a chalk in his hand. After casting his eye over the class to see that all were ready, he struck at the middle of the board. With a rapidity of hand which my eye could hardly follow, he made a series of those short diverging lines or shadings employed by map engravers, to represent a chain of mountains. He had scarcely turned an angle or shot off a spur, when the scholars cried out, Carpathian Mountains, Hungary, Black Forest Mountains, Westernburgh; Giants' Mountains, (Riesin Gebirge) Fine Mountains, (Fichtel Gebirge,) Central Mountains, (Mittel Gebirge,) Bohemia, &c. &c.

In less than half a minute, the ridge of that grand central elevation which separates the waters that flow north west into the German Ocean, from those that flow north into the Baltic and south east into the Black Sea, was presented to view,—executed almost as beautifully as an engraving. A dozen crinkling strokes made in the twinkling of an eye represented the head waters of the great rivers which flow in different directions from that mountainous range; while the children almost as eager and excited, as though they had actually seen the torrents dashing down the mountain sides cried out, "Silesia," "Metallic Mountains," "Danube," "Elbe," "Vistula," "Oder." The next moment I heard a succession of small strokes or taps, so rapid as to be almost indistinguishable, and hardly had my eye time to discern a large number of dots made along the margin of the rivers when the shouts of "Lintz," "Vienna," "Prague," "Dresden," "Berlin," &c., struck my ear. At this point in the exercise, the spot which had been occupied on the black board was nearly a circle, of which the starting point or place where the teacher first began, was the centre; but now a few additional strokes round the circumference of the incipient continent, extended the mountain ranges, outward towards the plains—the children calling out the names of the countries in which they respectively lay. With a few more flourishes, the rivers flowed onwards towards their several terminations; and by another succession of dots, new cities sprang up along their banks. By this time the children had become as much excited, as though they had been present at a world making: they rose in their seats, they flung out both hands, their eyes kindled, and their voices became almost vociferous, as they cried out the names of the different places, which, under the magic of the Teacher's crayon, rose into view. Within ten minutes from the commencement of the lesson, there stood upon the black board a beautiful map of Germany with its mountains, principal rivers and cities, the east of the German Ocean, of the Baltic and Black Sea, and all so accurately proportioned, that I think only slight errors would have been

We have now offered our suggestions on teaching the elementary subjects, and proceed to write on the more advanced branches that should, if possible, be taught in Evening Schools—they are but few, viz., Book-keeping, Practical Geometry, Mensuration, and Mechanics. In teaching Book-keeping to adults, who, as we have already stated, can devote but a short time to study, we would recommend the little treatise written on this subject for the use of the National Schools in Ireland. It is an excellent work and exceedingly simple. It may be urged that it does not contain sufficient matter, but to this objection we would reply—it does not pretend to teach more than is sufficient to *prepare* the pupil for the counting-house, and give him a general and practical insight into the subject. For these purposes it will be found perhaps the most useful treatise that has as yet appeared, and we have no doubt that in teaching adults it will be found superior to any other, from its perspicuity and simplicity. The work on Mensuration, issued by the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, is a most excellent book. It contains a course of practical Geometry admirably calculated to aid the working artizan in the improvement of his craft. Mechanics is a subject of great interest to the aspiring apprentice of the present day. Teachers, if possible, should provide themselves with a model of the steam-engine, and make their pupils as conversant as possible with its mechanism, for which purpose a knowledge of mechanics will be found essential. We have now enumerated the subjects which we think comprise the most useful course that, possibly, could be taught in a school intended for the education of the working poor.

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found, had it been subjected to the test of a scale of miles. A part of the Teacher's time was taken up in correcting a few mistakes of the pupils; for his mind seemed to be in his ear as well as in his hand; and notwithstanding the astonishing celerity of his movements, he detected erroneous answers and turned round to correct them. The rest of the recitation consisted in questions and answers respecting productions, climate, soil, animals, &c., &c. Compare the effect of such a lesson as this, both as to the amount of the knowledge communicated, and the vividness, and of course the permanance, of the ideas obtained, with a lesson, when the scholars look a few names of places on a lifeless atlas, but never had their imaginations abroad over the earth, and when the Teacher sits listlessly down before them, to interrogate them from a Book in which all the questions are printed at full length, to supersede on his part all necessity of knowledge.

A teacher possessing the qualifications we have indicated must be fairly remunerated or he will not devote his time to the tedious and laborious duties of an Evening School. The poor salary given at present renders it impossible to procure the services of competent and energetic masters to conduct these schools. With very few exceptions does the grant to Evening Schools, in connexion with the Board of National Education in Ireland, exceed £5 per annum. This sum, with the receipts of the school, comprise the salary of the teacher, which, including both, does not exceed, save in a very few cases, £12 per annum. Even this sum is considered by many to be considerably above the average. It is obvious, therefore, that no competent teacher will undertake the arduous task of conducting an evening school efficiently, for so small a salary as this. Consequently we find these schools directed by masters, fagged and fatigued from the effects of teaching during the day—their energy completely spent, and requiring rest or recreation much more than additional toil. There is no alternative; the salary given would not compensate a teacher if he were to devote his time exclusively to an Evening School, and under such circumstances it is better that trained teachers, however fatigued, should be entrusted with their management. But certainly a change in the system is much to be desired, for so long as the present plan is continued, little hope can be entertained that Evening Schools will effect the object for which they were intended. Indeed it is, and ever has been, our opinion, that until we have a body of efficient, energetic, and qualified teachers to conduct these schools, adult education can never be advanced beyond its present wretched state. But surely not for ten or twelve pounds per annum, are we to hope to procure the services of the master required. We must therefore, expect to witness the decline of these admirable schools, until the salary of our daily school teachers is such as will raise them above the necessity of resuming the weary task of instructing in the evening, and a proper remuneration given to a competent master who will undertake the task,—teachers whose vigor and energy have not been impaired nor diminished by previous toil.\* There is, perhaps, no country in the world

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\* If this were the country it boasts itself to be, if it were a country in which the public really aspired to elevate the human mind, to assign intellectual superiority its proper station, long since its laws would have regarded the profession of teacher, as one in great degree invested with paternal



where a teacher is so poorly recompensed as in Ireland, or where some provision is not made for him in his old age by the state, but in Great Britain. He is miserably paid for his labor when life is in its prime; and the only prospect he sees in perspective at its decline, is the work-house or the pauper's grave. Contrast this with the treatment and the respect Schoolmasters receive in other countries. Throughout Germany no profession is more respected than that of a teacher; not only is it respected, but he rests secure that he will be provided for when incapacitated by illness or old age, to exercise his duties; but still more, if found deserving, his widow and orphans will be provided for also.\*

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and religious rights. If there be many instances in which Teachers themselves have derogated from this dignified position, and converted what ought to have been the most important of social duties into a mere trade, it is only the natural result of our unwise and niggard legislation, and belongs not to the profession nor to the men.—*Wyse on Education Reform*, Vol. I. Page 292.

\* Mr. Kay in his admirable work, "The Social Condition and Education of the People," thus speaks of the Austrian Teachers. The Teacher is protected from neglect, insult, or injudicious interference, while he is at the same time kept under a wholesome check. His close connection with the emissary of Government of the empire gives him a standing among his neighbours and covers himself and his office with the respect of the people. The Austrian Government has indeed so strongly felt the importance of making the teachers respected, that one of the laws expressly requires the Overseer to address the Teacher at the Public examination with the Title of Mr. and Sir, and forbids the overseer to allow himself to treat the Teacher with any undue familiarity or carelessness before his pupils.

Besides these wise enactments, a series of laws has been framed, by which a pension and livelihood is secured to every superannuated teacher, and to the Orphans and Widow of every deserving Teacher who dies in the public service. These enactments are for the most part similar to those which I have already described as in force in Prussia.

By these means the Teachers are released from all anxiety about providing for the support of themselves in old age, or of their families in case of their own decease, and are, consequently, freed from any temptation to divert any of their thoughts from their school duties to mercantile, or money-making pursuits, and are enabled to devote the whole of their faculties, thoughts, and energies to the duties of their profession.

Besides these advantages, the people are by these different regulations impressed with a high consideration and respect for the profession, as they see it an object of the anxious solicitude of the Government. They know that the Teachers must be learned men, or they could not have gained their situations, and that they must be men of high character, or they would not be allowed to hold their offices. They see the Teachers in continual correspondence with the agents of the imperial Government. They see how respectfully the teachers are treated by the overseers and civil magistrates.

We are now, perhaps, diverging from the subject before us, but we hope at a future period to advocate the cause of National Teachers, and to show the great injustice done those whose lives have been spent in educating the poorer classes of our fellow subjects.

What we are now to consider is, the remuneration that should be given to an efficient and properly qualified teacher charged with the management of an Evening School. The time generally devoted to these schools we admit is short, perhaps too much so; but, on the other hand, when we take into account the fatigue of adults consequent upon the toil they have undergone during the day, it might not be prudent to make the time for study much longer than is devoted to it at present. Three hours we think should be the maximum, say from 7 until 10 o'clock each night, during which time the teacher requires to be *energetically* and *constantly* employed to do justice to his pupils. Now in the most economical point of view we consider him entitled to a salary of at least £60 per annum, and any sum under that is not sufficient to compensate him for the duties that devolve upon him, if he *really* interest himself in the education of his pupils. This salary may be objected to on the ground that many teachers of Day Schools have not salary equal to it, with this we have nothing to do, as we are to suppose their merits do not entitle them to it, or that there are not sufficient funds placed at the disposal of the Commissioners to reward them, which we believe is really the case. The school fees should be assigned to the teacher and form part of the salary here mentioned. We hold this to be an excellent plan, since it must serve to stimulate the teacher to procure a good attendance to the school; but in any case the salary above mentioned should be secured to the teacher.

The payment by pupils should be insisted upon, for there is no pupil who will present himself for admission to an Evening

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This respect reacts upon the children in the most beneficial manner. They see the Teachers welcomed at home, honored by the agents of the imperial Government, cared for by the Government in sickness and old age, comfortably lodged, and treated by every one with respect.

This begets in the minds of the scholars a respect for their instructors, makes them pay attention to their advice and instruction, makes them anxious to win their good opinion, and thus gives a double weight to all the counsels, advice and admonitions of these excellent monitors.

It is impossible to exaggerate the value of the labours and of the influence of such a body of men working among the poor.

School who cannot afford to pay—and were adult pupils admitted free, they would not appreciate the instruction given to them, no matter how superior might be its nature. This is the case in Ireland at all events, however different it may be in other countries. Out of the smallest means, the Irish are ever willing to pay for education.—It may then be asked, why there are so many uneducated adults among the operative classes, if the Irish are so willing to pay for education? Our only answer to this question is, that either the poverty of the parent, or the negligence of the child is the cause. However, no advantage should be taken of their willingness to pay, since we know in many cases it exceeds their ability. A rate of payment within the reach of the poorest adult should be laid down; we would recommend that such a scale of payments be adopted as would be in proportion to the circumstances of the pupils, and at the same time so moderate as to be within the power of the poorest to pay.—By adopting this course an accumulative scale of payments inevitably takes place; but we would strongly urge that this scale should not be regulated *according to the subjects taught*, for every person acquainted with the organization or management of a school must be aware that such an arrangement has a very injurious effect on the progress of the pupils and on the working of the school. By way of example, in support of our views in this matter, let us suppose two pupils placed side by side in the same class, the parents of one being better to do in the world than those of the other; now, both are sufficiently qualified to enter a class where the course of instruction is carried further, but in order to enter this class a higher fee is to be paid. To the pupils whose parents are able to pay the fee there can be no difficulty, for parents willingly pay for the education of their children when circumstances permit; but the pupil whose parents are unable to pay the fee demanded, remains behind, not for incompetency or want of intellectual qualifications, but solely on account of his parents' *poverty*. All will admit that poverty is no crime, but few will deny that it is a misfortune, and certainly debarring the talented child of the poor man the means of raising himself from the lowly state in which he is placed by the circumstances of his parents, is not the mode by which to imbue him with a spirit of nationality or independence; on the contrary, it tends to depress this spirit and to make poverty hereditary.

We regret that in many schools receiving public aid the fees are regulated according to the subjects taught, a system both unwise and unfair, and one we would strenuously oppose, for we hold that in no schools supported by the State or by other public endowments, should such a system be tolerated.

The teachers of these schools are public officers and should make no distinction between their pupils while discharging their duties in the school-room. All should equally share their attention, and be eligible to any class for which their capacity or proficiency would qualify them. Public or National Schools were provided for the Education of the poor, and the State in conferring this invaluable boon on society, never intended a "royal road" to be opened in these schools on which the poor man's child dare not enter.

While we advocate the rights of the poor to National Schools, we do not desire that these institutions should be solely attended by the children of the poor, on the contrary, we are of opinion that these schools should be open to all classes, for the fact of the children of the poor associating with those of the middle classes, has a most desirable effect on both, and contributes most materially to the success and character of the school.\* But what we contend for is, that the poor man's child be as eligible to receive instruction in any subject taught in the school as that of the rich man's, though the latter *may pay a higher fee*.

Before concluding this portion of our paper we would wish to suggest, that when teachers receive salary in addition to the school fees, the rate of payment for each pupil should not exceed 2d. per week; and in cases where they receive their entire salary from sources independent of the school fees, the latter should not exceed one penny per week for each pupil. And this payment, we would further suggest, should be insisted upon, for it is desirable that every pupil should pay in a school that is not understood to be a Free School. For the present we have confined ourselves to Evening Schools, but in our next paper we hope to be able to show the great want existing in our Metropolis for such Mechanics' Institutes as those advocated in England by Lord Brougham, and other zealous friends of the cause of Popular Education.

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\* See Report on the Clonmel District Model School for the year 1850, by James W. Kavanagh, Esq., Head Inspector of National Schools: see also Mr. Frederic Hill's admirable work on National Education.

In closing our present paper, we consider it but just to mention the name of The Right Honorable Alexander Macdonnell, Resident Commissioner of the Board of Irish National Education, to whom the adult portion of the working classes of this city is deeply indebted for the part he has taken in encouraging Evening Schools.—Frequently has he contributed from his private purse to their support, and his benevolence to many a poor and hard-working teacher is too well known to call forth any comments from us. With his name we feel justified in coupling those of Dean Meyler, Commissioner of National Education; and the Rev. Mr. Farrell,\* manager of the Andean Male National School. These gentlemen have been indefatigable in promoting the cause of National Education, and well may they be proud of the signal success that has attended their united efforts in endeavouring to place the schools of their parish on a footing with some of the best organized schools under the Commissioner of National Education. We should not omit mentioning here the name of The Rev. Dr. Flanagan, who for many years supported, at his own expense, an Evening School, which was attended by a very large number of the laboring poor. We regret that this school has been closed for some time, owing to this liberal gentleman's funds being exhausted.

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\* See Report on the admirably-conducted Ragged School under the management of this gentleman, given in IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, Vol. IV., No. 16, p. 1237.

## ART. II.—JOHN BANIM.

### PART IV.

"TALES BY THE O'HARA FAMILY" PUT TO PRESS. "THE BOYNE WATER" COMMENCED. A PUBLISHER'S RUSE. "TALES BY THE O'HARA FAMILY" PUBLISHED. THEIR SUCCESS. SHARE OF MICHAEL AND JOHN BANIM IN THE SERIES. LETTERS. SICKNESS OF MRS. BANIM. SLIGHT RETURN OF HIS OWN ILLNESS. LETTERS. PROGRESS OF "THE BOYNE WATER." VISIT OF JOHN BANIM TO DERRY. TOUR OF MICHAEL BANIM THROUGH THE COUNTY LIMERICK. EACH BROTHER COLLECTING MATERIALS FOR "THE BOYNE WATER." LETTERS. ENGAGEMENTS WITH ARNOLD OF THE ENGLISH OPERA HOUSE. LETTERS FROM GERALD GRIFFIN. FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN HIM AND BANIM. VISIT OF JOHN BANIM TO KILKENNY. MICHAEL'S ACCOUNT OF IT. LETTERS. PUBLICATION OF THE "BOYNE WATER." LETTERS. SECOND MISUNDERSTANDING WITH GERALD GRIFFIN. "THE NOWLANS" COMMENCED. LETTERS. RELIGIOUS FEELINGS. HOME THOUGHTS. LETTERS.

In the other parts of this Biography\* we related the various phases, sometimes sunny and frequently clouded, marking the life of John Banim, and we paused in that epoch of his life-history in which, when in his twenty-sixth year, he had completed *The Tales By The O'Hara Family*, and had succeeded in obtaining a publisher. Now had come the time for which, through all the sorrows of the weary past, he had toiled and hoped. True, it was not his first triumph—he had known that joy which elevates the dramatist when his thoughts are filling the hearts of an enraptured audience: he had heard great actors in his *Damon and Pythias*, and, as some noble passage in the play had charmed the listeners, he had seen the surging, swaying crowds applauding to the echo. But this was a triumph too uncertain, and too much dependent upon the mass—and, in the probable success of *The O'Hara Tales*, he fancied that he saw the brightest dream-land of his brightest reverie—fame, competence secured, a happy home for Ellen, for his mother, for all—the full fruition of that

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\* See IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, Vol. IV. No. 14, p. 270; No. 15, p. 527; and No. 16, p. 825.

charming wish which he expressed to Michael when he wrote : " That my dear Ellen, and my dear Joanna, should live together in love and unity, is my great wish and my hope too. To see them working, or reading, or making their womanly fuss near me, and under my roof, and mutually tolerating and helping each other, and never talking loud. And my mother, my dear, dear mother, sitting in her arm chair looking at them, with her old times placid smile ; and my father and you doing whatever you liked. Tush ! Perhaps this is foolish and utopian of me. Yet we *must* live together : that is the blessed truth. Such a set of people were not born to dwell asunder. And, perhaps, the old times would come back again after all. What is the reason, I ask, that, after a little while, we should not club our means, and dwell, as Mr. Owen preaches, in one big house, every mother's son and daughter of us ; and have good feeling, good taste, and economy presiding over us ? More unlikely things have happened. After the world is seen, it does not bear to be gaped at every day ; and the only true aim of a rational creature ought to be, humble independence on any scale, and the interchange of those little and tireless amiabilities, that in a loving, and virtuous, and temperate circle, make life indeed worth living for—to me. And without these life is a compulsion : a necessity to breathe without enjoyment—to sweat without a reward."

These were his hopes and heartiest wishes—success in literature could alone for him secure their attainment, and once attained, life would be to him fair as

" A light upon the shining sea."

But, even whilst correcting the proof sheets of the first series of *The Tales*, he was preparing materials for a novel, and he wrote thus to his brother :—

" London, January 17th, 1825.

My dear Michael,

I am reading hard for a three-volume tale, and, if our present venture succeed, I may hope for a fair price."

He was not however at all forgetful of his success as a dramatist, and he still negotiated for the production of *The Prodigal* at Covent Garden Theatre, having, as we have already related, failed in inducing Elliston to accept it for Drury Lane.\* But in this attempt he was, as the reader has

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\* See IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, Vol. No. 16. IV. p. 861.

been informed, unsuccessful, owing to disagreements with Edmund Kean.

Disappointments connected with this tragedy were not his only causes of uneasiness. Mrs. Banim's health had not improved, and she was directed by her physician to pass a short period in France. In the following letter Banim describes his position, his cares, his hopes, and his expectations. The old kindly home love is bright as ever—whether in joy or sorrow; struggling or prosperous—home, his wife and his mother are always at his heart. And yet how strange it seems that his love should cling so firmly to those scenes where he had known many sorrows, many pains, and, save in childhood, no joys. Can it be that this thought of the lamented Arthur Henry Hallam is true, and that "Pain is the deepest thing that we have in our nature, and union through pain has always seemed more real and more holy than any other." Thus, at all events, John Banim wrote to his father:—

*"London, January 28th, 1825.*

My dear Father,

I have to inform you, that I have kept back at Covent Garden to watch the fate of a play by ——. This play I judged would not succeed, and my judgment has proved good. It was repeated only twice. I may expect to come on, when Young returns to his engagement, in about six weeks. The stage apart for a moment, pleasant little matters are recurring elsewhere. Our publishers, being highly pleased with the matter now in progress, *engage* liberal terms, should our venture have luck. Yesterday I received a proof of their good opinion, in the shape of a handsome snuff-box, with which I intend to present you when we meet. So far, my dear father, with other seasonable assistance from my good friend Mr. Arnold, who receives my small theatrical pieces freely, I am very comfortable, considering that I have had to win my way in a scramble, where no human being was interested to lend me a hand. I think I have not altogether done badly. I have been here three years, and I do not owe a shilling. I am now esteemed in the market. Alas! literature is a marketable commodity, as well as any other ware, and sells according to its quality. But, if able, my regular business will soon send me to Ireland, and afford me the happiness of embracing my family.

One regret I must feel during my visit; I shall not be ac-



accompanied by her who has for three years been the sharer of my struggles—the only friend in my exile. Ellen has been ordered to seek a milder clime for a while, and I must convey her to France for a period. She is not very or dangerously ill: I send a medical certificate to her father to convince him of this; but still her removal has been pronounced necessary, and I owe her too much to counteract the injunctions of her physician.

Michael gave me charming assurances in his last letter of my dear mother's good health. Were she ever so ill, I know the expectation of seeing ME (you see I am growing riotous in my own good opinion) will speedily make her well."

He accompanied his wife to France, and having secured apartments for her, he returned to London, and to his labors. In the following letter, written a few days after he had reached London, he informs Michael of the progress of *The Tales* through the press, and hints at his returning illness:—

" London, May 9th, 1825.

My dear Michael,

I remained scarce a day in France after I saw Ellen housed: yet short as was my absence from London, matters got into a pretty pickle with the printers before I came back.

The labor of getting 'Crohoore' through the ordeal has been hideous: almost every sheet of him came back to me three or four times. It is tremendous work to compel English types to shape themselves into Irish words. Happily he is now equipped for his debut, as well as I can shape him. 'The Fetches' is disposed of also, and I am through the first hundred pages of the last volume. I have been leading a solitary life since my wife left me: but no help for that. To keep me alive I have plenty of work on hand, and there are fair prospects in view.

My health has been only tolerable; as Shakespeare hath it,

' ——— The moon, the governess of floods,  
Pale in her anger, washes all the air,  
That rheumatic diseases do abound.'

I greatly dread and fear mother has also had her visitation, if the weather has been such in Ireland as we have had here."

Upon the eve of the publication of *The Tales* the next letter was addressed by John Banim to his brother, and in it he de-

tails a little publishing ruse; one of a class of which many instances have been afforded in London, during the present anxiety of the public to possess books containing information on the countries surrounding Sebastopol:—

“ London, April 6th, 1825.

My dear Michael,

Our tales have not been announced in the usual manner, and I will tell you why.

A certain literary gentleman, an Irishman too, of undoubted talent, he being aware of the nature of our volumes, started with a spirited publisher, and got out notices, and it became rather an amusing race between us. He would come occasionally, in the most friendly manner, to hope I was going on well. Pen against pen it was, as fast as they could gallop. Mounted on my grey goose quill I have beaten him, as to time at all events. It was necessary to keep him in the dark by leaving our books unannounced. What may be the further result of our race is yet to be seen. There is quackery in all trades, from the boudoir to the pill-box.

I purpose to be in Derry, two hundred miles north of you, in a few weeks, and in some time after I will run down to Kilkenny to shake hands with you all, and hear my poor mother call me her own ‘*graw bawn*’ once again.”

The visit to Derry, mentioned in this letter, was undertaken for the purpose of gaining an accurate knowledge, from personal observation, of the scenery and character of the country around the Boyne; and this knowledge was turned by Banim to excellent account, as may be perceived in those admirable descriptions introduced in that novel upon which he was then engaged—*The Boyne Water*.

The *Tales By The O'Hara Family* appeared on the 7th of April, 1825, and their success was, from the first day, unquestionable. Gerald Griffin wrote to his brother, and described Banim's triumph thus: “Have you seen Banim's O'Hara Tales?—if not, read them, and say what you think of them. I think them most vigorous and original things; overflowing with the very spirit of poetry, passion, and painting, if you think otherwise, don't say so. My friend W—— sends me word that they are *well written*. All our critics here say that they are *admirably* written; that nothing since Scott's first novels has equalled them. I differ entirely with W—— in his idea of

the fidelity of their delineations. He says they argue unacquaintance with the country; I think they are astonishing in nothing so much as in the power of creating an intense interest without stepping out of real life, and in the very easy and natural drama that is carried through them, as well as in the excellent tact which he shows, in seizing on all the points of national character which are capable of effect; mind I don't speak of *The Fetches* now. That is a romance. But is it not a splendid one? Nobody knew anything of Banim, till he published his *O'Hara Tales*, which are becoming more and more popular every day. I have seen pictures taken from them already, by first-rate artists, and engravings, in the windows."\*

Literary fame, however, was not the only point to be considered, the pecuniary reward of merit was a very important consideration. The fame, indeed, belonged entirely, so far as the public knew, to John; but Michael, living at home quietly in Kilkenny, had formed very prosaic ideas, and thought, very naturally, that if the public admired *The O'Hara Tales*, the public ought to prove its appreciation by purchasing them; and he wrote to John, requesting information upon the interesting topic comprized in the short question—"How do the books sell?" John's reply we shall just now insert, but we would here draw the reader's attention to the facts related in a former portion of this Biography, in which we detailed the plans of joint contribution agreed upon in the composition of the *Tales By The O'Hara Family*.†

The first tale of the series, entitled *Crohoore of The Billhook*, was written by Michael Banim ‡ who wrote also the opening chapter, descriptive of a "Pattern," in *John Doe*, the third tale of this first series: the remainder of this tale, and the entire of *The Fetches*, the second tale, were written by John Banim; but, as was agreed upon, and, as we have in our last paper shown, fully and carefully performed, each brother submitted his contributions to the earnest criticism of the other.

And when one comes now to examine these fictions,—to mark their vigor and dramatic power, to note those qualities indicated

\* See "Life of Gerald Griffin, Esq.," By his Brother, pp. 184, 185.

† See IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, Vol. IV. No. 16, p. 830.

‡ Michael Banim is still living, and was Mayor of Kilkenny in the year 1850.

by Griffin, who wrote of them, "they are astonishing in nothing so much as in the power of creating an intense interest without stepping out of real life, and in the very easy and natural drama that is carried through them, as well as in the excellent tact which he shows in seizing on all the points of National character," we must agree with Gerald in his estimate of the merit of the series. These qualities attributed by Griffin to *The Tales* appear more clearly in the fictions subsequently written, but the ability of the brothers is not the less plainly shown. And it is, indeed, strange that two young men, the one a shopman to his father, planning his scenes by day whilst attending to his business duties, and stealing his leisure from the night; the other, a hard-worked literary man—one who, as he said himself, should "tease the brain, as wool-combers tease wool, to keep the fire in and the pot boiling," could have been able to produce those novels which, though entering upon a pre-occupied branch of literature, obtained and secured attention from the earliest publication. In John Banim's case too, it should be remembered, that he was forced to write when he *could* write, that is—he wrote at such times as he could snatch from his ordinary engagements; sometimes when racked in body by his own pains, sometimes when racked in mind through sympathy for the ill-health of his wife. But the strong bold will, the earnest hope of success, bear the mental hero above every sorrow—the victor of every woe—and thus is proved the wisdom of Wordsworth's thought—

"A cheerful life is what the Muses love,  
A soaring spirit is their prime delight."

In the following letter those qualities of mind are proved, and his industry and mental courage are most admirably displayed:—

"*London, May 1st, 1825.*

My dear Michael,

You ask me a very vital question—How do the books sell? Very well.

The publishers are quite contented: big with hopes and withal benevolent. On mature reflection, I venture to solve another important query—I deem you should neglect neither your business nor three new volumes. Plan out three tales, and work at them from time to time at your leisure, and I think I can obtain for you a remunerative price.

I will be ready with a tale in three volumes by Christmas, and I propose you should be prepared for the next trial. For my tale I will visit every necessary spot in the north and south. Derry, Lough Neagh—thence to the Boyne, and then to Limerick. I have christened the tale before its birth. It is to be called 'The Boyne Water.' I have sent you all the criticisms—in no case have we got a drubbing. We have yet to undergo the scrutiny of the monthly and quarterly periodicals. This I can tell you to inspirit you—the good Belles Lettres critic of the Quarterly has read our volumes and has deigned to praise them in high quarters.

Man alive, hold up your head and have courage."

A few days after the date of this letter, John Banim sailed for Ireland, and reaching Dublin safely, he at once set out for Belfast. His occupations in the North were thus described, in a letter to Michael:—

" Coleraine, May 28, 1825.

My dear Michael,

Lest you should be uneasy at my staying longer than I proposed, I write to say I am well, and have only been delayed by the uninterrupted interest of my route from Belfast. I walked a great part of the way along the coast to this town: having forwarded all my baggage, trusting to him who feeds the sparrow and the raven for a meal and a bed. My adventures have been considerable in the way of living alone. I sometimes slept in a sheebeen house, sometimes in a farmer's house, and sometimes in a good inn; and only I thought myself too ill-dressed a fellow, I might have shared the hospitality of a certain lady of high rank.

But what scenery have I beheld—grand, exquisite: the Causeway, from which I have just returned the best part of it. You may look out for me towards the end of the next week. One thing is certain—I will meet a hearty welcome at the old house where I first saw the light."

Back to "the old house," and to his mother came "her own *graw bawn*," with love as warm and heart as true as in the past-by days of childhood, when he stole from his playmates to watch over her safety, fearing that "Farrell the Robber" might carry her away. And here, the student of

literary biography will, doubtless, observe how beautifully this man's nature shines, unchilled by adversity and pain, unspoiled—so unspoiled—by success, and by the golden hopes of the brighter future.

One can fancy this deep-hearted man returned to "the old house" where he "first saw light," and where he had known such joys and sorrows, such real cares and such cloud-land visions as, happily, few men experience in their darker phases : Joanna and Michael rush forth to greet him, and the more sober, but not less intense joy of the father and mother need no word-painting. It must have been the realization of a dream vision, one of those glimpses of paradise, fading as the morning arises, and leaving but a regretful memory of joys never to return again.

Thinking thus, we addressed Michael Banim, and added,— "tell us how you all received John when he came to you from his northern tour;" and Michael answered us—"You may be sure the absentee received a hearty welcome in the old house. On a Sunday evening he came amongst us, the evening of all others we could best enjoy ourselves. There was the family board, with something more choice, even than the usual Sunday fare, to mark the event. The well known faces were all around it once more. No one absent. There was the new comer, in the identical chair, and on the same spot, he used to occupy. There was the dinner prolonged unreasonably, by questions and answers, interruptive of mastication. When the table was at length cleared, there was the jerking of chairs into as close contact as possible. And there was the cheerful glass, in which to hob nob with the restored struggler. Truth to tell, I fear that three of the circle, the old man, and his two sons, dipped somewhat deeper than discretion or respect for the Sabbath evening warranted.

This meeting of kindred after separation, bore likeness to a gushing fountain, one of whose channels had been interrupted ; the others insufficient to carry off the waters ; the temporary obstacle removed, the whole affluence came forth babbling and sparkling in the sunshine. There was no cloud that we could see, on that Sunday evening, over us. There was frequent laughter, ringing out, and without rhyme or reason. There was a tautology of endearing epithets. There was the voluble enjoyment that marked a jubilee."

Banim did not continue long in "the old house;" and

early in July he was back once more in London at his desk, engaged in that ceaseless round of work ; truly

“Twilight saw him at his folios,  
Morning saw his fingers run,  
Labouring ever,  
Weary never,  
Of the task he had begun.”

His visit to Kilkenny had not been entirely one of pleasure. He had planned, with Michael, the outlines of future novels, plays and poems. He had now no doubts or fears, and the great prizes of genius, that is, such prizes as England gives, golden wreaths, were all, he fancied, within his grasp, to be secured by industry. Within three years he had *made*, for himself, a reputation by honorable, but unflinching work ; and he looked upon it but as the stepping place, the mound which should be raised before his hopes could blossom in complete fruition.

“Time, the subtle thief of youth,”

had never yet affrighted him ; the past was but a dead past ; all life, and the bliss of prosperity were in the future—and that life and bliss were to be wrought out of the life and labor of the present.

A few days after his return to London, he wrote thus to Michael :—

“*London, July 16, 1825.*

My dear Michael,

I am stripped to the shirt sleeves the weather is so hot, not scampering abroad, but in my oven-like study, plying the skreeking pen, might and main, for it is a terrible atmosphere here : the glass up to fever heat, and, except the rabid, who appear now and then, not a canine frequenter of the streets visible. The race of dogs seemeth extinct.”

Whilst “plying the skreeking pen, might and main,” he learned from Mrs. Banim that she was now sufficiently restored to health to bear the atmosphere of England ; and, accordingly on the 24th of August he set out for France, and returned with her to his new home in Mount-street ; and Gerald Griffin succeeded him in the occupation of the old lodgings in Brompton Grove.

All his unoccupied time was now devoted to the completion of *The Boyne Water*. Gerald Griffin visited him frequently, and was fully acquainted with all the details of the

work. He wrote to his brother, William, "Banim has been all over the north of Ireland, and has brought here the world and all of materials for his new novel. He has spent an immense deal of labour and study in acquiring a perfect knowledge of all the historical records of the period, and procured a great deal of original information, and other matters, during his ramble." In weaving these materials, so gathered, into his novel, Banim seemed to forget even the friends in "the old house," and Michael wrote anxiously to Mrs. Banim, requesting that she would correspond with him, as John seemed lost to all honesty in paying epistolary debts. Mrs. Banim's reply was as follows, and it reminds one of *Dora Copperfield's* experiences of the "pursuits of literature."

"London, September 30th, 1825.

Dear Michael,

John is so much occupied at present, that I scarcely ever see his face from nine o'clock in the morning to six in the evening—when, after rapping for some time at the ceiling, for he works over head, I go up to his door, put on the most hungry face I can, and complain of my starving state: then only can I get him to come down.—When he issues forth, he is the true picture of stupidity. He has himself denied to all visitors, since our arrival from France, and the whole, long, long day, he is shut up, with his plaguy 'Boyne Water.'"

Nearly a month after the date of this letter, Michael received the following from John, and in it we perceive the first indication of doubt as to the *politics* of *The Boyne Water*:—

"London, October 25th, 1825.

My dear Michael,

You have made me shake and shiver, by bringing before my eyes the ticklish ground on which I stand, with respect to the present novel: and you have almost driven me to despair, by telling me to look for increased reputation—or——. I almost give up the hope of realizing the wishes you have formed, of what I ought to produce. No writer can pronounce on his own realization of his conceptions. Unfortunately we often value a production according to the pains and care we bestow on it—hence we are indifferent judges of ourselves—I have good materials, if I can but use them



to advantage. Your notes on Limerick and the contiguous country, have gone beyond my expectation—I return you my thanks for all you have done. Apart from the matter I wanted, your memoranda are rich, and suggestive to me of a continuance of such things by both of us conjointly, to be followed, some time or other, by the publication of *Walks Through Ireland, By the O'Hara Family.*"

At length, as the novel advanced towards completion, he seems to have become still more nervous on the subject of its probable success. Michael had warned him that in adopting the political tone so strongly coloring the tale, he was endangering its popularity with a large section of readers: and truly it was most dangerous ground. Gerald Griffin, however, did not participate in, or encourage these fears—but then he never feared any thing; his soul was like a lark, always soaring. He wrote to his brother, William, thus:—"I dined with Banim last week, and found him far gone in a new novel, now just finished, '*The Boyne Water*,' (*good name?*) which is far superior, in my humble judgment, to the *O'Hara Family*:" that he spoke to Banim as he wrote to his brother, there can be little doubt, and John seems to have regained his self-reliance, and to have taken to himself the counsel he had offered to Michael, when he wrote—"Man a live, hold up your head and have courage."

The following letter, written a few days after that last inserted, is very interesting: the anxiety that Michael should correct freely; the humble confidence in his brother's judgment; the holy spirit of belief, from which, however much, in one point, a worshipper of another creed might dissent, yet none can refuse to admire in the man,—all render this letter worthy of the true-hearted writer:—

*"London, November 6th, 1825.*

My dear Michael,

With this you will receive the first vol. of '*The Boyne Water*.' I expect to go to press in a month from this day, so read it immediately and return it, as promptly as you can.

Be very candid in your remarks, because I ought to be made to know myself: and don't, you at least, through a false delicacy, let me lead myself astray—every man's vanity blinds himself, to himself, of himself.

This morning (Sunday) going to early Mass to accompany Ellen to Communion, I was delighted with the fair and beautiful

sight of a crowd of other communicants, of every rank and age, clustering to the Sanctuary. Some old Chelsea pensioners were there. The lame, the blind, and the tottering : and there were boys and girls of very tender age, mixed with these infirm old men. Leaning down to minister the bread of comfort and of life, to those stumblers on the grave's brink, and those young adventurers on a world of temptation, was a most reverend looking priest—with long white hairs, who to my knowledge, is one of the most zealous, virtuous, simple-minded men alive. My dear Michael, as I looked on, the recollection of our first communion together side by side, and of the devotion and holy awe that filled my heart at the time ; and the remembrance of our aged and benevolent parish priest bending down to us with the sacrament in his fingers, came refreshingly to me, like the draught from a pure spring ; and a long train of innocent days and blissful times, passed before me—with my thoughts recurrent to boyhood."

*The Boyne Water* was commenced in July, 1825, and at Christmas of that year the three volumes were in the hands of the printer ; and early in the year 1826 it was before the critics, who gave it a very severe and rough reception ; their criticisms, however, were directed against its politics rather than its literary merit, or its structure of plot and scene.

It was published as a fiction "By The O'Hara Family," but, writes Michael Banim to us,—“With the exception of examining the locality of the Siege of Limerick, (the siege of the violated treaty as it is called,) and the tracing of Sarsfield's route from the beleaguered city, to the spot where he surprised and destroyed the reinforcement of cannon on its way from Kilkenny—I had no direct concern in this tale. It passed through my hands during its progress, and I pruned, and added, and corrected ad libitum.”

Roughly, however, as the critics used this book, the reading public were its very warm admirers, but, better than all, to one who wanted money, Colburn offered a very large sum for the next tale by “The O'Hara Family ;” and John closing with the proposal commenced to write his novel, *The Nowlans*.

The northern tour of John Banim was but part of that extended one required to be undertaken and completed, before the entire scenery of the localities introduced in *The Boyne Water* could be described from actual observation. Time, however, did not permit him to traverse this route himself,

and Michael was enlisted as the note-taker of the southern districts. From the notes so taken the descriptions of Limerick, and the surrounding country, in *The Boyne Water*, were written.

Michael's tour, however, was remarkable, as an adventure, occurring in its progress, suggested to John the powerfully written, but painful novel, *The Nowlans*. Michael Banim has, with his usual kindness, written for us the following account of this incident to which we have referred, and it will be observed that John, with consummate ability, wrought out the idea suggested by Michael:—

“While pursuing the track of Sarsfield on his route to intercept the reinforcements destined to strengthen the besiegers of Limerick, I journeyed on foot, through the Slieve Bloom Mountains, tracing my way principally by the traditionary information given by the people. I kept an itinerary as I went along, referable, not only to the purpose of my journey, but descriptive also of the peculiar and impressive scenery around me; and of the existing characteristics of a little known, but, as they appear to me, a very fine people.

My adventures during this excursion were not without interest; and, after it had been ascertained satisfactorily that I was not a guager, coming to spy after potteen sellers and potteen stills, I found courtesy and kindness, and disinterested assistance, all through the mountain range.

It was my fate to seek shelter for the night at the house of a farmer named Daniel Kennedy. His warm and comfortable dwelling was in a mountain hollow, known as Fail Dhuiv, or the Black Glen. The peculiarities of this out of the way homestead, the appearance of the dwellers therein, and the details of the unostentatiously hospitable reception given to me, were faithfully reported in my note-book. Extracted thence, almost word for word, my veritable account forms the introduction to the tale of ‘*The Nowlans*.’ There was a sick son on the night of my visit occupying the stranger's bedroom, about whom the good woman of the house and her daughters appeared to be most anxious. I could not, for this reason, be accommodated in the apartment usually reserved for guests, and my bed was made up on the kitchen table. The home-made sheets and blankets white as snow, and redolent of the sweet mountain breeze in which they had been bleached, were most inviting to a weary pedestrian, as I was; and I slept luxuriously that night on the kitchen table, under the roof of Daniel Kennedy of Fail Dhuiv.

The circumstance of the sick son, who, I could learn, had been away, and who, in his illness, had come home to seek the ministry of his affectionate kindred, gave the idea, and no more than the idea, of John Nowlan—the hero of the new tale.\*

Whilst John was engaged upon *The Nowlans*, Michael paid him a long promised visit in London, in the summer of 1826; and then it appeared that John had, in his letters, detailed only the good and cheering facts connected with his life, and had but too well concealed the slow, but certain progress of his malady. Though only in his twenty-eighth, he seemed, at the least in his fortieth year; his hair was grizzled; his face was wrinkled; his limbs were so weak that Michael feared, lest he should fall in the streets as they walked together; and then, during

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\* The broad humor of the following passage from Michael's introductory letter to "*The Nowlans*," we have always considered quite worthy of Smollett or Fielding. "Abel O'Hara" has been drenched by a heavy shower in the mountains, and returning to Nowlan's house finds that—

"All the family stood at the threshold to receive me; exclamations of condolence came from every tongue; and, almost by main force, the old woman, her daughters, and the robust maid-servant, forced me off to a bedchamber, where I was commanded to doff every tack upon me, and cover myself up in a neat little bed, until every tack should be well dried. In vain I remonstrated: Mrs. Nowlan and her handmaid whisked off my coat and vest, even while I spoke; the latter, squatting herself on her haunches, then attacked my shoes and stockings; Peggy appropriated my cravat; and I began to entertain some real alarm as to the eventual result of their proceedings, when away they went in a body, each laden with a spoil, and all renewing their commands that I should instantly peel off my Russia-ducks and my inner garment, drop them at the bedside, and then retiring between the sheets, call out to have them removed.

I did even as I was bid; and when properly disposed to give the appointed signal, Cauth Flannigan, the maid of all-work, speedily attended to it, re-entering with something on her arm, from which her eye occasionally wandered to my half-seen face, in a struggle, as I thought, and I believe I was not wrong in my reading, between most provoking merriment, and a decent composure of countenance; 'The misthess sent this *shirt*, Sir—only it isn't a shirt, entirely. bad one belongin' to the misthess, because it's the washin' week, an' the sickness in the place, an' all, an' the misthess couldn't make off a better at a pinch — and, laying it on the edge of the bed, Cauth strove to hide her giggle and her blushes by stooping to take up the last of my drenched garments. When she had again retired with them, I examined the nicely-folded article she had left with me, and, truly, it was *not* 'a shirt entirely'—but—what shall I call it, Barnes?—a female shirt, haply; the personal property, as Cauth would have it, of Mrs. Nowlan; yet, from the earnestness with which that zealous Abigail strove to impress the fact upon me, as also from the hasty erasure of an initial, near its upper edge, I had my own doubts, while I put it on, concerning the identity of its owner."—See "*The Nowlans*," Vol. I. p. 24. Ed. 1827.

Michael's visit, he was witness of one of his brother's paroxysms of pain, and though he had seen, had even been as his nurse during his first illness, after the death of Anne D——, yet this attack, though but of a few hours' continuance, frightened him by its violence, although when it passed away, John was gay and hopeful as ever.

Whilst thus working and suffering he once more, through his anxiety to serve Gerald Griffin became estranged from him. It would appear that Banim had induced him to write an operatic piece for the English Opera House, which Arnold accepted through Banim's recommendation, agreeing to give £50 for it, and Gerald wrote to his brother, "Much as I had known of Banim's kindness, I hardly looked for this great promptitude." This piece was entitled *The Noyades*; but though Griffin received every encouragement to write on from Arnold, yet fearing lest it might be supposed that Banim was in any way his patron, for he had, as his brother states, "an almost morbid horror of patronage," he sent two other pieces under the nom de plume, G. Joseph, to the Manager. He had quite sufficient influence with the latter to secure a favourable reception for his pieces; as, by his essays on the Italian and English Operas, published in *The Town*, and in which he had endeavoured to excite a taste for purely English music, and characteristic English recitative, he had gained very considerable reputation. The facts of this misunderstanding, within the scope of this portion of Banim's Life-History, are thus related by Gerald Griffin's biographer:—

"Gerald though fully sensible of Mr. Banim's kindness, and friendly solicitude about him, could not by any effort wholly divest himself of the instinctive reluctance he felt, to place himself under deep obligations to one upon whose good nature he had no other claim, than his own difficulties; and his friend conscious of this feeling, was perhaps too observant of the least expression which betrayed it. The consequence was—as soon as an opportunity of rendering Gerald a service occurred—some unhappy misconception on both sides. After the former misunderstanding, Mr. Banim far from losing interest in Gerald's welfare, sought anxiously to render him services in the only manner he saw they would be accepted, by procuring him a market for his labours. Aware of his dramatic talent, he was continually urging him to write for the theatres, and especially for the English Opera House, where from his own intimacy with Mr. Arnold, he was sure any recommendation of his would meet with attention. He at last obtained a piece from Gerald, to be presented at the English Opera House, out of which some time after arose the following correspondence.

Thursday, August 18th, 1826.

MY DEAR SIR,—Yesterday, I handed your piece to Mr. Arnold. He read it instantly, and agreed with me in thinking it one of a high order. Here and there however, I suspect you will have to cut and alter—and perhaps your songs must be re-written, and appear with less poetry, and more *set*-ableness about them. I conclude that your little drama will be produced this season, and some-day soon I'm to have the pleasure of introducing you to Mr. Arnold, who thinks very highly of your dramatic power, I assure you, and whom you will find possessed of all the technical acquirements calculated to mature it.

My dear Sir, faithfully yours,

JOHN BANIM.

Thursday Evening, August, 1826.

MY DEAR SIR,—I shall be obliged to go into the city to-morrow, so that I must take this opportunity of mentioning, that I have just seen Mr. Arnold. I gave him the piece with the alterations, of which you spoke to me, and he said he would read it again, and supposed he should have the pleasure of seeing you in a day or two. Talking of money matters—for he spoke of the mode of payment, though he said nothing decisive.—I'm such a stupid awkward fool, that I could scarcely understand the business properly; but I thought there appeared to be some feeling on his part, of unwillingness to incur risk, or some such thing. If this was at all the case, I certainly should not take any remuneration, previous to its being produced. My feeling on the subject, is a great deal that of indifference, but if the piece were found profitable to the theatre, I should by no means be content that it should be otherwise to me—and that is all I feel about it. I should be perfectly satisfied to let the piece be played, and let Mr. Arnold calculate its worth by its success. I trouble you with this, my dear Sir, in the hope that you may make use of it, as far as you think proper, in case Mr. Arnold should speak to you on the matter as he said he would. A far greater object than any payment in specie to me would be the being enabled to take my trial soon. How can I apologize to you for all this?

I am, my dear Sir, yours sincerely,

GERALD GRIFFIN.

It is evident that the feeling of 'indifference' which Gerald expresses in this letter, related entirely to the *mode* of payment, as to whether it should be absolute and unconditional, or dependent upon the success of the piece. Mr. Banim, however, seems unfortunately to have formed some misconception of the expression, as appears by the following letter.

Tuesday Morning, August 23rd, 1826.

MY DEAR SIR,—Yesterday, after calling another day without seeing him, Mr. Arnold spoke to me finally about your piece. He is well disposed towards it, and if you permit will act it. I could see none of the indecisiveness you mentioned in your last, nor did he say a word that could make me believe he thought he ran any risk in the matter. Perhaps you mistook him in your interview. He

now desires me to inform you that you may get paid in proportion to its success on the established terms of his theatre, or sell your drama at once for fifty pounds, including the publishing copy-right. Should you prefer the former mode of remuneration it will be necessary for you to ascertain by calling on him, what are the usual terms of paying authorship in his theatre *by nights*. I know nothing of it. I invariably preferred a certainty beforehand; indeed he got a piece of mine for less than he offers for yours, and I believe I have not been a loser. Mr. Howard Payne did not, I am informed, receive more from Covent Garden, either for his *Clare*, or *Charles II.*

Miss Kelly has been ill, and perhaps but for that, your piece would now be in progress. Mr. Arnold still thinks he will produce it this season. You inform me that your feeling on that subject is one of a great deal of indifference. This I must regret, particularly as I have been the cause of giving you trouble in a matter which does not interest you. I assure you at the time I first wrote for the English Opera House, and waited month after month even for an answer, I would not have been indifferent to whatever chance might have got my piece read and answered two hours after it had been handed in, and the transaction finally brought to a close in a few days.

I am, my dear Sir, truly yours.

JOHN BANIM.

However you may decide, Mr. Arnold hopes to close with yourself.

Tuesday Evening, August 23rd, 1826.

MY DEAR SIR.—I have just received your letter, which I hasten to answer. I am exceedingly obliged to you for all the trouble you have taken with the play, and am most gratified with the conclusion. I feel the entire extent of the obligation which you have conferred upon me; I always felt it, and I thought I said so in my first letter, but a mistake you have fallen into with respect to my last, renders it necessary for me to explain.

The indifference of which I spoke (as probably you will find by referring to the letter) related entirely to Mr. Arnold's mode of payment, or indeed payment at all in the first instance, as, from the conversation I had with you on the subject, and the subsequent interview with Mr. Arnold, I concluded that nothing worth being very anxious about was to be done in the way of money, at a summer theatre. It was far from an object of indifference to me, however, that a play of mine should be produced. When you thought I meant to say this you gave me credit for a greater piece of coxcomby than I was conscious of. It has been the object of my life for many years; I could not profess to be indifferent about it, still less could I be indifferent to the nature or extent of the obligation when conferred. Let me beg of you to take this general assurance in preference to any construction which possibly may be put on casual words or sentences.

I am, my dear sir, very truly yours,

GERALD GRIFFIN.

To this letter, which certainly seems sufficiently explanatory, Mr. Banim unfortunately returned no answer, believing, as he afterwards mentions, that both parties were content and all cause of

misunderstanding removed. Gerald however, very naturally expected some acknowledgment of the fact, and not receiving it, ceased to urge any renewal of an intimacy, the interruption of which he felt did not rest with him. It would seem extraordinary that Mr. Banim after having always evinced such a kind interest in Gerald's affairs, and received so ample an explanation of the slight misconception which occurred, did not evince some sign of returning confidence; but I believe the fact to be, that before an opportunity occurred for declaring it, a new and more annoying cause of jealousy arose. At the time that Mr. Banim's works were in the very highest estimation, and when indeed the assistance of no new author could have added to their reputation, he offered Gerald a place in the O'Hara Family and urged him to contribute a tale. To a person wholly unknown, and whose most successful work could not have procured for him a third of the price from the booksellers which could be obtained for it as one of the O'Hara Tales, this was a very generous proposal. It was, however, declined by Gerald on the plea that he was unequal to the task. Hollandtide appeared some months subsequent to this, and almost immediately after the conclusion of the correspondence respecting the drama accepted by Mr. Arnold. It was hardly surprising that under such circumstances Mr. Banim should feel he was treated disingenuously, especially as he was convinced Gerald had Hollandtide written at the time he declared his inability to write a tale for the O'Hara collection. This however, was really not the case. Most of the tales in Hollandtide were written in an inconceivably short space of time (not more than two or three months,) before their publication, and entirely at my constant urging, and I can testify, from the difficulty I had in inducing him to make the effort at all, how very diffident and doubtful he was of success. I do not mean that he exactly underrated his own powers, but I believe he did not think that his engagements with the periodicals, which he could not give up, would allow him sufficient time and consideration to attain the success he was ambitious of, in a regular work of fiction. In any event indeed, I do not believe he would have joined an author of established fame in his labours, however advantageous it might be in a pecuniary point of view. If there was any one object dearer to him than another in his literary career, it was the ambition of attaining rank and fame by his own unaided efforts, or at least without placing himself under obligations to those on whom he felt he had no claim, but independent of this, and highly as he must have appreciated the kindness of Mr. Banim's proposal, he might not unnaturally conclude that the public would consider his own early efforts as indebted for success, more to the assistance of his eminent friend, than to any original or independent merit they possessed. He had besides on all occasions, an almost morbid horror of patronage, arising partly from a natural independence of mind, but yet more from the depressing disappointments of his early literary life. When first he came to London, he sought by a few introductions and the friendly exertions of literary acquaintances, to bring his productions favourably before the public, but without the slightest success. His powers seemed to be under-



valued precisely in proportion as he made interest to procure them consideration, until at length disgusted by repeated failure, he resolved in future to trust wholly to his own unfriended exertions, and if they should not sustain him to abandon the struggle. It was soon after forming this resolution that success first dawned upon his efforts, and that he was anxiously sought for as an anonymous contributor by the editors of periodicals, who when he was previously introduced to them, would give him nothing to do. In proportion as his success increased, the remembrance of the many mortifying disappointments he had formerly experienced, seemed to sink more deeply into his mind, and he gradually acquired a degree of sensitiveness with respect to patronage, that made him recoil from even the ordinary and necessary means of obtaining attention for his pieces. This may have influenced him much less with respect to Mr. Banim than others.”

Matters rested thus, and we shall hereafter, in the proper time, resume the history of this disagreement, and the happy, honest, ingenuous reconciliation of these two excellent men.

Michael returned to Kilkenny in August, 1826, and when he left London *The Nowlans* was entirely finished, and he had acted as the critic upon it: but in six weeks after he had reached his home, *Peter of The Castle* was forwarded to him for his corrections. This story is founded upon the character of one well known in the neighbourhood of Kilkenny some few years before the period of which we write. *The Nowlans* and *Peter of The Castle* form the second series of *The Tales By The O'Hara Family*, which was published in November, 1826. The series was thus dedicated:—"To Ireland's True Son and First Poet, Thomas Moore, Esq. With the Highest National Pride in his Genius as an Irishman, These Tales are Inscribed." It would appear that Moore, although blundering in his recollection of the words of the dedication, was pleased with it; and when, in the year 1830 he visited Kilkenny, whilst staying with the late Mr. Bryan of Jenkinstown, he made the following entry in his *Diary*, under date September 8th: "Walked with Tom into Kilkenny, to show it to him. Called at Mr. Banim's (the father of the author of the 'Tales of the O'Hara Family,' who keeps a little powder and shot shop in Kilkenny), and not finding him at home, left a memorandum† to say that

\* See "Life of Gerald Griffin, Esq." By his Brother. p. 214. Why is not this most interesting biography republished in a cheap form? It is the history of one of the most beautiful minds that ever drifted into the troubled sea of literature and sorrow.

† The memorandum was as follows, and old Mr. Banim valued it most highly, and always carried it about with him in pocket book:—"Mr. Thomas Moore called to pay his respects to the father of the author of *The O'Hara Family*."

I had called out of respect to his son. Took care to impress upon Tom how great the merit of a young man must be who, with not one hundredth part of the advantages of education that he (Tom) had in his power, could yet so distinguish himself as to cause this kind of tribute of respect to be paid to his father. I have not, it is true, read more than one of Banim's stories myself, but that one was good, and I take the rest upon credit. Besides, he dedicated his second series to me, calling me 'Ireland's free son and true poet,' which was handsome of him."\*

It would, perhaps, be almost impossible to suggest any plot more powerfully conceived, and more vigorously elaborated than that of *The Nowlans*. It is, in truth, the analysis of passion: love in every phase—its pathos and its rage; and when we close the book, saddened by the fate of poor *Letty Nowlan*, and her misguided lover, we feel how truly the epigraph which Banim selected from Gray describes the lot of the hero and heroine:—

"These shall the fury passions tear—  
The vultures of the mind."

The whole vigor of Banim's genius was engaged in the construction of this novel; and it was, in its first edition, disfigured by some passages which his more sober judgment led him afterwards to omit. If however, we take this novel, solely as a specimen of what Banim's genius could enable him to achieve, and if we compare *all* its parts, considering them as a whole, it must be classed amongst the most powerful fictions of the time, and if not the first, certainly of the first rank. Doubtless if it be not taken as a whole, the melodramatic character appears too boldly, but this is an objection which might, with equal force, be urged against *The Bride of Lammermoor*, and *Eugene Aram*. Possibly it was through regarding particular characters only, that Miss Mitford was induced to write—"John Banim was the founder of that school of Irish novelists, which, always excepting its blameless purity, so much resembles the modern romantic French school, that if it were possible to suspect Messieurs Victor Hugo, Eugene Sue, and Alexander Dumas, of reading the English, which they never approach without such ludicrous

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\* See "Memoirs, Journal, and Correspondence of Thomas Moore." Edited By the Right Hon. Lord John Russell. Vol. VI. p. 136.

blunders, one might fancy that many volumed tribe to have stolen their peculiar inspiration from the 'O'Hara Family'.\*\*

The success of *The Nowlans* was most satisfactory; but as reputation and competence were reached, disease and pain advanced with more violent and confirmed tenacity. Still he wrote on; none knew how nobly and bravely he worked, for though it was easy to measure his hours of toil, who could measure that toil done in wringing, agonizing, burning pain. "He looked forty," says Michael, "though not eight and twenty:" his hair was grizzled; his face wrinkled, and he tottered as he walked, if the distance were many doors off. During four months he never communicated with his family in Kilkenny, because he would not tell them of his illness; and at length, when Christmas, with its joys and sorrows had come round once more, and when he believed that his health was somewhat improved, he wrote thus to Michael, in the old hopeful tone, bowing before the will of the Almighty in that same spirit in which Galileo said of his lost sight, "it has pleased God that it should be so, and it must please me also." In this letter nothing is omitted or forgotten, and home is home still, and every memory of other days is around his heart, as warmly cherished as if he had known neither the elevation of success nor the depression of withering sickness and disappointment:—

*"London, Christmas Day, 1826.*

My dear Michael,

I have just got your letter of the 21st. How could you suppose I should forget the hob nob at six this evening: we will chink our glasses to you with hearty good will and fond remembrance.

When you were with me you insisted on my promise that I should be very candid with you in future regarding the state of my health. It was an injudicious engagement for me to make, or for you to exact. Why should I afflict those who love me?

I have been very ill, but, under good treatment, am now much better. The pains came on with violence, accompanied by numbness and chilliness in the limbs, and general exhaus-

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\* See "Recollections of a Literary Life; or Books, Places, and People." By Mary Russell Mitford. Vol. I. chap. 2. "Hardress Cregan" in "The Collegians" appears to us much more French than either "Tresham" in "The Fetches" or "John Nowlan."

tion. So I set to work for the best advice. You were right in saying that the pains are not at all rheumatic or gouty. My most excellent, as well as eminent, medical friend, after a long examination of me, touching my pursuits and mode of life for some years, and a careful consideration of the symptoms, decides that the brain pan, or my substitute for such, has been overworked; and that nervous debility, locally producing my ailment, has been the result. His treatment is preventive as well as stimulating. I am interdicted from much study of any kind; desired to take my ease; to live well, at the same time that I swallow tonics, and submit my poor body to the shower bath. My dear Michael, this is a hard sentence against me. If I am not to study, what am I to do? But let me not murmur. Let me not forget the goodness of God to one so unbefriended as I was, nor anticipate the withdrawal of his guardianship. With his help I shall mend, and the prospect will brighten again.

By the way, I shall never forget the first morning I took a shower bath. A shock I had reckoned on, but for the tremendous one I felt, my mind had made no provision. I had scarcely touched the string, and brought down the first shower, when I manfully plunged straight forward, bursting open the door of the bath, and allowing the water to inundate the room. To heighten the scene, Ellen and a favourite cat were slumbering in bed in the next apartment, and when they heard the mixed commotion, they repeatedly manifested, each in her own way, their extreme astonishment and alarm thereat.

To return; I said I am much better, and but for the diabolical London weather that surrounds me, enough to relax the system of the big metal Achilles in Hyde Park, I should be better still.

It is some time since I have written to you: I did not care to annoy you when I was very ill, and I dare not, after my engagement, misrepresent facts. As far as acute torture, sleepless nights, and total prostration of frame could go, my worst enemies need not have wished me to suffer more.

The second series go on right well; but the publisher says they are too strongly written, too harrowing, and, in parts, too warm and impure. The latter portion of this judgment, I regret to say, is merited. I have made a mistake, and must not again fall into the same error.

Now a word or two as to yourself. I like the sketch you have sent me extremely well. You tell me you have read extensively, and that you have good materials for a story, if you thought yourself able to turn them to account. I tell you that you are able. One of your greatest drawbacks is your mean opinion of yourself. If we do not feel that we have power we will not attempt to exercise it. I saw and said from the beginning, from my view of your first scrap of Crohoore, that you had the requisite qualifications; and now, when my opinion has been strengthened by that of the public, I urge you to think better of yourself—go on with your intended tale—I will handle it as before—have confidence in yourself, and, with God's help, the result will please you.

Now—here goes for an effort: I will walk to the next post office as well as I can, to drop in this letter, then home to a rib of beef, and then 'the people over the water'—hip, hip, hurra!

This with best heart's love from Ellen and from

J. B."

"The last paragraph of this letter," writes Michael, "may require explanation.

"At home in Kilkenny, as the clock struck six on each Christmas evening, all glasses were filled to the brim: when the last vibration ceased, my father raised his bumper, and gave the toast—

**'HEALTH AND LONG LIFE TO POOR JOHN AND ELLEN FAR AWAY.'**

By agreement, as the clock struck the same hour in London (we overlooked the difference of time) there was the answering toast of—

**'HEALTH AND HAPPINESS TO ALL AT HOME.'**

Even when our mother was no longer able to leave her bed her glass of wine was brought to her, and she joined in the pledge from the inner room."

The succeeding portions of this Biography are the records of the most interesting periods of John Banim's existence. To many friends of his, who have, since our last paper appeared, communicated with us, our sincerest thanks are given, for details of incidents connected with various events occurring in the years of which we have yet to write. In all these details, in all the materials for this Biography in our possession, we find the same spirit of independence pervading each; an in-

domitable resolution to work—to work despite bodily pain—to make that great truth, *LABORARE EST ORARE*, the guiding principle of each day's toil. "Many men," writes Julius Hare, "spend their lives in gazing at their own shadows, and so dwindle away into shadows thereof." Not thus John Banim; he had hopes and aspirations, but no shadows; shadows are but the fancy-created children of day-dreamers, and pass away as we enter upon the reality of the world—its honest toils, its earnest efforts.

And if it shall be said that in Banim's fiction there is too much of the sombre hue; that pain and grief are too frequently, with the fiercer passions, made the topics of his novels, the reader will ask, are not these the points in the drama of existence; was not John Banim writing the innermost experiences of his own soul and of his own feelings; was he not proving by writing thus that thought expressed by Henry Taylor, "Out of the heart are the issues of life, and out of the life are the issues of poetry"—that is of genius?

### ART. III.—THE POETS OF LABOR.

1. *Poems.* By Robert Nicoll. Second Edition: With Numerous Additions, and a Memoir of the Author. Edinburgh: Tait. 1842.
2. *The Ballad of Babe Christabel, with other Lyrical Poems.* By Gerald Massey. Fourth Edition: Revised and Enlarged. London: Bogue. 1854.

We have, in *THE IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW*, written of the poets of Conviviality and of the poets of Fashion,\* and why should we not write of the poets of Labor: not, of necessity, of those who have sung of Labor, but of those who, springing from the sons of toil, have obeyed the instinct of Genius, and have burst into song? Where can we find love, and kindness, and self-denial, and heroic patience, shining with so glowing a glory as amongst the poor? True, they have their vices, the clouds upon their brightness, as have the rich—there are foul quagmires upon the hills as well as in the valleys—but in the deep feelings with which our great common

\* See Vol. III., No. 9, p. 120: Do. No. 11, p. 626.

mother, Nature, imbues us, she gives to the poor, through the harsh training of suffering, the most exquisite sense, the most perfect acquaintance with all the joys and woes, the smiles and tears of life. True, these feelings and experiences can not produce a poet who will compose an epic poem—but every day existence has nothing epic about it.

But although this life of the poor may not be epic in its traits, it has pathos and passion, such as the lives of the rich can never present. There is not an alley of our cities, not a hamlet of our counties, but has its humble households where, amidst the lowly, sordid, grasping cares of busy life, great deeds of holy worth are done, known but to the actors, and the Omniscient Father of the poor and of the rich.

We have heard it said—there can be no true poetry amongst the poor. Is there no feeling, no hope, no love, no hate, amongst the poor? and what are all these but Nature, and what is Poetry but the uttered spirit of Nature. Who reads *The Cottar's Saturday Night* and denies that there is poetry amongst the poor? Who reads *The Gentle Shepherd* and declares that there is no poetry amongst the poor? And then Crabbe,

“ —Nature's sternest painter, yet the best ;”

take Crabbe, who made the woes and wrongs of the poor his theme; take Crabbe who, as Ebenezer Elliott wrote, “ clasps his hideous mistress in his arms, and she rewards him with her confidence, by telling him all her dreadful secrets,”—take Crabbe,—from first to last of his works is not poetry drawn from the every day life of the poor? Wordsworth, too, has found poetry in the life of that sad one who said,

“ And homeless near a thousand homes I stood,  
And near a thousand tables pined and wanted food.”\*

From Crabbe and Wordsworth, but chiefly from the former, our Poets of Labor have derived their inspiration. Doubtless Burns has had a very considerable share in forming this section of writers, but he alone could never have been the founder of this band.

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\* Could Hood have had these lines from “The Female Vagrant” in mind, when writing the following, in “The Bridge of Sighs”—

“Oh! it was pitiful  
Near a whole city full,  
Home she had none.”

And how that spirit of poesy enters into the soul of the Poet of Labor : it becomes the object of his life ; the witching, luring, temptress, blinding him to every consequence, and hurrying him onward to beggary, or to that fame which comes to men of his order as a curse. Warnings and cautions are unheeded ; the enchantress holds them in her toils ; the shores where the Syrens dwelt were covered by the bones of those who had been the victims of temptation, yet over these bones youths passed enslaved by the same longings and desires, and so it is with those of whom we write—the Muse is the Syren, the highways of life are her shore.\*

Amongst the most remarkable of our Poets of Labor are those the titles of whose works we have placed as the heading of this paper : Nicoll formed by the genius of Burns and of Elliott ; Massey owing his first inspiration to Elliott, his latest to Tennyson. And when one comes to consider the social position of these two men ; the hard struggles ; the earnest, longing, love of books ; the aspirations felt even in childhood ; the fire of poetry—the light of Genius—burning brightly in their souls, even amidst the depressing, chilling horrors of poverty, neglect, and hardship, how gloriously the melody and vigor of their lines fall upon the ear, and we discern a charm far above the charm of thought and rhythm in the poems of the Cow Herd and of the Factory Boy.

And herein, too, in judging these men, we learn another solemn truth—that the poet and the man are one ; that poetry is, and ever must be, “the fruit of the whole moral, spiritual, intellectual, and practical being.” Hence it is that the early days dreamed and wondered away amidst the quiet scenes of Auchtergaven, where he read, in his twelfth year, the *Waverley Novels*, whilst herding the cows, have given an exquisite gentleness to the thoughts of Nicoll, being but the reflection of his own mind so formed in these early years. Hence it is that Gerald Massey, “dragged up” into manhood amidst the cold, iron, hardships of manufacturing town life, shrieks defiance at all the world of oppressors ; or, turning to that only link binding him to humanity—his wife—his love breaks forth in strains that prove his existence to be passion—great, noble, if properly guided—whole-heart passion ;—and whether he shouts in the fierce agony of one who suffers yet cannot strike,

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\* See “Essays and Selections,” by Basil Montagu. London : Pickering, 1837.



Scurry stones will talk with fiery tongues,  
 And the worm, when trodden, will turn;  
 But, Cowards, ye cringe to the cruellest wrongs,  
 And answer with never a spurn.  
 Then torture, O Tyrants, the spiritless drove,  
 Old England's Helots will bear;  
 There's no hell in their hatred, no God in their love,  
 Nor shame in their dearth's despair.  
 For our Fathers are praying for Pauper-pay,  
 Our Mothers with Death's kiss are white;  
 Our Sons are the rich man's Serfs by day,  
 And our Daughters his Slaves by night.

or whether he cries enraptured—

One morning, my Love, like another Eve, found me :  
 She lookt, and a maelstrom of joy whirl'd my bosom ;  
 She smiled, and my being ran billes to the brim :  
 She spake, and my eager heart flusht into blossom ;  
 Dear Heaven ! 'twas the music set to my Life's hymn !  
 And up went my soul to God, shouting for glöe,  
 " I love my Love, and my Love loves me."

he is still himself—his heart, his being, his individuality are in his poem. Truly does he tell us—

" I keep my political verses as memorials of my past, as one might keep some worn-out garment because he had passed through the furnace in it, nothing doubting that in the future they will often prove my passport to the hearts and homes of thousands of the poor, when the minstrel comes to their door with something better to bring them. They will know that I have suffered their sufferings, wept their tears, thought their thoughts, and felt their feelings ; and they will trust me.

I have been congratulated by some correspondents on the uses of suffering, and the riches I have wrung from Poverty : as though it were a blessed thing to be born in the condition in which I was, and surrounded with untoward circumstances as I have been. My experience tells me that Poverty is inimical to the development of Humanity's noblest attributes. Poverty is a never-ceasing struggle for the means of living, and it makes one hard and selfish. To be sure, noble lives have been wrought out in the sternest poverty. Many such are being wrought out now, by the unknown heroes and martyrs of the Poor. I have known men and women in the very worst circumstances, to whom heroism seemed a heritage, and to be noble a natural way of living. But they were so in spite of their poverty, and not because of it. What they might have been if the world had done better by them, I cannot tell ; but if their minds had been enriched by culture, the world had been the gainer. When Christ said, 'Blessed are they who suffer,' he did not speak of those who suffer from want and hunger, and who always see the Bastille looming up and blotting out the sky of their future. Such suffering brutalizes. True,—natures ripen and strengthen in suffering ; but it is that suffering which chastens and ennobles,—that which clears the spiritual sight,—not the anxiety lest work should fail, and the want of daily bread. The beauty of Suffering is not to be read in the face of Hunger."

And thus too it was with Robert Nicoll : " I have written," he stated in a letter to a friend, " my *heart* in my poems ; and rude,

unfinished, and hasty as they are, it can be read there:—truly and openly he wrote his heart in these poems,—and when he tells us :—

"A pleasant thing it is to mind  
O' youthfu' thoughts an' things,—  
To pu' the fruit that on the tree  
Of Memory ripely hings,—

To live again the happiest hours  
Of happy days gane by,—  
To dream again as I ha'e dreamed  
When I was herdin' kye!"

or when he writes :—

"His skin may be black, or his skin may be white,—  
We carena a fig, if his bosom be right;  
Though his claes be in rags, an' the wind blawin' through,  
We'll honour the man who is honest and true!"

he is but writing his own heart ; but disclosing all its love of that land,

"Where heaven taught to Robert Burns  
It's hymns in language drest ;"

Disclosing all its adoration of nature's beauty, all its ever gushing admiration of honesty, and honor, and independence of character. In pathos and in feeling, Nicoll excels Massey ; but in vigor, in fire, and in sustained strength, the latter is superior. There is however, another quality possessed in an eminent degree by Nicoll, and one of which Massey discovers no traits whatever—humor. We do not imply that Massey is not tender—but his tenderness, his pathos becomes intensified into passion, a passion very frequently bursting into fierceness. Born in poverty, growing up amidst hardships, he is indeed but the "child of misery, baptized in tears;" and all his feelings have been forced into what some of his critics have termed exaggeration. But is it exaggeration ? If he, like Nicoll, writes "his heart in his poems," if from the weary days of sorrow, if from the hope crushing, mind scathing woes of a youth that had nothing of youth surrounding it, he has come forth, as Alexander Smith sings—

"To fling a poen, like a comet, out,"

what could he write now, but the wild fierce memories of haunting griefs of days when peace went all adrift ; when the future seemed a black lone sea of blank despair, and far away upon its waves, guideless, went hope, and nothing was in hope but death. Is there, in all the records of human sorrow, a more affecting account than the following, inserted in Massey's work :—

"At eight years of age, Gerald Massey went into the silk-manufactory, rising at five o'clock in the morning, and toiling there till half past-six in the evening ; up in the grey dawn, or in the winter before the daylight, and trudging to the factory through the wind, or in the snow ; seeing the sun only through the factory windows ;

breathing an atmosphere laden with rank oily vapour, his ears deafened by the roar of incessant wheels :—

' Still all the day the iron wheels go onward,  
Grinding life down from its mark ;  
And the children's souls, which God is calling sunward,  
Spin on blindly in the dark.'

What a life for a child ! What a substitute for tender prattle, for childish glee, for youthful playtime ! Then home shivering under the cold, starless sky, on Saturday nights, with 9d., 1s., or 1s. 3d., for the whole week's work ; for such were the respective amounts of the wages earned by the child labour of Gerald Massey.

But the mill was burned down, and the children held jubilee over it. The boy stood for twelve hours in the wind, and sleet, and mud, rejoicing in the conflagration which thus liberated him. Who can wonder at this ? Then he went to straw-plaiting,—as toilsome, and, perhaps, more unwholesome than factory-work. Without exercise, in a marshy district, the plaiters were constantly having racking attacks of ague. The boy had the disease for three years, ending with tertian ague. Sometimes four of the family, and the mother, lay ill at one time, all crying with thirst, with no one to give them drink, and each too weak to help the other. How little do we know of the sufferings endured by the poor and struggling classes of our population, especially in our rural districts ! No press echoes their wants, or records their sufferings ; and they live almost as unknown to us as if they were the inhabitants of some undiscovered country.

And now take, as an illustration, the child-life of Gerald Massey. ' Having had to earn my own dear bread,' he says, ' by the eternal cheapening of flesh and blood thus early, I never knew what childhood meant. I had no childhood. Ever since I can remember, I have had the aching fear of want, throbbing in heart and brow. The currents of my life were early poisoned, and few, methinks, would pass unscathed through the scenes and circumstances in which I have lived ; none, if they were as curious and precocious as I was. The child comes into the world like a new coin with the stamp of God upon it ; and in like manner as the Jews sweat down sovereigns, by hustling them in a bag to get gold-dust out of them, so is the poor man's child hustled and sweated down in this bag of society to get wealth out of it ; and even as the impress of the Queen is effaced by the Jewish process, so is the image of God worn from heart and brow, and day by day the child recedes devil-ward. I look back now with wonder, not that so few escape, but that any escape at all, to win a nobler growth for their humanity. So blighting are the influences which surround thousands in early life, to which I can bear such bitter testimony.'

And how fared the growth of this child's mind the while ? Thanks to the care of his mother, who had sent him to the penny school, he had learnt to read, and the desire to read had been awakened. Books, however, were very scarce. The Bible and Bunyan were the principal ; he committed many chapters of the former to memory, and accepted all Bunyan's allegory as *bona fide* history. Afterwards he obtained access to 'Robinson Crusoe' and a few Wesleyan tracts left at the cottage. These constituted his sole reading, until

he came up to London, at the age of fifteen, as an errand boy; and now, for the first time in his life, he met with plenty of books, reading all that came in his way, from 'Lloyd's Penny Times,' to Cobbett's Works, 'French without a Master,' together with English, Roman and Grecian history. A ravishing awakening ensued,—the delightful sense of growing knowledge,—the charm of new thought,—the wonders of a new world. 'Till then,' he says, 'I had often wondered why I lived at all,—whether

'It was not better not to be,  
I was so full of misery.'

Now I began to think that the crown of all desire, and the sum of all existence, was to read and get knowledge. Read! read! read! I used to read at all possible times, and in all possible places; up in bed till two or three in the morning,—nothing daunted by once setting the bed on fire. Greatly indebted was I also to the book-stalls, where I have read a great deal, often folding a leaf in a book, and returning the next day to continue the subject; but sometimes the book was gone, and then great was my grief! When out of a situation, I have often gone without a meal to purchase a book. Until I fell in love, and began to rhyme as a matter of consequence, I never had the least predilection for poetry. In fact, I always eschewed it; if I ever met with any, I instantly skipped it over, and passed on, as one does with the description of scenery, &c., in a novel. I always loved the birds and flowers, the woods and the stars; I felt delight in being alone in a summer-wood, with song, like a spirit, in the trees, and the golden sun-bursts glinting through the verdurous roof; and was conscious of a mysterious creeping of the blood, and tingling of the nerves, when standing alone in the starry midnight, as in God's own presence-chamber. But until I began to rhyme, I cared nothing for written poetry. The first verses I ever made were upon 'Hope', when I was utterly hopeless; and after I had begun, I never ceased for about four years, at the end of which time I rushed into print.'

There was, of course, crudeness both of thought and expression in the first verses of the poet, which were published in a provincial paper. But there was nerve, rhythm, and poetry: the burthen of the song was, 'At eventime it shall be light.' The leading idea of the poem was the power of knowledge, virtue, and temperance to elevate the condition of the poor,—a noble idea truly. Shortly after, he was encouraged to print a shilling volume of 'Poems and Chansons,' in his native town of Tring, of which some 250 copies were sold. Of his later poems we shall afterwards speak.

But a new power was now working upon his nature, as might have been expected,—the power of opinion, as expressed in books, and in the discussions of his fellow-workers.

'As an errand-boy,' he says, 'I had, of course, many hardships to undergo, and to bear with much tyranny; and that led me into reasoning upon men and things, the causes of misery, the anomalies of our societary state, politics, &c., and the circle of my being rapidly outsurged. New power came to me with all that I saw, and thought, and read. I studied political works,—such as Paine, Volney,

Howitt, Louis Blanc, &c., which gave me another element to mould into my verse, though I am convinced that a poet must sacrifice much if he write party-political poetry. His politics must be above the pinnacle of party zeal; the politics of eternal truth, right, and justice. He must not waste a life on what to-morrow may prove to have been merely the question of a day. The French Revolution of 1848 had the greatest effect on me of any circumstance connected with my own life. It was scarred and blood-burnt into the very core of my being."

"Dragged up" thus; seeing, and bitterer still, feeling the pitiable condition of his class, and "writing his heart," he proclaims, in

## THE PEOPLE'S ADVENT.

T is coming up the steep of Time,  
And this old world is growing brighter!  
We may not see its dawn sublime,  
Yet high hopes make the heart throb lighter.  
We may be sleeping in the ground,  
When it awakes the world in wonder;  
But we have felt it gathering round,  
And heard its voice of living thunder.  
T is coming! yea, 't is coming!

T is coming now, the glorious time,  
Foretold by Seers, and sung in story;  
For which, when thinking was a crime,  
Souls leapt to heaven from scaffolds gory!  
They pass'd, nor see the work they wrought,  
Nor the crown'd hopes of centuries blossom!  
But the live lighting of their thought  
And daring deeds, doth pulse Earth's bosom.  
T is coming! yea, 't is coming!

Creds, Empires, Systems, rot with age,  
But the great People's ever youthful!  
And it shall write the Future's page,  
To our humanity more truthful!

The gnarliest heart hath tender chords,  
To waken at the name of "Brother;"  
And time comes when brain-scorpion words  
We shall not speak to sting each other.  
T is coming! yea, 't is coming!

Out of the light, ye Priests, nor fling  
Your dark, cold shadows on us longer!  
Aside! thou world-wide curse, call'd King!  
The People's step is quicker, stronger.  
There's a Divinity within  
That makes men great, whene'er they will it.

God works with all who dare to win,  
And the time cometh to reveal it.  
T is coming! yea, 't is coming!

Freedom! the tyrants kill thy braves,  
Yet in our memories live the sleepers;  
And, tho' doom'd millions feed the graves,  
Dug by Death's fierce, red-handed reapers,

The world shall not for ever bow  
To things which mock God's own endeavour;

T is nearer than they wot of now,  
When flowers shall wreath the sword for ever.

T is coming! yea, 't is coming!

\* The following lines, by Ebenezer Elliott, are worthy to follow this extract:—

"The day was fair, the cannon roar'd,  
Cold blew the bracing north,  
And Preston's Mills by thousands pour'd  
Their little captives forth.

All in their best they paced the street,  
All glad that they were free;  
And sang a song with voices sweet—  
They sang of liberty!

But from their lips the rose had fled,  
Like 'death-in-life' they smiled;  
And still as each pass'd by, I said,  
Alas! is that a child?

Flags waved, and men—a ghastly crew—  
March'd with them side by side;  
While hand in hand, and two by two,  
They moved—a living tide.

Thousands and thousands—oh, so white!  
With eyes so glazed and dull!  
Alas! it was indeed a sight  
Too sadly beautiful!

And oh, the pang their voices gave  
Refuses to depart!  
This is a wailing for the grave!  
I whisper'd to my heart.

It was as if, where roses blush'd,  
A sudden, blasting gale,  
O'er field of bloom had rudely rush'd,  
And turned the roses pale.

It was as if, in glen and grove,  
The wild birds sadly sung;  
And every linnet mourn'd its love,  
And every thrush its young.

It was as if, in dungeon gloom,  
Where chain'd Despair reclined,  
A sound came from the living tomb,  
And hymn'd the passing wind.

And while they sang, and though they smiled,

My soul groan'd heavily—  
Oh! who would wish to have a child!  
A mother who would be!"

Fraternity ! Love's other name !  
 Dear, heaven-connecting link of Being !  
 Then shall we grasp thy golden dream.  
 As souls, full-statured, grow far-seeing.  
 Thou shalt unfold our better part,  
 And in our Life-cup yield more honey ;  
 Light up with joy the poor man's heart,  
 And Love's own world with smiles more  
 sunny.  
 'T is coming ! yes, 't is coming !

Ay, it must come ! The Tyrant's throne  
 Is crumbling, with our hot tears rusted ;  
 The Sword earth's mighty have leant on  
 Is canker'd, with our heart's blood  
 crusted.  
 Room ! for the men of Mind make way !  
 Ye robber Rulers, pause no longer ;  
 Ye cannot stay the opening day :  
 The world rolls on, the light grows  
 stronger,—  
 The People's Advent's coming !

Although not reared amongst the whirring steam engines, or surrounded by sights so miserable as those described by Gerald Massey, Robert Nicoll's childhood was spent in poverty, his youth was a struggle against difficulty and disease.

He was born on the 7th of January, 1814, in the parish of Auchtergaven, in Perthshire. His father was, at Robert's birth, a respectable farmer ; but, having become surety to the amount of £600, for a relative, who failed and absconded, he was forced to sell his farm to defray the debt, and he became, in Robert's second year, a day-laborer upon the fields, which he had recently held in his own possession. At nine months old Robert could speak as infants speak ; at eighteen months he knew his letters, and in his fifth year he could read the New Testament, and his mother was his teacher. In an account of his early life, written for a friend, he observes, after relating his father's misfortune :—

"He was ruined 'out of house and hold.' From that day to this, he has gained his own and his children's bread by the sweat of his brow. I was then too young to know the full extent of our misfortunes ; but, young as I was, I saw and felt a great change. My mother, in her early years, was an ardent book-woman. When she became poor, her time was too precious to admit of its being spent in reading, and I generally read to her while she was working ; for she took care that her children should not want education. Ever since I can remember, I was a keen and earnest reader. Before I was six years of age, I read every book that came in my way, and had gone twice through my grandfather's small collection, though I had never been at school.

"When I had attained my sixth year, I was sent to the parish school, which was three miles distant, and I generally read going and returning. To this day, I can walk as quickly as my neighbours, and read at the same time with the greatest ease. I was sent to the herding at seven years of age, and continued herding all summer, and attending school all winter with my 'fee' "

In a few notes written by Nicoll's younger brother, Mr. William Nicoll, now of Glasgow, in adverting to Robert's childhood, it is stated :—

"Even at this early period, Robert was a voracious reader, and

never went to the herding without a 'book in his plaid, and he generally read both going and returning from school. From his studious disposition, though a favourite with the other boys from his sweetness of temper, he hardly ever went by any other name than *The Minister*. When about twelve, he was taken from herding, and sent to work in the garden of a neighbouring proprietor. With the difference, that he had now less time for reading than before, the change in his employment made very little change in his habits. He went to school during the winter as usual."

His school education consisted of two years attendance upon a young student named Marshal, attendance for short periods in two other schools, and six weeks instruction in the parish school Monedie. He seems to have learned little beyond writing and accounts, with some slight knowledge of Geometry. Of languages, save the English, he never acquired more than the Latin rudiments. Whilst attending Marshall, being then in his twelfth year, a book club was established in a neighbouring village, and of it, and of his after reading, he gave the following account, in the sketch of his life to which we have already referred :—

"When I had saved a sufficient quantity of silver coin, I became a member. I had previously devoured all the books to be got in the parish for love, and I soon devoured all those in the library for money. Besides, by that time I began to get larger 'fees,' (the Scotch word is the best,) and I was able to pay 1s. 6d. a month, for a month or two, to a bookseller in Perth, for reading. From him I got many new works; and among the rest the *Waverley Novels*. With them I was enchanted. They opened up new sources of interest, and thought, of which I before knew nothing. I can yet look with no common feelings on the wood, in which, while herding, I read *Kenilworth*.

"As nearly as I can remember, I began to write my thoughts when I was thirteen years of age, and continued to do so at intervals until I was sixteen, when, despairing of ever being able to write the English language correctly, I made a bonfire of my papers, and wrote no more till I was eighteen.

"My excursive course of reading, among both poets and prosers, gave me many pleasures of which my fellows knew nothing; but it likewise made me more sensitive to the insults and degradations that a dependent must suffer. You cannot know the horrors of dependence; but I have felt them, and have registered a vow in heaven, that I shall be independent, though it be but on a crust and water.

"To further my progress in life, I bound myself apprentice to Mrs. J. H. Robertson, wine-merchant and grocer in Perth. When I came to Perth, I bought Cobbett's *English Grammar*, and by constant study soon made myself master of it, and then commenced writing as before; and you know the result.

"When I first came to Perth, a gentleman lent me his right to the

Perth Library, and thus I procured many works I could not get before; Milton's Prose Works, Locke's Works, and, what I prized more than all, a few of Bentham's, with many other works in various departments of literature and science, which I had not had the good fortune to read before.

"I was twenty years of age in the month of January last; and my apprenticeship expires in September next. By that time I hope, by close study, to have made myself a good French scholar; and I intend, if I can raise the monies, to emigrate to the United States of North America.

"I do not rate my literary productions too highly; but they have all a definite purpose—that of trying to raise the many. I am a Radical in every sense of the term, and I must stand by my order. I am employed in working for my mistress from seven o'clock in the morning until nine o'clock at night; and I must therefore write when others are asleep. During winter, to sit without fire is a hard task: but summer is now coming—and then!"

Whilst residing in Perth it was his custom to rise, during the summer, at five o'clock, and proceeding to the North Inch, he seated himself there and read and wrote in the open air until seven o'clock, at which hour his employer's shop was opened; he also joined a debating society of young men, and its object appears to have been partly political and partly literary. At one of these meetings he read a story entitled *Il Zingaro*, which he sent to Johnstone's Magazine; it was accepted and printed, and thus in his eighteenth year, (1832) he made his first appearance as an author. Having injured himself internally by incautiously lifting a heavy weight, and having increased the injury by too assiduous study, he was obliged to return to his native air, through the effect of which he rapidly recovered, and set out for Edinburgh in search of employment; he could obtain none, but having been introduced to Robert Chambers and Robert Gilfillan, and either through their encouragement, or from the natural bent of his own mind, he resolved to devote his whole attention to literature; and as a further means of support, he was induced to open a circulating library in Dundee, which he was enabled to do through the slight assistance of his friends and his own frugal and self-denying habits.

It will have been perceived that in politics he was a radical. He delivered political lectures, made speeches, and read much, and wrote largely and frequently for the liberal newspapers of the town; and, in addition, prepared his volume of *Poems and Lyrics*. The work was put to press in one of the newspaper offices of Dundee, and the cost was almost defrayed by the subscriptions of the young workmen of the town; Mr. Tait, of Edinburgh,



consenting to become the publisher. Being unable, owing to his want of capital, and to his literary occupations, to carry on the library, he assigned it to a young man whom he had some short time previously taken into partnership; besides he had fallen in love with a niece of the editor of one of the papers to which he contributed, and was anxious to discover some more certain means of obtaining a livelihood. To add to his troubles he had involved his mother in pecuniary engagements to the amount of twenty pounds, which, though a small sum, was a very considerable loss to her. Shortly before disposing of the library he wrote thus to his mother:—

“Half the unhappiness of life springs from looking back to griefs which are past, and forward with fear to the future. That is not my way. I am determined never to bend to the storm that is coming, and never to look back on it after it has passed. Fear not for me, dear mother; for I feel myself daily growing firmer, and more hopeful in spirit. The more I think and reflect—and thinking, instead of reading, is now my occupation—I feel that, whether I be growing richer or not, I am growing a wiser man, which is far better. Pain, poverty, and all the other wild beasts of life which so affright others, I am so bold as to think I could look in the face without shrinking, without losing respect for myself, faith in man's high destinies, and trust in God. There is a point which it costs much mental toil and struggling to gain, but which, when once gained, a man can look down from, as a traveller from a lofty mountain, on storms raging below, while he is walking in sunshine. That I have yet gained this point in life I will not say, but I feel myself daily nearer it.”

In 1836 he determined to remove to London, but upon reaching Edinburgh he was offered employment by Mr. Tait, and shortly afterwards he obtained, through the intervention of the same kind friend, the situation of editor of *The Leeds Times*, with the salary of one hundred pounds per annum. He rendered this paper a very able advocate of radicalism, and waged a fierce warfare with the opposite organ, *The Leeds Mercury*.

In December, 1836, he married Miss Alice Suter, the young lady to whom we have already referred. She possessed considerable beauty, was about two years younger than her husband, but of constitution more delicate than his own. Their wedded life was happy, and he stated that, from the period of his marriage to his death, he never dined out of his own lodgings.

The spring of 1837 was cold and harsh, and it developed the disease under which Nicoll laboured; this attack was rendered

still more violent by the exertions which Nicoll felt himself bound to make in aiding to secure the return of Sir William Molesworth, who contested the representation of Leeds with Sir John Beckett. Nicoll was ordered to seek his native air at once; there his health improved, and he removed to Knaresborough, where lodgings were provided for him by a friend. Whilst residing at Knaresborough he wrote the following letter to his brother, and we insert it as a very beautiful expression of thought and feeling:—

“KNARESBOROUGH, 10th October, 1837.

“MY OWN DEAR KIND BROTHER,—Both your letters have been received, and I would have answered them long ago, had I been able. I came to this place, which is near Harrowgate, and eighteen miles from Leeds, about a fortnight ago; but I feel very little better for the change. My bowels are better; but I am miserably weak, and can eat little. My arm is as thin as that of a child a month old. Yet, it is strange, that with all this illness and weakness, I feel as it were no pain. My breast, cough, and all have not been so well for years. I feel no sickness; but as sound and wholesome as ever I did. The length of time I have been ill and my weakness alone frighten me; but whether I am to die or live, is in a wiser hand. I have been so long ill I grow peevish and discontented sometimes; but on the whole I keep up my spirits wonderfully. Alice bears up, and hopes for the best, as she ought to do. Oh, Willie! I wish I had you here for one day,—so much, much I have to say about them all, in case it should end for the worst. It may not, but we should be prepared. I go home to Leeds again on Friday.

“Thank you for your kind dear letter; it brought sunshine to my sick weariness. I cried over it like a child. Sickness has its pains, but it has likewise its pleasures. From ———, and others, I have received such kind, kind letters; and the London Working-Men's Association, to whom I am known but by my efforts in the cause, have written me a letter of condolence filled with the kindest hopes and wishes.

“I have just received another letter from Tait, which made me weep with joy, and which will have the same effect upon you. He bids me send to him for money, if I need it; and urges me to leave Leeds and the paper instantly, and come to Edinburgh, where there is a house ready for me; and there to live, and attend to nothing but my health till I get better. He urges me to this with a father's kindness; and bids me feel neither care nor anxiety on any account. . . . And so delicately, too, he offers and urges all this. How can I ever repay this man and the Johnstones for such kindness.—Should I do this? I know not. You admire my articles: they are written almost in torment.

“You will go to Tulliebeltane on Sunday, and read this letter to them. Tell them all this. I wish my mother to come here immediately to consult with her. I wish to see her. I think a sight

of her would cure me. I am sure a breath of Scottish air would. Whenever I get well I could get a dozen editorships in a week, for I have now a name and a reputation.

"My mother must come immediately. Yet I feel regret at leaving the paper, even for a season. Think on all that you, and I, and millions more have suffered by the system I live to war against, and then you will join with me in thinking every hour misspent which is not devoted to the good work.

"Dear, dear Willie, give my love to them all,—to my parents—to Joe—to Maggie—to Charlie—to aunt—to grandfather. Write, to say when my mother comes. Write often, often, and never mind postage. I have filled my paper, and have not said half of what I wished. I can do nothing till I see my mother. I cannot find words to say how I feel Tait's kindness. Write soon. I have much more to say, but I am tired writing. This is the most beautiful country you ever saw, but I have no heart to enjoy it.—God bless you,

ROBERT NICOLL."

He was ordered again to return to his native place, and he left Leeds accompanied by his wife, his mother, and his mother-in-law, intending to proceed from Hull to Leith. As he was seated in the railway carriage he was met, for the first and last time, by the man who afterwards proclaimed him—"Scotland's second Burns"—Ebenezer Elliott.

He arrived at Leith towards the end of October, and went to a friend's house in the neighbourhood. Here he was visited by Doctor Andrew Combe, and his nephew, Doctor Cox. He seemed to rally, and his mother returned to her home, sending to him his sister and his brother. Sir William Molesworth sent him a very kind letter, enclosing fifty pounds, but he did not long outlive the receipt of this timely supply. A few days after it reached him his disease assumed its worst and most aggravated form. His father and mother were informed of his condition; they were too poor to hire a conveyance, but, upon receiving the intimation late on a December day, they set out for Leith, and walking all night they reached the death-bed of their son a few hours before he expired.\*

Robert Nicoll died in the month of December, 1837, in the 24th year of his age, and was buried in the church-yard of North Leith. "Burns," writes Ebenezer Elliott, "at his age

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\* His family were so poor that when his mother came to see him, on the occasion of his first illness in 1837, she defrayed the expenses of the journey to Leeds by the wages which she received while working as a reaper in the fields by the wayside; her words were, "I shore for the siller."

had done nothing like him. Unstained and pure, at the age of twenty-three, died Scotland's second Burns; happy in this, that without having been a 'blasphemer, a persecutor, and injurious,' he chose, like Paul, the right path; and when the Terrible Angel said to his youth, 'Where is the *wise*?—where is the *scribe*?—where is the *disputer*?—Hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world?'—he could and did answer, '*By the grace of God, I am what I am.*'"

During his residence in Leeds, Nicoll wrote several short poems; but two only of these were published during his lifetime, and appeared in *Tait's Magazine*. The following poem was written during his last severe illness, and is believed to be the last of his compositions:—

## DEATH.

THE dew is on the Summer's greenest grass,  
Through which the modest daisy blushing peeps;  
The gentle wind that like a ghost doth pass,  
A waving shadow on the corn-field keeps;  
But I who love them all shall never be  
Again among the woods, or on the moorland lea!

The sun shines sweetly—sweeter may it shine!—  
Bless'd is the brightness of a Summer day;  
It cheers lone hearts; and why should I repine,  
Although among green fields I cannot stray!  
Woods! I have grown, since last I heard you wave,  
Familiar with death, and neighbour to the grave!

These words have shaken mighty human souls—  
Like a sepulchre's echo drear they sound—  
E'en as the owl's wild whoop at midnight rolls  
The ivied remnants of old ruins round.  
Yet wherefore tremble? Can the soul decay?—  
Or that which thinks and feels in aught e'er fade away?

Are there not aspirations in each heart,  
After a better, brighter world than this?  
Longings for beings nobler in each part—  
Things more exalted—steeped in deeper bliss?  
Who gave us these? What are they? Soul! in thee  
The bud is budding now for immortality!

Death comes to take me where I long to be;  
One pang, and bright blooms the immortal flower;  
Death comes to lead me from mortality,  
To lands which know not one unhappy hour:—  
I have a hope—a faith;—from sorrow here  
I'm led by Death away—why should I start and fear?

If I have loved the forest and the field,  
Can I not love them deeper, better, there?  
If all that Power hath made, to me doth yield  
Something of good and beauty—something fair—  
Freed from the grossness of mortality,  
May I not love them all, and better all enjoy?

A change from woe to joy—from earth to heaven,  
Death gives me this—it leads me calmly where  
The souls that long ago from mine were riven  
May meet again! Death answers many a prayer.  
Bright day! shine on—be glad:—Days brighter far  
Are stretched before my eyes than those of mortals are!

I would be laid among the wildest flowers,  
 I would be laid where happy hearts can come :—  
 The worthless clay I heed not ; but in hours  
 Of gushing noontide joy, it may be, some  
 Will dwell upon my name, and I will be  
 A happy spirit there, Affection's look to see.

Death is upon me, yet I fear not now :—  
 Open my chamber window—let me look  
 Upon the silent vales—the sunny glow  
 That fills each alley, close, and copewood nook :—  
 I know them—love them—mourn not them to leave ;  
 Existence and its change my spirit cannot grieve !

We have written these biographical sketches of these two Poets of Labor, as we wished the reader to understand, as fully as ourselves, the principle upon which we contend that the genuine poetry of all such men must be the fruit of the whole moral and spiritual being ; that the poet and the man must be one—that every Poet of Labor must, as Nicoll declared he himself had done, “write his *heart* in his poems.”

What the moral and spiritual being of these two men is the reader knows—beauty, pathos, and vigor in the one ; energy, fire, pathos and passion in the other. In love, Nicoll is a lover, Massey an idolater ; in politics, Nicoll is a reformer, Massey a revolutionist. Take, for example, the manner in which each sings to his wife,—thus Nicoll to his

## ALICE.

My breast is press'd to thine, Alice ;  
 My arm is round thee twined ;  
 Thy breath dwells on my lip, Alice,  
 Like clover-scented wind :  
 Love glitters in thy sunny e's,  
 And blushes on thy brow ;  
 Earth's Heaven is here to thee and me,  
 For we are happy now !

Thy cheek is warm and soft, Alice,  
 As the summer laverock's breast ;  
 And Peace sleeps in thy soul, Alice,  
 Like the laverock on its nest !  
 Sweet ! lay thy heart aboon my heart,  
 For it is a thine ain ;  
 That morning love it gies to thee,  
 Which kens nae guile or stain !

Ik starn in yonder lift, Alice,  
 Is a love-lighted e'e,  
 Fit'd fu' o' gladsome tears, Alice,  
 While watching thee and me.  
 This twilight hour the thoughts run back,  
 Like moonlight on the streama,  
 Till the o'erladen heart grows grit  
 Wi' a' its earty dreams !

Langsyne among the hills, Alice,  
 Where wave the breckans green,  
 I wander'd by the burn, Alice,  
 Where fairy feet had been,—

While o'er me hung a vision sweet,  
 My heart will ne'er forget—  
 A dream o' Summer twilight times  
 When flowers wi' dew were wet !

I thought on a' the tales, Alice,  
 O' Woman's love and faith ;  
 Of Truth that smiled at Fear, Alice,  
 And Love that conquer'd Death ;  
 Affection blessing hearts and hames,  
 When joy was far awa,  
 And Fear and Hate ; but Love, O Love !  
 Aboon and over a' !

And then I thought wi' me, Alice,  
 Ane walk'd in beauty there—  
 A being made for love, Alice,  
 So pure, and good, and fair—  
 Who shared my soul—my every hour  
 O' sorrow and o' mirth ;  
 And when that dream was gone, my heart  
 Was lonely on the earth !

Ay, lonely grew the world, Alice—  
 A dreary hame to me ;  
 Without a bush or bield, Alice,  
 Or leafy sheltering tree ;  
 And aye as sough'd life's raging storm,  
 Wi' keen and eerie blaw,  
 My soul grew sad, and cold my heart,  
 I wish'd to be awa'.

But light came o'er my way, Alice,  
And life grew joy to me;  
The daisy in my path, Alice,  
Unclosed its gentle e'e;  
Love breath'd in lika wind that blew,  
And in ilk birdie's sang;  
Wi' sunny thoughts o' summer time  
The blithesome heart grew thrang.

My dreams o' youth and love, Alice,  
Were a' brought back again;  
And Hope upraised its head, Alice,  
Like the violet after rain:  
A sweeter maid was by my side  
Than things of dreams can be,  
First, precious love to her I gave,  
And, Alice, thou wert she!

' Here we have beautiful thoughts, tender, holy, and true.  
But thus sings Massey, in his deep-hearted love, to the *Poor Man's Wife* :—

#### A POOR MAN'S WIFE.

HER dainty hand nestled in mine, rich and  
white,  
And timid as trembling dove;  
And it twinkled about me, a jewel of light,  
As she garnisht our feast of love:  
'T was the queenliest hand in all lady-land,  
And she was a poor Man's wife!  
O! little ye'd think how that wee, white  
hand  
Could dare in the battle of Life.

Her heart it was lowly as maiden's might  
be,  
But hath climb'd to heroic height,  
And burn'd like a shield in defence of me,  
On the sorest field of fight!  
And startling as fire, it hath often flaught up  
In her eyes, the good heart and rare!  
As she drank down her half of our bitterest  
cup,  
And taught me how to bear.

Her sweet eyes that seem'd, with their  
smile sublime,  
Made to look me and light me to heaven,  
They have triumph'd thro' bitter tears  
many a time,  
Since their love to my life was given:

Nae lip can ever speak, Alice,  
Nae tongue can ever tell,  
The sunless love for thee, Alice,  
With which my heart doth swell!  
Pure as the thoughts of infants' souls,  
And innocent and young;  
Sic love was never tauld in sangs,  
Sic sangs were never sung!

My hand is on thy heart, Alice,  
Sae place thy hand in mine;  
Now, welcome weal and woe, Alice,  
Our love we canna time.  
Ae kiss! let others gather gowd  
Frae lika land and sea;  
My treasure is the richest yet,  
For, Alice, I ha'e thee!

And the maiden-meek voice of the womanly  
Wife  
Still bringeth the heavens nigher;  
For it rings like the voice of God over my  
life,  
Aye bidding me climb up higher.

I hardly dared think it was human, when  
I first lookt in her yearning face;  
For it shone as the heavens had open'd  
then,  
And clad it with glory and grace!  
But dearer its light of healing grew  
In our dark and desolate day,  
As the Rainbow, when heaven hath no  
break of blue,  
Smileth the storm away.

O! her shape was the lithest Loveliness,—  
Just an armful of heaven to enfold!  
But the form that bends flower-like in  
love's caress,  
With the Victor's strength is soul'd!  
In her worshipful presence transfigured I  
stand,  
And the poor Man's English home  
She lights with the Beauty of Greece the  
grand,  
And the glory of regaldest Rome.

In thoughts, showing poetic fancy, we think the crowning  
of our Poets of Labor a very difficult office of criticism. For  
tenderness and beauty of thought we know few poems finer  
than the following, Nicoll's *I Am Blind*.

#### I AM BLIND.

THE woodland! O! how beautiful,  
How pleasant it must be!  
How soft its grass—how fresh the leaves  
Upon each forest tree!  
I hear its wild rejoicing birds  
Their songs of gladness sing;  
To see them leap from bough to bough  
Must be a pleasant thing:  
I must but image it in mind,  
I cannot see it—I am blind!

I feel the fragrance of the flowers,—  
Go, pull me one, I pray:  
The leaves are green upon its stalk—  
'Tis richly red you say?  
O! it must full of beauty be—  
It hath a pleasant smell;  
Could I but see its loveliness  
My heart with joy would swell!  
I can but image it in mind—  
I ne'er shall see it—I am blind!

The trees are glorious green, you say—  
 Their branches widely spread;  
 And Nature on their budding leaves  
 Its nursing dew hath shed.  
 They must be fair; but what is green?  
 What is a spreading tree?  
 What is a shady woodland walk?  
 Say, canst thou answer me?  
 No! I may image them in mind,  
 But cannot know them—I am blind!

The songsters that so sweetly chant  
 Within the sky so fair,  
 Until my heart with joy doth leap,  
 As it a wild bird were—  
 How seem they to the light bless'd eye?  
 What! are they then so small?  
 Can sounds of such surpassing joy  
 From things so tiny fall?  
 I must but image them in mind  
 I cannot see them—I am blind!

A something warm comes o'er my hand;  
 What is it? pray thee tell:  
 Sunlight come down among the trees  
 Into this narrow dell?

Thou seest the sunlight and the sun,  
 And both are very bright!  
 'Tis well they are not known to me  
 Or I might loathe my night:  
 But I may image them in mind—  
 I ne'er shall see them—I am blind!  
 My hand is resting on your cheek—  
 'Tis soft as fleecy snow:  
 My sister, art thou very fair?  
 That thou art good, I know.  
 Thou art—thou art! I feel the blush  
 Along thy neck doth wend!  
 Thou must be fair—so carefully  
 Thy brother thou dost tend!  
 But I must image thee in mind—  
 I cannot see thee—I am blind!  
 The changes of the earth and sky—  
 All Nature's glow and gloom—  
 Must ever be unknown to me—  
 My soul is in a tomb!  
 O! I can feel the blessed sun,  
 Mirth, music, tears that fall,  
 And darkness sad, and joy, and woe,—  
 Yea, Nature's movements all:  
 But I must image them in mind—  
 I cannot see them—I am blind!

If the reader has ever seen that excellent lady, and admirable actress—Mrs. Charles Kean—in *King René's Daughter*, he will understand how exquisitely this description of the feelings of the blind are word-painted in the poem. Besides, to those who have studied the thoughts of the blind, this poem is as perfect in observation as that in which Wordsworth describes the earliest dawn of morning, and in which he tells us:—

"By this the stars were almost gone,  
 The moon was setting on the hill,  
 So pale you scarcely looked at her;  
 The little birds began to stir  
 Though yet their tongues were still."

There is, however, another poem in this volume, entitled *The Sick Child's Dream*, so beautiful, so pathetic, that we must insert it. Tennyson's *New-year's Eve*, has been compared with this; but, much as we admire the Laureate's genius, we do not think that in this instance he is victor:—

#### THE SICK CHILD'S DREAM.

O! mither, mither, my head was sair,  
 And my een wi' tears were weat;  
 But the pain has gane for evermair,  
 See mither dinna greet:  
 And I ha'e had sic a bonnie dream,  
 Since last asleep I fell,  
 O' a' that is haly an' gude to name,  
 That I've waken'd my dream to tell.  
 I thought on the morn o' a simmer day  
 That awa' through the clouds I flew,  
 While my silken hair did wavin' play  
 'Mang breezes steep'd in dew;  
 And the happy things o' life and light  
 Were around my gowden way,  
 As they stood in their parent Heaven's sight  
 In the hames o' nightless day.

An' sangs o' love that nae tongue may tell  
 Frae their hearts cam' flouin' free,  
 Till the starns stood still, while along did  
 swell  
 The plaintive melodie;  
 And ane o' them sang wi' my mither's voice,  
 Till through my heart did gae  
 That chanted hymn o' my bairnhood's  
 choice,  
 See dowie, saft, an' wae.  
 Thae happy things o' the glorious sky  
 Did lead me far away,  
 Where the stream o' life rins never dry,  
 Where nathing kens decay;  
 And they laid me down in a mossy bed,  
 Wi' curtains o' spring leaves green,  
 And the name o' God they praying said,  
 And a light came o'er my een.

And I saw the earth that I had left,  
And I saw my mither there;  
And I saw her grieve that she was bereft  
O' the bairn she thought sae fair;  
And I saw her pine till her spirit fled—  
Like a bird to its young ane's nest—  
To that land of love; and my head was laid  
Again on my mither's breast.

And, mither, ye took me by the hand,  
As ye were wont to do;  
And your loof, sae soft and white, I fand  
Laid on my caller brow;  
And my lips you kiss'd, and my curling  
hair

You round your fingers wreath'd;  
And I kent that a happy mither's prayer  
Was o'er me silent breath'd;

And we wander'd through that happy land,  
That was gladly glorious a';  
The dwellers there were an angel-band,  
And their voices o' love did fa'  
On our ravish'd ears like the deesin' tones  
O' an anthem far away,  
In a starn-lit hour, when the woodland  
moans

That its green is turn'd to gray.

And, mither, among the sorrowless there  
We met my brithers three,  
And your bonnie May, my sister fair,  
And a happy bairn was she;  
And she led me awa' 'mang living flowers,  
As on earth she aft' has done;  
And thegither we sat in the holy bowers  
Where the blessed rest aboon:—

And she tauld me I was in Paradise,  
Where God in love doth dwell—  
Where the weary rest, and the mourner's  
voice

Forgets its world-wail;  
And she tauld me they kent na dule nor  
care;

And bade me be glad to dee,  
That yon sinless land and the dwellers there,  
Might be hame and kin to me.

Then sweetly a voice came on my ears,  
And it sounded sae holly,  
That my heart grew soft, and blabs o' tears  
Sprang up in my sleepin' e'e;  
And my inmost soul was sairly moved

Wi' its mair than mortal joy:—  
'Twas the voice o' Him wha bairnies lo'd  
That wauken'd your dreamin' boy!

Excellent as these poems are, and possessing genuine poetic feeling and expression, Massey has his own peculiar beauties which, in the opinion of many readers, may exceed those possessed by the productions of Nicoll just inserted. In *The Ballad of Babe Christabel*, Massey appears to have concentrated all his powers; but it is neither so original, nor so worthy of his genius, as many of the shorter pieces in his book. It is marked by all that wild luxuriance, that lavish scattering of poetic beauty, distinguishing Alexander Smith's *Life Drama*: but we never doubt the originality of Smith, whilst Massey, by saturating his mind with the full, deep floods of Tennyson's genius, and by adopting the remarkable metre of *In Memoriam*, startles us frequently by passages forcing us to pause and ask ourselves—"Is this Massey or Tennyson?"

However, there are passages of exquisite beauty in this poem, and, of these, the following, describing the birth of *Babe Christabel* is unquestionably worthy of all, our highest admiration:—

It fell upon a merry May morn,  
I' the perfect prime of that sweet time  
When daisies whiten, woodbines climb,—  
The dear Babe Christabel was born.

All night the Stars bright watches kept,  
Like Gwils that look a golden calm;  
The Silence dropt its precious balm,  
And the tired world serenely slept.

The birds were darkling in the nest,  
Or bosom'd in voluptuous trees:  
On beds of flowers the panting breeze  
Had kist its fill and sank to rest.

All night beneath the Cottage eaves,  
A lonely light, with tremulous Arc,  
Surged back a space the sea of dark,  
And glanced among the glimmering leaves.

Without! the quiet heavens above  
The nest of life, did lean and brood!  
Within! the Mother a tears of blood  
Wet the Gethsemane of her love!

And when the Morn with frolic zest,  
Lookt through the curtains of the night,  
There was a dearer dawn of light,  
A tenderer life the Mother's prest!



Ah! bliss to make the brain reel wild!  
The Star new-kindled in the Jark—  
Life that had flutter'd like a Lark—  
Lay in her bosom a sweet Child!

How she had felt it drawing down  
Her nesting heart more close and close,—  
Her rose-bud ripening to a Rose,  
That she should one day see full-blown!

How she had throbb'd with hopes and fears,  
And strain'd her inner eyes till dim,  
To see the coming glory swim  
Through the rich mist of happy tears:

For it, her woman's heart drank up,  
And smiled, at Sorrow's darkest dole:  
And now Delight's most dainty soul  
Was crasht for her in one rich cup!

And then delicious languors crept,  
Like nectar, on her pain's hot drouth,  
And feeling fingers—kissing mouth—  
Being faint with joy, the Mother slept.

Babe Christabel was royally born!  
For when the earth was flaunt with  
flowers,  
And drencht with beauty in rainbow  
showers,  
She came through golden gates of Morn.

That Poets of Labor should sing, and sing with all the stern and bitter feeling which want, and real, or fancied wrongs produce, is but the natural result of adverse circumstances surrounding a quick, ardent, and strong disposition. That social position makes and moulds such men as these none can doubt. The

“Eye, to which all order festers, all things here  
are out of joint,”

may be but tinged with a jaundiced hue, which will pass away as life grows brighter with hope and knowledge. Massey tells us that he does not now think as bitterly as when he wrote—that is, his own feelings, warped in youth by suffering, have been restored to that shape and form which, whilst it enables him to see both sides of the picture of life, leaves him, with his fine mind, as clear as ever in the contemplation of the condition of his class. Nicoll had no need of such re-formation of character as this. Sprung from the poor, Presbyterian stock, he was, by nature, of the sturdy race who never paltered right, as they esteemed right; growing up self formed, but kindly used, he became self-reliant and independent: the world had shown him kindness, and he knew that as the heart of the world was sound, so the evils existing in the world could be amended, and thus he sung that we are Brethren All:—

#### WE ARE BRETHERN A'.

A HAPPY bit hame this auld world wou'd be,  
If men, when they're here, could make shift to agree,  
An' ilk said to his neighbour, in cottage an' ha',  
“Come, gi'e me your hand—we are brethren a'.”

I ken na why aye wi' anither should fight,  
When to 'gree wou'd make a' body coo'dle an' right,  
When man meets wi' man, 'tis the best way aye,  
To say, “Gi'e me your hand—we are brethren a'.”

My coat is a coorse aye, an' yours may be fine,  
And I maun drink water while you may drink wine;  
But we faith ha'e a leal heart, unspotted to shaw:  
See gi'e me your hand—we are brethren a'.

The knave ye would scorn, the unfaithfu' deride;  
Ye would stand like a rock, wi' the truth on your side;  
Sae would I, an' nought else would I value a straw;  
Then gi'e me your hand—we are brethren a'.

Ye would scorn to do fausely by woman or man;  
I hand by the right aye, as weel as I can;  
We are ane in our joys, our affections, an' a';  
Come, gie me your hand—we are brethren a'.

Your mither has lo'ed you as mither can lo'e;  
An' mine has done for me what mither can do;  
We are ane hie an' laigh, an' we should na be twa:  
Sae gi'e me your hand—we are brethren a'.

We love the same simmer day, sunny and fair;  
Hame! Oh, how we love it, an' a' that are there!  
Frae the pure air o' Heaven the same life we draw—  
Come, gie me your hand—we are brethren a'.

Frail, shakin' Auld Age, will soon come o'er us baith,  
An' creepin' along at his back will be Death;  
Syne into the same mither-yird we will fa':  
Come, gie me your hand—WE ARE BRETHREN A'.

And here again, with kindly, but independent feeling he sings in strains worthy Robert Burns, the rights and glories of the Poor Folk :—

#### THE PAIR FOLK.

A SONG.

Somx grow fu' proud o'er bags o' gowd,  
And some are proud o' learning:  
An honest poor man's worthy name  
I take delight in earning.  
Slaves needna try to run us down—  
To knaves we're unco dour folk;  
We're aften wrang'd, but, dell may care!  
We're honest folk, though pair folk!  
Wi' Wallace wight we fought fu' weel,  
When lairds and lords were jinking;  
They knelt before the tyrant loun—  
We brak his crown I'm thinking.  
The muckle men he bought wi' gowd—  
Syne he began to jeer folk;  
But neither swords, nor gowd, nor gulle,  
Could turn the sturty pair folk!  
When auld King Charlie tried to bind  
Wi' alrn saul and conscience,  
In virtue o' his right divine,  
An' ither dait-like nonsense—  
Wha raised at Marston such a stour,  
And made the tyrants fear folk?  
Wha prayed and fought wi' Pym and Noll?  
The trusty, truthfu' pair folk!  
Wha ance upon auld Scotland's hills  
Gave were hunted like the p'itrick,  
And hack'd wi' swords, and shot wi' guna,  
Frae Tummel's bank to Ettrick,—  
Because they wouldna' let the priest  
About their conscience seer folk?  
The lairds were bloodhounds to the clan—  
The Martyrs were the pair folk!

When Boston boys at Bunker's hill  
Gart Slavery's minions falter;  
While lika hearth in a' the bay  
Was made fair Freedom's altar;  
Wha fought the fight, and gained the day?  
Gae wa', ye knaves! 'twas our folk:  
The beaten great men served a king—  
The victors a' were pair folk!

We saw the corn and haud the plough—  
We a' work for our living;  
We gather nought but what we've sown—  
A' else we reckon thieving:—  
And for the loun wha fears to say  
He comes o' lowly sma' folk,  
A wizen'd saul the creature has—  
Disown him will the pair folk!

Great sirs, and mighty men o' earth,  
Ye aften sair misca' us;  
And hunger, cauld and poverty  
Come after ye to thrav us.  
Yet up our hearts we strive to heeze,  
In spite o' you and your folk;  
But mind, enough's as gude's a feast,  
Although we be but pair folk!

We thank the Powers for gude and ill,  
As gratefu' folk should do, man;  
But maist o' a' because our sires  
Were tailors, smiths, and ploughmen.  
Good men they were as stanch as steel;  
They didna wrack and screw folk  
Wi' empty pouches—honest hearts—  
Thank God, we come o' poor folk!

Not thus does Massey sing. Fierce, from the herding place of what he considers an outcast race, he shouts his wrongs, and demands that all shall succumb to his class. What is a Patriot he asks—and thus he replies :—

## THE PATRIOT.

Ar, Tyrants, build your Babels! forge your fetters! link your chains!  
 As brims your guilt-cup fuller, ours of grief ebbs to the drains;  
 Still, as on Christ's brow, crowns of thorn for Freedom's Martyrs twine;  
 Still batten on live hearts, and madden, o'er the hot blood-wine.  
 Murder men sleeping, or awake,—torture them dumb with pain,  
 And tear, with hands all bloody red, Mind's jewels from the brain!  
 Your feet are on us, Tyrants—strike! and hush Earth's wail of sorrow:  
 Your sword of power, so red to-day, shall kiss the dust to-morrow.  
 O! but 't will be a merry day, the world shall set apart,  
 When Strife's last brand is broken in the last crown'd Tyrant's heart!  
 And it shall come,—despite of Rifle, Rope, and Rack, and Scaffold,  
 Once more we lift the earnest brow, and battle on unabated.  
 Our hopes ran mountains high, we sang at heart, wept tears of gladness,  
 When France, the bravely beautiful, dasht down her scepter'd madness;  
 And Hungary her one-hearted race of mighty heroes hurled  
 In the death-gap of the nations, as a bulwark for the world.  
 O Hungary! gallant Hungary! grand and glorious thou wert,  
 The World's soul feeding, like a river, gushing from God's heart;  
 And Rome,—who, while her Heroes bled, felt her old breast heave higher,—  
 How her eyes reddened with the flash of all their Roman fire!  
 Mothers of children, who shall live the Gods of future story!  
 Your blood shall blossom from the dust, and crown the world with glory.  
 Ye 'll tread them down yet, curse and crown! up-lift the trodden Slave,  
 And Freedom shall be sovran in the courts of fool and knave.  
 Wail for the hopes that have gone down! the young life vainly split!  
 Th' Eternal Murderer still sits crown'd, and throned in damning guilt:  
 Still in God's golden sun the Tyrants' bloody banners burn,  
 And Priests,—Hell's midnight Thugs!—to their soul-strangling work return!  
 See how the oppressors of the poor with serpents hunt our blood;  
 Hear, from the dark the groan and curse go maddening up to God.  
 They kill and trample us poor worms, till earth is dead men's dust;  
 Death's red tooth dally drains our hearts, but end, ay, end it must.  
 The herald of our coming Christ leaps in the womb of Time;  
 The poor's grand army treads the Age's march with step sublime.  
 Ours is the mighty future! and what marvel, brother men,  
 If the devoured of ages should turn devourers then?  
 O! brothers of the bounding heart, I look thro' tears and smile,  
 The World is rife with sounds of fetters snapping 'neath the file;  
 I lay my hand on England's heart, and in each life-throb mark,  
 The pealing thought of freedom ring its Tocsin in the dark.  
 I see the Toiler hath become a glorious Christ-like preacher,  
 And, as he wins a crust, stands proudly forth, the great world-teacher;  
 He still toils on, but, Tyrants, 'tis a mighty thing when slaves,  
 Who delve their lives into their work, know that they delve your graves.  
 Anarchs! your doom comes swiftly! brave and eagle spirits clime,  
 To ring Oppression's death-knell from the old watch-towers of time;  
 A spirit of Cromwellian might is stirring at this hour,  
 And thought is burning in men's eyes with more than speechful power.  
 Old England, cease the mummer's part! wake, Starveling, Serf, and Slave!  
 Rouse in the majesty of wrong, great kindred of the brave!  
 Speak, and the world shall answer, with her voices myriad-fold,  
 And men, like Gods, shall grapple with the giant-wrongs of old.  
 Now, Mothers of the people, give your babes heroic milk;  
 Sires, soul your sons to daring deeds, no more soft words of silk;  
 Great spirits of the mighty dead take shape, and walk our mind,  
 Their glory smites our upward look, we seem no longer blind;  
 They tell us how they broke their bonds, and whisper, "So may ye!"  
 One sharp, stern struggle, and the slaves of centuries are free!  
 The people's heart, with pulse like cannon, panteth for the fray,  
 And, brothers, gallant brothers, we'll be with you in that day.

But, whilst singing thus, the land that gave him birth has  
 its own proper place in the heart of our Poet of Labor. And  
 here, we would remark, that Massey's poetry discloses an  
 admiration, and complete appreciation of all the glories of his  
 country, not always discoverable in the verses of the great body

of his brother Poets of Labor. He appears to understand very clearly that there are memories "which God and good men will not let die;" and that bread and wages being secured, and other topics of the virtuous and indignant order granted, there are matters without which life is not life. This spirit is very plainly evinced in the lines entitled, *Our Land*:—

## OUR LAND.

T is the Land that our stalwart fore-sires trode,  
Where the brave and heroic-soul'd  
Implanted our freedom with their best blood,

In the martyr-days of old.  
The huts of the lowly gave Liberty birth,  
Their hearts were her cradle glorious,  
And wherever her foot-prints letter'd the earth,

Great spirits up-sprang victorious,  
In our rare old Land, our dear old Land,  
With its memories bright and brave,  
And sing hey for the hour its sons shall band  
To free it of Tyrant and Slave.

Alfred was of us, and Shakespeare's thought  
Bekings us, all crowns above!  
And Freedom's dear faith a fresh splendour caught

From our grand old Milton's love!  
And we should be marching on gallantly,  
And striding from glory to glory,  
For the Right with our Might striking valantly,

On the track of the famous in story—  
For our rare old Land, our dear old Land,  
With its memories bright and brave,  
And sing hey for the hour its sons shall band  
To free it of Tyrant and Slave.

On Naseby-field of the fight sublime,  
Our old red Rose doth blow!  
Would to God that the seal of that earlier time

Might marshal us conquering now!  
On into the Future's fair clime the world sweeps,

And the time trumpets true men to freedom:

At the heart of our halots the mounting God leaps,

But O for the Moors to lead 'em!  
For our rare old Land, our dear old Land,  
With its memories bright and brave!  
And sing hey for the hour its sons shall band  
To free it of Tyrant and Slave.

What do we lack, that the ruffian Wrong  
Should starve us 'mid heaps of gold?  
We have brains as broad, we have arms as strong,

We have hearts as big and as bold!  
Will a thousand years more of meek suffering school

Our lives to a sterner bravery?  
No! down and down with their robber rule,  
And up from the land of slavery!

For our rare old Land, our dear old Land,  
With its memories bright and brave!  
And sing hey for the hour its sons shall band  
To free it of Tyrant and Slave.

In addition to this admiration of all that should be admired in his native land, Massey possesses, in his poet's soul, a love of the beautiful in all its phases. In the following noble lines, which he calls the *The Chivalry of Labour*, there is a grandeur and heroicness of thought, wonderful in one so reared as its writer; and, in our mind it is the finest poem in his book. There is a ring in the lines that rouses the spirit like the clashing of the swords in the German accompaniment to Korner's noble lyric: as we read it we feel inclined to exclaim, as a refrain to each verse—"Come, let us Worship Beauty:"—

THE  
CHIVALRY OF LABOUR  
EXHORTED TO THE WORSHIP OF BEAUTY.

Our world oft turns in gloom, and life hath many a perilous way,  
Yet there's no path so desolate and thorny, cold and gray,  
But Beauty like a Beacon burns above the dark of strife,  
And like an Alchemist she turns all things to golden life.  
On human hearts her presence droppeth precious manna down,  
On human brows her glory gathers like a coming crown:  
Her smile lights up Life's troubled stream, and Love, the swimmer! lives;  
And O 't is brave to battle for the guerdon that she gives!  
Then let us worship Beauty with the knightly faith of old,  
O Chivalry of Labor tolling for the Age of Gold!

The first-fruits of the Past at Beauty's shrine are offer'd up,  
 From which a vintage meet for Gods she crusheth in her cup;  
 And from the living Present doth she press the rare new wine,  
 To gladden the hearts of all her lovers with a draught divine.  
 Earth's crowning miracle! she comes! with blessing lips, that part  
 Like mid-May's rose flusht open with the fragrance of her heart:  
 And life turns to her colour—kindles with her light—like flowers  
 That garner up the golden fire, and suck the mellow showers.  
 Come let us worship Beauty with the knightly faith of old,  
 O Chivalry of Labour toiling for the Age of Gold!

Come let us worship Beauty where the budding Spring doth flower,  
 And lush green leaves and grasses flush out sweeter every hour;  
 Or Summer's tide of splendour floods the lap of the World once more,  
 With riches like a sea that surges jewels on its shore.  
 Come feel her ripening influence when morning feasts our eyes—  
 Thro' open gates of glory—with a glimpse of Paradise:  
 Or queenly night sits crown'd, smiling down the purple gloom,  
 And Stars, like Heaven's fruitage, melt in the glory of their bloom.  
 Come let us worship Beauty with the knightly faith of old,  
 O Chivalry of Labour toiling for the Age of Gold!

Come from the den of darkness and the city's soil of sin,  
 Put on your radiant Manhood, and the Angel's blessing win!  
 Where wealthier sunlight comes from Heaven, like welcome-smiles of God,  
 And Earth's blind yearnings leap to life in flowers, from out the sod:  
 Come worship Beauty in the forest-temple dim and hush,  
 Where stands Magnificence dreaming! and God burneth in the bush:  
 Or where the old hills worship with their silence for a psalm,  
 Or Ocean's weary heart doth keep the sabbath of its calm.  
 Come let us worship Beauty with the knightly faith of old,  
 O Chivalry of Labour toiling for the Age of Gold!

Come let us worship Beauty: she hath subtle power to start  
 Heroic word and deed out-flashing from the humblest heart!  
 Great feelings will gush unawares, and freshly as the first  
 Rich Rainbow that up startled Heaven in tearful splendour burst.  
 O blessed are her lineaments, and wondrous are her ways  
 To re-picture God's worn likeness in the suffering human face!  
 Our bliss shall richly overbrim like sunset in the west,  
 And we shall dream immortal dreams, and banquet with the Blest.  
 Then let us worship Beauty with the knightly faith of old,  
 O Chivalry of Labour toiling for the Age of Gold.

In the edition of the *Poems* before us, the author has introduced some short pieces recently written. Amongst these the best is that in honor of our alliance with France. There is a rough, manly, and withal poetical, spirit in the lines quite in keeping with the subject. He calls the poem,—

#### THE LILIES OF FRANCE AND OLD ENGLAND'S RED ROSE.

Luxx a stern old friend, War grimly comes  
 To the temple of peaceful Life;  
 With the well-known nod of his beckoning  
 plumes  
 He hurries us into the strife.  
 And we meet once more, in the fields of  
 fate,  
 With our chivalrous Enemy,  
 Who knows, by the grip of our hands in hate,  
 What the strength of our love may be.  
 O! the Lilies of France and old England's  
 Red Rose  
 Are twined in a Coronet now;  
 And at War's bloody bridal it glitters and  
 glows  
 On Liberty's beautiful brow.

We have dash'd together like waves and  
 rocks!  
 We have fought till our shirts grew  
 red!  
 We have met in the shuddering battle-  
 shocks,  
 Where none but the freed soul died!  
 Now side by side, in the fields of fate,  
 And shoulder to shoulder, are we;  
 And we know, by the grip of our hands in  
 hate,  
 What the strength of our love may be.  
 O! the Lilies of France and old England's  
 Red Rose  
 Are twined in a Coronet now;  
 And at War's bloody bridal it glitters and  
 glows  
 On Liberty's beautiful brow.

Then gather ye, gather to battle, ye  
 Braves,  
 In the might of your old renown !  
 And follow ye, follow ye, over the waves,  
 Where Liberty's sun went down !  
 By the bivouac-fire, in the battle-shower,  
 Remember your destiny grand,  
 To set in the thrones of their olden  
 power  
 The peoples of many a land !  
 For the Lilies of France and old England's  
 Red Rose  
 Are twined in a Coronal now ;  
 And at War's bloody bridal it glitters and  
 glows  
 On Liberty's beautiful brow.

Till the last fetter'd nation that calls us  
 is free,  
 Let us fall upon Tyranny's horde !  
 Brave Italy, Poland, and Hungary, see,  
 With their praying hands seek for a  
 Sword !  
 Till the Storm-God is roused in each suffer-  
 ing land,  
 Let us march thro' the welcoming world ;  
 And till Freedom and Faith shall go hand-  
 in-hand,  
 Let us keep the war-standard unfurl'd !  
 For the Lilies of France and old England's  
 Red Rose  
 Are twined in a Coronal now ;  
 And at War's bloody bridal it glitters and  
 glows  
 On Liberty's beautiful brow.

We have observed that Massey has given us no poems of a humorous character—and this quality of humor the peculiar circumstances of his life were calculated to depress—as very few human beings possess the enviable temperament of Oliver Goldsmith, or *Mark Tapley*. Whilst Massey has no joys save those of the present, or those which shine in the future, the early memories of Nicoll were full of odd and droll events and characters. He has given us most humorous poetic sketches of Scottish life and Scottish feeling, and as we read *The Bailie*, or *The Provost*, we have the little great men of the country town before us. We have, however, selected as best specimens of his humor, *The Wooing*, and *Bonnie Bessie Lee*.

#### THE WOOING.

THOUGH overly proud, she was bonnie an' young,  
 And, in spite o' her jeers an' her scornin',  
 I lo'd her as weel, or mair than mysel';  
 An' I follow'd her e nin' an' mornin'.  
 She trysted me ance, an' she trysted me twice,  
 But—the limmer!—she never came near me;  
 And, when I complain'd o't, she leuch, while she speer'd  
 Was I fear'd that the bogies would steer me?

I gae'd to the market to meet wi' my Joe,  
 An' to buy her back-burdens o' fairin',  
 My lang-hoarded shillin's an' saxpences took;  
 For I vow'd that I wou'dna be sparin'.  
 She pouch'd a' my sweeties, my apples, an' rings,  
 Till awa' was ilk lang-treasured shillin',  
 Then says I, "We'll go hame;" "Loch, Geordie, gae wa',"  
 Says she, "for your supper is spillin'!"

Wi' puir Geordie's fairings, aae fine, in her pouch,  
 She gae'd an' drew up wi' anither—  
 The chield threw his arms about her sweet neck,  
 An' awa, hame they cleeokit thegither.  
 Wi' a heart sad an' sair I follow'd the twa—  
 At her auld father's door saw them partin'—  
 Syne lifted the sneck, an' crap after my Joe,  
 Wi' a waefu'-like look, I am certain!

I whisper'd her name, an' I clinkit me down  
 In the dark, on the settle, aside her,  
 An' claw at my head—I was sairly tongue-tied;  
 For I badna the smeddum to chide her.

I now an' then mumbled a short word or twa—  
A saft word or twa to my dearie ;  
But she gapit, an' gauntit, sae aft an' sae lang,  
An' she said she o' courtin' was weary !

I raise to gae hame ; but the deil, for my sins,  
O'er the floor gart me stotter an' stammer,  
Till the pans made a noise, as the tinker had been  
A-smashin' them a' wi' his hammer.  
At the clatter, up startit the waukrife auld wife,—  
Her claes she put on in a hurry ;  
Says she, " There 's a loun 'yont the hallan wi' Meg,  
An' the tangs in his harns I will bury ! "

The fytin' auld rudas cam' but wi' a bang ;  
An' my bosom was in a sad swither ;  
An' maist I would 'greed to forgotten my Meg,  
If I had got quit o' her mither.  
The wife an' the tangs were ahint me, I trow ;  
An' the window was hie,—but I jumpt ;  
An' up to the neck in a deep midden hole,  
Like a trout in a bucket, I plumpit !

Baith mither an' dochter glower'd out on the fun,  
An' the young gillie Maggie was laughin' ;  
The auld aye skreigh'd out wi' a terrible yowl,  
" Hey, lad ! ye are row'd in a ranchan."  
My face it was red, an' my heart it was sair,  
While my fause love my sorrow was mockin' ;  
And an uncanny something arise up in my throat,  
Till I thought that I surely was choakin'.

I ran to the burn, an' to drown me I vow'd,  
For my heart wi' my fause love was breakin' ;  
But the banks were sae high, and the water sae deep,  
That the sight o't wi' fear set me quakin' !  
Says I, Why despair ? Sae comfort I took :—  
A sweetheart ! I'll soon get anither ;  
Sae hamewith I toddled, an' endit it a'—  
For I told my mischance to my mither !

That time tries all, and changes all, every body knows ; and possibly, in no case do we percieve those changes so clearly as upon returning after a few years absence, to find the blooming maiden transformed into the grave wife and mother ; and, doubtless, many a man has been able to apply to his own particular case that line of Nicoll's which declares of the maid and the wife—

" I'd rather hae' the ither ane than this Bessie Lee."

#### BONNIE BESSIE LEE.

SONG.

BONNIE Bessie Lee had a face fu' o' smiles,  
And mirth round her ripe lip was aye dancing alee ;  
And light was the footfa', and winsome the wiles,  
O' the flower o' the parochin—our ain Bessie Lee !

Wi' the bairns she would rin, and the school laddies paik,  
And o'er the broomy braes like a fairy would flee,  
Till auld hearts grew young again wi' love for her sake :—  
There was life in the blithe blink o' Bonnie Bessie Lee !

She grat wi' the waefu', and laughed wi' the glad,  
And light as the wind 'mang the dancers was she ;  
And a tongue that could jeer, too, the little limmer had,  
Whilk keptit aye her ain side for Bonnie Bessie Lee !

And she whiles had a sweetheart, and sometimes had twa—  
 A limmer o' a lassie!—but, atween you and me,  
 Her warm wee bit heartie she ne'er threw awa',  
 Though mony a ane had sought it frae Bonny Beattie Lee!

But ten years had gane since I gazed on her last,—  
 For ten years had parted my auld hame and me;  
 And I said to mysel' as her mither's door I pass'd,  
 "Will I ever get anither kiss frae Bonnie Beattie Lee?"

But Time changes a' thing—the ill-natured loon!  
 Were it ever sae rightly he'll no let it be;  
 But I rubbit at my een, and I thought I would swoon,  
 How the carle had come roun' about our ain Beattie Lee!

The wee laughing lassie was a gudewife growing auld—  
 Twa weans at her apron and ane on her knee;  
 She was douce, too, and wise-like—and wisdom's sae cauld:—  
 I would rather ha'e the ither ane than this Beattie Lee!

But, it may be asked, has Ireland no Poet of Labor? Reader, yes; in the days of our "wrath and cabbage" patriotism, when the future rulers of Ireland were assumed to be, perhaps, walking the streets, out at elbows, and with empty pockets, some very admirable specimens of poetry by artizans were inserted in *The Nation*, and other organs of the Young Ireland faction. But, strangely enough, these Poets of Labor, although sprung from the artizan class, and living by the work of their hands, sang in most cases, of Saxon wrongs heaped on Ireland, and took the condition of the country rather than the condition of their fellows as the theme of their songs. Davis—better known under the *nom de plume* of "The Belfast Man," was a very remarkable poet of this order; and Frazer, writing under the signature of "De Jean," was a more prolific, if not a better Poet of Labor. The best specimen of "De Jean's" ability is entitled *The Holy Wells*; and it is worthy of note also for the peculiar "twist" in the author's mind, enabling him to give to such a theme a semi-political semi-demogogical character:—

#### THE HOLY WELLS.

THE holy wells—the living wells—the cool, the fresh, the pure—  
 A thousand ages rolled away, and still those founts endure,  
 As full and sparkling as they flowed, ere slave, or tyrant, trod  
 The emerald garden, set apart for Irishmen by God!  
 And while their stainless chastity and lasting life have birth,  
 Amid the oozy cells and caves of gross, material earth;  
 The scripture of creation holds no fairer type than they—  
 That an immortal spirit can be linked with human clay!

How sweet, of old, the bubbling gush—no less to antlered race,  
 Than to the hunter, and the hound, that smote them in the chase!  
 In forest depths the water-fount beguiled the Druid's love,  
 From that celestial fount of fire, which warmed from worlds above:  
 Inspired apostles took it for a centre to the ring,  
 When sprinkling round baptismal life—salvation—from the spring;  
 And in the sylvan solitude, or lonely mountain cave,  
 Beside it passed the hermit's life, as stainless as its wave.



The cottage hearth—the convent wall—the battlemented tower,  
Grew up around the crystal springs, as well as flag and flower ;  
The brooklime and the water-cress were evidence of health,  
Abiding in those basins, free to Poverty and Wealth :  
The city sent pale sufferers there the faded brow to dip,  
And woo the water to depose some bloom upon the lip ;  
The wounded warrior dragg'd him towards the unforgotten tide,  
And deemed the draught a heavenlier gift than triumph to his side.

The stag, the hunter, and the hound, the Druid and the saint,  
And anchorite are gone—and even the lineaments grown faint,  
Of those old ruins, into which, for monuments, had sunk  
The glorious homes, that held, like shrines, the monarch and the monk ;  
So far into the heights of God the mind of man has ranged,  
It learned a lore to change the earth—it a very self it changed  
To some more bright intelligence ; yet still the springs endure,  
The same fresh fountains, but become more precious to the poor !

For knowledge has abused its powers, an empire to erect  
For tyrants, on the rights the poor had given them to protect ;  
Till now the simple elements of nature are their *ad*,  
That from the cabin is not filched, and lavished in the hall—  
And while night, noon, or morning meal no other plenty brings,  
No beverage than the water-draught from old, spontaneous springs ;  
They, sure, may deem them holy wells, that yield from day to day,  
One blessing which no tyrant hand can taint, or take away.

We will not speculate upon this want of class feeling amongst Irish Poets of Labor, to which we have referred. It may be that our want of factory employment has, by preventing the aggregation of our artizans, checked this sentiment ; but, be the cause what it may, the absence of this spirit is plainly evident, and forms a very remarkable point in the consideration of their poems.

We have now written as fully as we intended, and indeed as fully as is necessary, upon the subject of this paper. To write a complete history of the Poets of Labor was beyond our intention, and would exceed our space. We should begin with the Saxon times, when Cedmon, the Ploughman, sang in the Monastery of Streoneshalh, the lays of his own composition, to beguile the hours of the Lady Hilda, who ruled the community of the house. We might introduce Ben Jonson ; possibly Shakspeare ; John Taylor, the Water Poet ; Ebenezer Elliott ; Thom ; Cooper, the Chartist ; Hugh Miller, and many others ; but this would be to write a version of the *Pursuit of Knowledge Under Difficulties*, and a portion of this task has been admirably performed by Southey, in his introduction to the verses of John Jones, the poetical, self-educated serving man.\*

We have selected, as our subjects, Nicoll and Massey, because they are the chief poets of their class—excepting Elliott. We

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\* For a full account of the Ettrick Shepherd and his poems, see *IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW*, Vol. III. No. 10, p. 396. Art. "The Harp of the North."

have not selected them merely as poets : in the Radicalism of Nicoll, in the Chartism of Massey, there are warnings too grave to be despised. In Nicoll's *Puir Folk*, in Massey's *The People's Advent*, we have expressed, as a poet only could express them, those feelings ground into the hearts and minds of the class of whom these men form a part. True, this class cannot express their thoughts—but they can feel them. "I write my heart in my poems," declares Nicoll: I do not think now as I thought when writing some of my poems, declares Massey, but I reprint these poems as they expressed what I then felt, and what my class feel still. What matters it whether these feelings be well or ill founded—they are in the hearts of the people; they will abide in their hearts, gaining strength, festering into convictions, becoming a Creed, a Faith, a Faith acting by violence, bloodshed, hatred, and destruction, to all above them in the social scale. We do not seek to check the democratic spirit amongst the great, enduring, wonderful Working Classes of these Kingdoms; but we do most earnestly desire to see that spirit directed to its proper, safe, and wisest end—and this can only be accomplished by proving to these classes that they are an integral portion of the Nation, and by treating them as such; this can be achieved by Education, and by spreading amongst employer and employed a more accurate knowledge of their relative interests and duties.

These are great questions; questions upon which only practical politicians should write; but we have a politician, practical and wise; one who is intimately acquainted with this subject in its full bearing upon master and workman. Mr. Charles Morrison, whose excellent *Essay on the Relations Between Labor and Capital* was reviewed in our last Number,\* thus writes of this question:—

"The growth of the democratic element, whether directly by the lowering of the qualifications for the suffrage, or indirectly, through the moral influence of the masses, means the preponderance of the interests of labour, over the interests of property. If then the working classes, or that portion of them, whose superior intelligence and activity tend to make them the representatives of the rest, very generally believe, that the rate of wages and other arrangements between themselves and the other classes, are unfair and disadvantageous to themselves, and that a better state of things is attainable, it is

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\* See IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, Vol. IV. No. 16, p. 793. Art. "The Future of The Working Classes."

natural that they will use both their legal right or their actual though not legally recognized power to attain it. And as their whole condition, and that of their families, and almost their daily bread are at stake upon the results of such an attempt, as any belief of the injustice of social arrangements which they may entertain, will be constantly irritated into indignation by the contrast which their own general poverty and frequent distress present to the immense masses of wealth amidst which they live, and as agitators will never be wanting to fan their smouldering passions into flame, it is to be expected, that they will bring to the struggle a greater intensity of excitement than is seen in the most animated of merely political contests. If then they should entertain erroneous ideas upon such subjects; if they should attribute to the faults of individuals or of social arrangements, those evils of their condition, which are in fact, the result of inevitable natural laws, or of their own conduct; if they should believe that these evils are to be remedied by measures, which are in truth, unjust, impracticable, and pernicious; it is difficult to over-rate the amount of mischief and confusion which they may produce, by acting upon such views before they shall be finally undeceived on all those points."

Mr. Morrison, after explaining the principles upon which trade should be conducted, contends that the working classes should be taught,—

"That neither idleness, luxuries nor expensive vanities and tastes, are required, for happiness—that the man who has comfortable diet, clothes, and lodging, freedom from oppression, and a moderate share of leisure and means for mental improvement, has as good a chance of happiness as external circumstances can furnish him with—are trite and admitted maxims which are not the less true and important, because they are ignored in most men's practice. Looking to man's animal structure, physiologists would certainly pronounce that a very considerable amount of muscular labour is conducive to its perfect action: and looking to his double nature it is hardly less certain that much occupation of the body in useful labour, is a great prevention and cure for manifold disorders of his moral being."

We like this practical plan by which Mr. Morrison would solve this economic riddle. Doubtless if men of experience such as his had applied some portion of their time to elucidating these questions, the country would thereby be served. All philosophy, and all metaphysics, will never settle these difficulties. The science and the practice are here at issue, and here, as ever, practice is triumphant. "*Ipsos tamen politicos multo*

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\* If the reader desires to learn how this identification in interest, of employer and employed, can be accomplished, he will find the secret fully disclosed in the succeeding paper, devoted to an account of the Factory Schools of Price's Patent Candle Company, directed by J. P. Wilson, Esq.—Ed.

*felicius de rebus politicis scripsisse, quam philosophos dubitari non potest,*" declares Spinoza ; and this admission is but the confession of those qualities making up the great points of statesmanship in the instances afforded by Machiavelli, by Bacon, and by Edmund Burke.

This is no digression from our subject. If Poets of Labor tell us that they sing the feelings of their fellows ; if they write, as they declare, their hearts in their poems,—and if he who wrote in 1836, is exceeded in strength and genius by him who wrote in 1854, surely a Poet of Labor is something more than a Poet—he becomes a teacher to his readers—a teacher to the statesmen of his country. These cannot, unless they be forgetful of every duty of a statesman, permit the growth of such a spirit as that which Massey indicates ; they cannot suffer ignorance, springing from their own neglect, to produce its terrible results—hatred and crime—ending in a veritable " People's Advent."

Let us not be understood as at all contemning Gerald Massey because he has published poems written when his heart was embittered by grief and misconception—he were a knave to suppress them. Publishing them as we have them now, with the declaration of his preface, he is a patriot, as truly as he is thoroughly a Poet. If he but continue unspoiled by the just approbation with which his poems have been received, he will yet be as great a poet as he is now an honest, out-speaking man ; and as he has taught that Labor has its Chivalry, so it may come to pass that he will yet be the Laureate of that Chivalry.

## ART. IV. NATIONAL, FACTORY, AND REFORMATORY SCHOOLS.

### SECOND PAPER—FACTORY SCHOOLS.\*

1. *Special Reports By The Directors to The Proprietors of Price's Patent Candle Company, Respecting that Part of the Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting of the Company, 24th March, 1852, which has reference to the Educational, Moral, and Religious Charge to be Taken by the Company Over the Persons, (and Especially the Young Persons) in its Employment; with Nine other Pamphlets on this Important Subject. By James P. Wilson, Esq. Managing Director of the Company. 1851 to 1854.*
2. *Education In The Mining Districts: Report On the Factory School, of Messrs. John Bagnall and Sons, at Gold's Hill, Wednesbury. From "The Midland Counties Herald, Birmingham and General Advertiser;" Thursday, January 11th, 1855.*

The author of that remarkable book, *The Claims of Labour*, has wisely observed—"We say that Kings are God's Vicegerents upon earth; but almost every human being has at one time or other of his life, a portion of the happiness of those around him in his power, which might make him tremble, if he did but see it in all its fulness:" these are words of gravest import; declaring a truth which all should know, declaring a truth upon which one man has acted, and upon which many are worthily proceeding. And yet, plain as the principle that employer and employed have mutual duties and mutual rights to be discharged by each to each, they generally act as if the sole bond between them consisted in the payment and receipt of wages. Hence the strikes, the lock outs, and the whole barbaric code of artizan honor—where the impotent gold of the master is matched against the impotent poverty of the workman.

Fortunately, however, there are some men who, remembering the sage counsel of Fuller, know that "well may masters consider how easie a transposition it had been for God, to have made him to mount into the saddle that holds the stirrup; and made him to sit down at the table, who stands by with a

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\* For the first paper of this series—National Schools—being a history of the English and Irish systems, from Bell and Lancaster, to the publication of the Lords' Report on Irish National Schools, 1854, see *IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW*, Vol. IV. No. 16, p. 1042.

trencher," and endeavour to perform their duties towards their work-people; and in doing so, in rendering their people happier and better, a feeling of identification in interest and in well being springs between employer and employed; and the general business of the establishment is thereby incalculably benefited. We are not, in this paper, to argue upon abstract points; we are not now to concern ourselves, or to vex the reader by fancied cases, and glowing accounts of theoretic or supposed utopias; but we are about to write the narrative, a simple and plain one, of Price's Patent Candle Factory School, as founded and conducted at Belmont Factory, Vauxhall, London.

Price's Patent Candle Company, like all other joint stock Companies, is guided, in its manufacturing and trading departments, by Managing Directors—and the gentlemen holding this office, in this particular Company, are Mr. James P. Wilson, and his brother, Mr. G. F. Wilson; our references shall be, however, chiefly to the former.

"What kind of man," we asked an esteemed mutual friend, "is Mr. Wilson?" "James Wilson," he replied, "is one of the best men living, he has all Cobbett's good-sense and ability, and none of Cobbett's rascality;" and, beyond all doubt, when the reader shall have concluded the reading of this paper, he will admit that Mr. James Wilson is as good and true a Christian as he is an able, judicious, earnest man.

On the 29th day of May, 1851, a Committee was appointed, by the Board of Directors, for the purpose of making the following inquiries:—

"First. To inquire and report to the Board the nature and extent of education at present available both to the children and adults employed at the Company's works. Secondly. The outlay that has been incurred on this account to the present time and from what source. Thirdly. The nature and extent of religious instruction available for the work-people and their families in the employ of the Company, and the facilities afforded them for attending public worship or otherwise, and Fourthly. Generally to suggest the course which it may be expedient for the Company to adopt on these heads, and the nature of the propositions which it may be advisable to submit for the sanction of the proprietors."

On the 18th day of March, 1852, this Education Committee, reported to the Board of Directors, that, assisted by Mr. Moseley, the Government Inspector of Schools, they had inspected the day and night Schools of the Factory, founded and supported by Mr. James P. Wilson; that the total number

of young persons in all the Schools, on the day of inspection, was 512; that when sufficient employment could not be given to the children in the factory, they were drafted to the School, and thus were kept from evil, and were always ready when wanted; that they are not paid except when at work; that children from the neighbourhood of the Factory are taken into these schools before old enough to work, and when fit, those who have earned for themselves the best characters are drafted to the work-rooms; that by these means the necessity of employing strangers is prevented; that the increased expense of these *out* scholars is under £50—with advantages more than equivalent to the cost; that the annual expense of the Schools was—

Candle Factory day School	...	£130
Candle Factory evening School,...	...	£190
Night Light Factory boy's School	...	£110
Night Light Factory girl's School	...	£80
		<hr/>
		£510

that Mr. Wilson had established a cricket ground, small garden allotments, and summer excursions; that in addition to the teachers provided for the factory work-people there is a permanent chaplain, who visits the sick, acquaints himself with the names of children employed, makes himself familiar with the characters of the men, reads prayers for the assembled work-people, and exercises a general superintendence over all matters connected with the education and moral welfare of the persons employed; that a chapel had been leased for the use of the work people; that the conduct of all attending it was most edifying; that the chaplain's salary was £200 per annum, which with the £510 for the schools, and £135 for the cricket ground and summer excursions, made the total annual expenditure £845; that the chapel itself involved an additional expense of £260, which raised the entire annual estimate to £1,105; that Mr. Wilson had, from the original formation of the schools to the 31st of December, 1851, expended no less than £3,289 of his own monies in annual payments in furnishing accommodation and books. The Committee, in continuation, called upon the Board of Directors to consider how, and to what extent, these schools should be supported; and how, and to what amount, Mr. Wilson should be reimbursed.

We have thus considered the report of the Committee, a Report which records the beginning of the end ; but it is for us to show the commencement of the beginning, and the continuance of the work, as detailed in a letter from Mr. Wilson to the Committee, and upon which, supported by the evidences of usefulness, witnessed by themselves, they more than recommended the extension of a munificent support, now most wisely and advantageously conceded.

The Education Committee however, thought it advisable to obtain from Mr. Wilson an account of the Schools, believing that he, as the founder, could best describe their origin and progress. Mr. Wilson commenced his letter, bearing date 9th March, 1852, by stating that—

“The schools began in a very humble way by half a dozen of our boys hiding themselves behind a bench two or three times a week, after they had done their day’s work and had their tea, to practice writing on scraps of paper with worn-out pens begged from the counting-house. The foreman of their department encouraged them and, as they persevered, and were joined by others of the boys, he begged that some rough moveable desks might be made for them. When they had obtained these, they used to clear away the candle-boxes at night, and set up the desks, and thus work more comfortably than before, although still at great disadvantages as compared with working in any ordinary school-room. My brother encouraged them with some books as prizes, and many who had been very backward improved much in reading and writing. The fact of the whole thing being the work of the boys themselves seemed to form so large a part of its value that we carefully abstained from interfering in it further than by these presents of books for prizes, and of copy books, spelling books, and testaments, and by my being (but not until long after the commencement, and after being much pressed and being assured that it would cause no restraint) always present at the school meetings to give them the sanction of authority, but taking no more active part than hearing the most backward boys their spelling.”

These half dozen lads soon increased to thirty, and considering that the numbers might increase still further, Mr. Wilson and his brother “gutted” the upper part of an old building belonging to the factory and formed a large school-room, capable of containing one hundred pupils, and erected an iron staircase by which it could be reached, at a total cost, for construction and furniture, of £172.

In the winter of 1848 the boys took possession of this school-room, and so completely was the whole management entrusted to them, that the prayers with which the school



business closed, were read by one of themselves. Many of the elder boys now joined the school, and difficulties in controlling and directing the business having arisen, the necessity for some stronger ruling power than that of mere self-government became so evident, that at the request of the elder boys Mr. Wilson undertook the management of its affairs, but occasionally his authority was guided by a general vote.

This School, it will be observed, was an evening School, but in the trade of the Candle Company a branch of the manufacture known as "night lights," forms an important item, and as these are made in large numbers and at particular times, as near the times when required as possible, many poor children, engaged in the work, were cast out upon the streets between the periods of employment.

To remedy this evil a day school was opened in this new room, for those young persons, who were there taught the ordinary branches of education, and kept from the contamination of the streets; and thus, whilst saving these children from evil, Mr. Wilson was enabling the company to avail itself of their services at any moment. It is the custom also to send all strange boys entering the factory to this school for a week or two, that it may be discovered whether they are careless or otherwise, as "night light" work requires care and delicacy. The annual expense of the day school is £130, of which £96 are for regular salaries.

In the spring of 1849, the best boys, and those most anxious to learn, were attending the evening school, but they formed a minority of the whole boys of the factory. Mr. Wilson was very anxious to induce *all* to attend, but compulsion was of course impossible. Indeed he saw the difficulty of inducing them to come, for he says, "when you remember that the hour and a-half of schooling was always after a hard day's work, you will not wonder that the boys did not all offer themselves." He resolved, however, to induce all to come, not, as he says, by putting disgrace upon those who remained away, but by putting honor upon those who attended. Mr. Wilson writes:—

"With this view, we repeatedly, in the spring and summer of 1849, asked all the school to a tea party in the new room. The first tea was an interesting one, from the fact that very many of the boys had not been at anything of the sort before, and that many of them not being then in the habit of going to church, had never

perhaps put themselves into decent clothes at all. Those who came untidily or dirtily dressed to our first tea, feeling themselves out of keeping with the whole thing, tried hard to avoid this at the next party. I hope that to several our first tea was the occasion of their taking to neat dressing for life. I will just mention here, that so far as our experience goes, there is not with boys as there is with girls, any danger whatever in leading them to think much of their dress, for the more they attend to it the nearer they get to plain black. Almost all our best boys now come to the chapel in plain black, though not a word has ever been said to them, or required to be said about their dress. One evening last summer a friend who had met a troop of them on the way to one of our cricket matches, asked me afterwards whether the boys he had met could be our factory boys, as they were he said more neatly dressed than his public school-fellows used to be. By the help of these tea parties, we made the boys who did not belong to the school feel awkward and uncomfortable about not doing so—and very many joined, several however stipulating that they were not to be asked to the next tea, lest that should be supposed to be their motive for joining. The total expense of the tea parties from the first to the present time (including a Christmas one given each year to the boys of the day school, and last year one to the girls also) is £53, a very large sum, but I think most profitably expended. We have however, given over anything of the sort for the elder boys, having now much better attractions in the prize books, cricket matches, and summer excursions.

It was on Easter Monday that our first tea party was held, partly in order to try our powers of attraction against those of Camberwell and Greenwich fairs, both of which are within the reach of the factory. Ours were the stronger, both then and on the Whit-Monday following."

In the year 1849, during the awful visitation of the Cholera, Mr. Wilson being anxious to secure the health of those employed in the factory, obtained medical advice as to the best method of accomplishing his humane purpose; and he learned that open air exercise combined with healthy amusements, were the best preventatives. Accordingly, through the kindness of two gentlemen, Mr. Symes and Mr. Graham, a large piece of ground in Battersea Fields was lent to Mr. Wilson, and upon it the boys, after business hours, began to learn cricket. Mr. Wilson writes:—

"The cholera seems an odd reason for taking to cricket, but I dare say the cricket had a very happy effect on the general health of our boys, and so may have strengthened them against catching it. We lost only one (an amiable and well conducted boy of seventeen), although many of our boys lost relations living in the same houses with them. Always when the game was finished they collected in a corner of the field, and took off their caps for a very short prayer for the safety from cholera of themselves and their friends; and the

tone in which they said their amen to this, has always made me think, that although the school was nominally given up for the time, they were really getting from their game so concluded, more moral benefit than any quantity of ordinary schooling could have given them. They also met every morning in the school-room at six o'clock before beginning work, just for a few minutes to give thanks for having been safely brought to the beginning of the day, and to pray to be defended in it."

This cricket ground was given up to a builder who required it, and a rough unenclosed field of six and a-half acres, in the neighbourhood of the factory, was taken at a rent of £10 per annum. This being levelled and fenced, and grass having been sown in it, gardens were allotted in addition to the cricket ground: these however, have now been given up, and the whole space is devoted to cricket. In summer the cricket ground is used three evenings in the week by the men, the other three evenings by the boys; and at length the merit of each class was put to the test by twenty-two of the boys playing eleven of the men, and beating them. This occurred in May, 1851, and later in the year, they beat them again in a return of match of sixteen to eleven. Mr. Wilson observes, and his observations are worthy of the very closest attention—

I look upon the cricket as one of the very happiest parts of all that we have been doing, and have never had any misgivings about inducing our boys to take to it (which at first sometimes needs a little persuading), and to give up a good deal of their spare time and attention to it. With boys of a higher class than ours there might be a question about this; but all ours must expect to be working all their lives much more with their bodies than with their minds; and of two boys in other respects alike, of whom one should spend many of his summer evenings in cricket, and become a fair cricketer, and the other in dawdling about as most London boys do, the first would, when grown up, have strength and activity of body, and quickness of hand and eye far beyond the other, and would so possess in his labour a much more valuable commodity to take to market. We have, therefore, always told the boys not to look at cricket as merely an amusement, but as bringing with it that which will be of great value to them hereafter. The expense of the cricket for three years, and of the gardens, has been very heavy—£249, of which I consider £92 remains as still valuable in the cost of levelling, fencing, and preparing the ground, stocks of garden implements, &c. The rest is altogether gone. The rough estimate of the present annual expense is £80, of which £40 is the rent of the present field. In speaking of the bodily benefits derived by the boys from it, I do not at all mean that these are the only ones; on the contrary, any one observing our first-class boys in one of their matches, their entire

freedom from rudeness of conduct or language, in fact, their really gentlemanlike behaviour towards each other, will feel that the moral training quite keeps pace with the physical. Then the cricket and the summer excursion (of which I have still to speak), are felt by them all to be part of the same system with the Sunday services and the winter's hard schooling. The last alone might perhaps be too plain food for the rather weak intellectual and moral appetite of many of our boys, but the cricket and summer excursion make the whole to be pleasant. I feel that the amount of money, though so large, has been exceedingly well laid out, except that here, as in many other cases, with the thing to do again with our present experience we could do it cheaper. I must state, for it is a fact too gratifying to be omitted, that the labour required for erecting the fences cost us nothing. The men of the factory knowing that we had taken the ground, and that we were going to fence it in, begged to be allowed to do the work gratuitously in their evenings.

I think the mixing of the boys and myself with the men in the cricket and gardening produced much good and kindly feeling among us all, and has made many work together in the factory during the winter as friends who felt as strangers before. I can answer for myself that I got to know well, and to like many of the men whom I had scarcely known at all before, and I believe they got to know and like me. I hope for very much more of these good effects from the cricket of the coming summer. Everybody, especially those who happen to be most ignorant of the whole subject, such as some of the well intentioned persons who have been backing up the Amalgated Society, is ready to preach about the necessity of this knowledge of each other by masters and men, but I suppose only masters can know the extreme difficulty of getting to be on a footing at all deserving the name of personal friendship with men of a factory when the number of them is large, however anxious they may be to get on such a footing. In business hours both master and men are too busy to have time for gossiping, and directly business is over the best of the men go, and ought to go, straight home to their families, not to see the masters again till business hours are again begun. And, although speaking from our experience here, the masters are always most cordially welcomed in the families, and the notion of such visits being considered an intrusion is a libel upon both masters and men, yet anything like general visiting is a simple physical impossibility. What little time the masters can give to visiting is sure to be required by those families of the boys which have no male head to take care of them, and, therefore their visiting has no tendency to bring them into acquaintance with the men under them; except, indeed, in cases of dangerous illness.

With the boys and young men brought up in the factory the case is quite different, for there is no need of their going straight home to their families when work is over, so the masters can keep them in the school-room or elsewhere, and gain their affections and get great influence over them. With many of our young men we are, I trust, upon terms of true and deep personal friendship such as will last for life, although, of course, when they in their turn become fathers of

families there will be the same want of much intercourse as with our present men ; but when you once know a man thoroughly, and he you, the mere moving about in the same work, with a kindly word or look when you happen to be thrown together, quite keeps up the cordiality of feeling. In speaking of not knowing the men generally, I should, however say that there are many exceptions, at least as true and as happy as with the boys ; but still these are exceptions, the rule being the other way, and anything tending to increase the number of the exceptions, as our cricket and gardens were found in practice to do last year, is of very great value ; you catch the men one by one, as circumstances bring them within your reach, the boys, a whole net-full together, but with both of them it seems to be of comparatively very little consequence what it is with which you first get a real hold over them, gardens or cricket, or schooling, or some trouble which they come to consult you about ; once get well thrown in with them with a conviction on their part that you are thoroughly in earnest in wishing their good, and the better educated and more formed mind is quite certain to get very great influence for good over the less educated and less formed one, and this influence once obtained goes on working almost unconsciously to the person exercising it, except in its effects.

I cannot leave the gardens and the cricket without noticing that they have been the means of softening to the boys one of the greatest evils now existing in the factory—the night-work, for which the men and boys come in at six in the evening to leave at six in the morning. My brother and myself live in hopes of seeing this entirely done away with in the course of years. To do away with it now would require so very heavy an outlay, that we feel it would be out of the question to propose it. The boys who are on night-work do not go to bed directly their work is over, being generally unable to sleep if they do so. They used to dawdle about or take a walk, or in some other way get rid of the time till a little later in the day, when they went to bed just time enough to get as much sleep as they needed before getting up for work again. The same boys are not always at night-work but there are two gangs which take it in turns ; those who are on day-work one week are on night-work the next, and so on. Now all last summer the night gang of boys on leaving work at six o'clock in the morning, went straight to our field, and there they thoroughly enjoyed themselves in gardening and cricket until about a quarter past eight ; they then collected in a shed which we have on the ground to hear a verse or two of the New Testament read to them, and to say the Lord's Prayer together before going home to sleep ; and the way in which they joined in this little religious service, coming as it did just as a part of their enjoyment, would make one hope for very happy effects from it. I think had the factory and its profits belonged to me, and had the cricket and gardens cost double what I have stated, I should have thought it but a sort of conscience-money, well spent in thus strengthening the physical and moral health of these boys obliged by the necessities of the work to keep such unnatural hours. On four mornings a week they went out in this way ; on the other two they attended our school from six till eight to prevent their falling behind through missing the evening school,

which of course they must when on night-work; these two school mornings have continued through the winter. We hope this summer, unless it should be very hot, to do with very much less night-work than we were forced to have recourse to during the last.

The next thing to notice is the summer excursion, Our first experiment was on Saturday, the 29th June, 1850, when 100 went down to Guildford, starting by a train at, I think, half-past six in the morning, and coming back at nine at night. It was a beautiful day, and one of thorough enjoyment to them. Breakfast, dinner and tea were provided to eat on the grass. They strolled about the beautiful country in the neighbourhood of Guildford, played what was then our only cricket match of the year, the apprentices against the rest of the factory (for in the then state of our cricketing a match did not take very long to play), and in the middle of the day the clergyman of the little church on the top of one of the hills, with a lovely view round it, who had been begged for the use of the church, kindly came and did his part of the service, the boys, their books having been brought with them, chaunting their part as they do in their own chapel. I had not felt at all sure how far this might chime in with the other proceedings of the day, but it did so most perfectly, partly, no doubt, through their having had plenty of the running about first. The church service was a quiet and resting pleasure in such a place, and under such circumstances, between the two divisions of the active pleasure which was the chief object of the day. The country about Guildford is so really country, so absolute a contrast in its quietness and extreme beauty to all the common life of these boys, that one felt what a world of new ideas and feelings they were being introduced to; the very many of them, at any rate, who had never seen anything like real country before. From the way they looked at and spoke of the country to each other when there, and spoke of it after returning, I am sure many of them if they live till ninety will remember that one day, and with a feeling more beneficial to their minds than any which months of ordinary schooling would be likely to produce."

The cost of this expedition was £28, and excursions of the same kind but to other localities have been since undertaken at an expense of sums double this amount. Mr. Wilson has some very excellent observations on the necessity for these amusements; he considers it hard enough that boys who have worked all day in the factory should be asked to attend school in the evening; but when they are so well disposed as to do these things, he believes those relaxations are useful to employer and employed.

The large school-room, built in 1848, was soon overcrowded, the boys for want of space being compelled to write upon pieces of thick pasteboard held upon their knees; another objection to this crowding was, that young men of nineteen or twenty years of age were mixed with boys of eleven or twelve.

A new room was thus proved indispensable, and, for want of space elsewhere, Mr. Wilson was compelled to build the new school-room upon the top of that erected in 1848. It cost, with its furniture, £276 ; and that those attending might not be forced to pass through the dirt and grease of a portion of the factory close by the school-house, an iron stair-case and long gallery were erected communicating with the school, at a cost of £56.

In the year 1849 Price's Patent Candle Factory purchased the night-light trade of Mr. Childs, and by this purchase a considerable number of boys and girls passed into the employment of the Company : for some short time these young persons were paid for as evening pupils at the National School, Brompton, where they had been placed by Mr. Childs, but Mr. Wilson was by no means satisfied of the efficiency of this plan of education, and the boys were removed to the school at Belmont, and a special school was opened for the girls at a little distance from the factory. This mixing the Brompton boys with the Belmont was not approved, and accordingly one of the railway arches close by the factory was taken, made water tight and fitted up as a school, to which the boys and girls of the Brompton works were transferred ; the cost of this railway arch school, in furnishing and fitting, was £93.

Upon the general effect of these schools, upon the necessity of a chaplain, and upon other important matters worthy of the most serious attention, the following observations offered by Mr. Wilson are placed here before the reader, that he may judge for himself, upon the humanity, the christian feeling and the more than good sense, the wisdom, of the views by which Mr. Wilson is actuated.

" On bringing the girls' work over here from Brompton, it was of the utmost consequence, that its first start in the new place should be a well managed one. If we had begun with a bad set of girls, we must have continued with them, for with a bad name once given to the factory, all the good parents would have kept their girls away, so that we could have got none but bad ones, and the factory would have soon deserved the bad name, whatever might have been the case at first. We hope that we have made a good start, from the fact that good parents are very glad to send their daughters ; and we hope also that by careful weeding out of the doubtful ones, at each time of slackness of work, we shall always be getting a better and better set. Their management will of course be the most difficult part of our school system, but I am happy to say that a lady of much experience has consented to take the charge of them.

This lady wished to make the whole of the expenses a part of the charge so taken ; an offer which I shall very gladly accept, if, after the coming meeting of the proprietors the annual expenses remain upon me, as they are of an amount beyond what I am able to pay. But I have begged that this part of the arrangement may stand over until after the coming meeting, as the Company has the first right to the privilege of doing all that is to be done for the education of its own people, and I should have felt, in allowing any other person to do any part of this before the Company had declined it, that I was accepting charity for the Company without being authorised to do so. On this principle I have always refused pecuniary help when offered by individual shareholders, except as personal loans to myself when I happened to be short of funds ; and except also for matters not included within the Company's birth-right, as for instance, a better organ for our chapel, for which I gladly accepted £300 from another lady not even a shareholder.

You will notice how very much more confidently I speak here of the success of much of our plans than I did when the subject was under your investigation at this time last year. The reason is, that we have been succeeding so far better last summer and throughout the winter than we ever did before, and have such very happy prospects that this success is to be permanent and increasing. One principal element in the permanence and increase of success, is the getting among us a competent person to give his undivided attention to the moral and educational charge of the factory. This really is abundantly sufficient occupation for one person, and to have it left entirely on the shoulders of those who have the charge of the business, is to cause them to be always pulled two ways, and to be in danger of neglecting one duty in trying to fulfil another. I had felt this so strongly that I had long been in search of a person (for many reasons it was desirable that he should be a clergyman) to whose undivided care the charge could be entrusted, and having found one last summer, I begged him to come and take charge of us as chaplain of the factory; but it was not until the beginning of November that he was able to come. I look upon this appointment as the means of binding together and securing all the efforts for good that are being made in the Factory, for there are many of us very anxious to help forward all that is good, but we are all busy, and it seems much better that the originating and superintending of the educational arrangements, should not be with any of us, but with some person with nothing else to attend to, and that we in our several positions in the factory should only have to back him up and assist him. Then on this plan so much less is dependant upon the life and health of any individual, for if the chaplain dies another can be appointed, but if every thing depended upon my brother or myself, our successor, in case of our death, might not choose or might not be able to give himself up to such matters, and so they would fall to pieces for want of a head. Again, the person having the chief charge must live on the spot, for he must be at his post at a quarter to six in the morning, and at eight in the evening : but my brother's health would not let him sleep at the factory, and mine failed the winter



before last. Everything on that occasion went sadly backward ; but this last winter I have been away, many weeks at a time, in Yorkshire, on the Company's business, without the educational matters at all suffering.

When we got the new organ for the chapel, the small organ, which was there before, was moved into the Lower School-room. In this room the chaplain has a short service every morning, at a quarter to six, for the men, some of whom come just before beginning their day's work, and are there joined by others who have just finished their night's work. The time till six is taken up with singing a hymn with the organ, reading and explaining a few verses of the Bible, and short prayers. At five minutes past six, there is a similar service in the same room for such of the boys as can attend. After that, the chaplain works in the Night Light School, which is held from six o'clock till breakfast time, four days a week : or he is in the Candle Factory Morning School, which is held two days a week, for those who are at night work : or else he works with a class of the most forward of the boys, who act as teachers of the others in the evening school, and on this account are allowed to have one morning weekly from their work to keep up their own instruction. In one or other of these things the chaplain is occupied each morning of the week till breakfast time. After breakfast at half-past eight, we who are of the counting-house, together with the two foremen, Mr. Craddock, and Mr. Day, meet in the Lower Room for a short service, before the counting-house day begins. When we leave the room at five minutes to nine, the day school-boys begin to come in, and the chaplain works with them. In the afternoon he has his sick list and other visiting to attend to, and then in the evening four times a week he has our regular evening school, from half-past six to eight. His course of visiting includes the homes of the boys belonging to the evening and day schools ; such visiting of their homes being I think the most powerful of all means of getting influence over them ; for when the head of the school has got to see and know a boy's mother, and to consult with her about his welfare, he can quite read the effect of this in the boy's changed expression of face next time he meets him in the school-room.

Two of the above mentioned duties of our chaplain had, like our cricket, their commencement under mournful circumstances. The six o'clock service for the men was begun on the occasion of one of our young men (a fine lad of nineteen, and a general favourite with all who had worked with him) being drowned through the swamping of a boat in which he and three others of our young men were rowing with one of our boys to steer them. The three were nearly drowned also, and after this shock they wished for some help in religion between Sunday and Sunday, and this little service was begun for them, while the factory was still in the state of excitement attending the search during many days for the body of the poor drowned boy. It was thought, also, that others besides these three might be glad to attend the service. But an unexpected difficulty presented itself : the men of the factory were afraid of each other ;

not with reference to the being seen attending to religion, but to the fear of being suspected of doing so in order to curry favour. This and other circumstances made the service have a most unpromising beginning, so much so that soon after its commencement the reader would sometimes, for two or three mornings together, have to himself the little room in which the service was then held. But it grew by degrees. Unavoidable circumstances, however, afterwards occurred to check it, and then to cause its discontinuance. It was revived in the spring of last year, at the earnestly expressed wish of a few who had previously belonged to it. Being now made wiser by experience, we commenced it this time by a general invitation to all the men (on last Good Friday) to come if they felt disposed. This enabled a man to come without appearing to be putting himself forward. The little room was very soon inconveniently crowded, and the service was then removed to the school-room, and it is now, I trust, a permanent part of the factory arrangements.

The other matter, having a mournful origin, is the counting-house service at half-past eight. It arose, like the cricket, in the cholera. Seven of us had been in the habit of going to the early daily service at Lambeth Church, but, when the cholera became very bad, as the way to and from the church was through the low part of Lambeth, in which it most raged, and passed the two churchyards in which cholera burials were going on at the rate of from forty to fifty a day, we got frightened, being all of us more or less unwell. We then, with the assistance of one of the neighbouring clergy, began the school-room service, and have continued it since the cholera has passed away, because some are able to attend there whose duties will not allow of their going outside the factory.

We hope that during this summer, now that we have a chaplain, we shall be able to keep a much stronger hold over all the bigger boys who have to leave us in the spring, and are too old for the day school, by dividing them into classes, and getting each class, or such of them as have not been able to find other work, to meet the chaplain perhaps once a week in the Railway Arch, for schooling (in the early part of the day, when the room is not being used for the girls.) We shall also endeavour on two other mornings in every week to get them taught tailoring and shoemaking in the same place, not in the idea of their ever practising these things as trades, but to enable them to mend and perhaps make their own clothes and shoes, and hereafter those of their families. Many working men do this and find it a great saving. It also furnishes an employment which, while valuably employing a man's spare time, yet keeps him with his wife and family.

The chaplain ought to know every boy who has ever been in the factory, so that when any are wanted again he may be applied to for information as to the best to take on. For the same reason he ought, as far as possible, to know the men connected with the place by having occasionally worked in it; and investigations of new characters ought to be referred to him; so that we may be enabled to avoid for the future, what has often hitherto been unavoidable,

the taking on comparative strangers, and afterwards finding them not such as we should have liked to take on, and yet not bad enough to discharge when once on.

From what I have been saying it is plain that the chaplain's usefulness will depend chiefly upon a thorough knowledge of the place, and of all working in it, and, that on that account, each additional year among us will increase his efficiency, so that any frequent change is out of the question. He ought to be considered and, above all, to consider himself, as fixed for life, and, therefore, his remuneration ought to be on the scale of that of an Incumbency, not of a curacy. It was on this principle that when fixing what portion of my salary to pay over to him I named £200 a year; I might have fixed it in the case of our present chaplain at what I pleased, because coming solely for the work's sake, and happening to be in private circumstances which did not oblige him to think of money, no questions were asked upon this point, nor would have been to this day, but I thought the matter ought to be settled on principle, without reference to the individual case.

I have now answered your questions so far as they relate to the factory educational expenses, past and present. The summing up of all the amounts I have named for the past is £2093, and the summing up of the present annual estimate £845.

I was also, if possible, to state the amount of direct pecuniary advantage to the Company from all that has been done, and is doing. This I find to be impossible. One can only say generally, that the whole spirit of a factory, such as I trust ours is now in prospect of becoming, will be different from that of one in which the giving and taking of wages is the only connection between the proprietors and their people. One feels intuitively the moment the idea of two such different factories is presented to one's mind, that the difference does, and must necessarily by the very laws of human nature and of religion, ensure to the one much greater prosperity than to the other, although it may be impossible to trace out the details of this, and say such and such a hundred pounds spent at such a time on the boys has brought back two hundred pounds before such a date afterwards. If I were forced to come to some particular, proved instances of benefit to the business, I should take first the one which you witnessed the other night after coming down from the schools into the factory, a number of boys working so steadily and well at what a few years back we should not have thought of trusting to any but men, it being work requiring much greater care and attention than can be reckoned upon from ordinary untrained factory boys. Yet even here the exact pecuniary benefit cannot be stated, for the boys whom you saw at work are not substitutes for men, but for machinery. It is the fact of our having at command cheap boy labour which we dare trust that enables us to make now by hand the better sorts of candles, which we used to make, like the other sorts, in the machines, and which, on account of the hardness of the material, when so made were never free from imperfection. The benefit will come to us, not in saving of wages (for had the choice been only between the men's dear labour and the machines, we should have

stuck to the machines), but in increased trade through the imperfections of the candles alluded to being removed.

In stating the expenses of the schools I might have gone a little more into particulars. Of the £1118 spent, including the day school, £694 is for salaries, and £424 for other expenses. A very large part of this last sum is for books; it is this which makes it bear so large a proportion to the salaries. I need not say how absolutely necessary some reading at home is for the boys if they are ever to be good for anything. So far as our experience goes this is far more valuable when the books read are the boy's own property, than when the books are merely lent to him as they used to be by us. Yet, as a boy is so apt to care nothing for that which costs him nothing, it does not at all answer merely to give books. On the other hand you cannot urge boys to buy, because they may be in circumstances in which to be spending their money upon books would be a piece of very wrong self-indulgence, as in the instance of the son of a widow with a young family, where every farthing of the boy's wages are wanted at home for food and clothing. The plan that we adopt is to let the boys have books freely in cases where they can feel that they have worked hard for them, and so have fully paid for them in exertion of some sort or other, if not in money. For instance, we have particular examinations rising one above another in point of difficulty, and for one or other of these (the next higher above his last) each boy is working. He can offer himself for examination whenever he supposes himself to be ready, and if he passes he has a certificate of his having done so written by the examiner in the first page of some book which the boy chooses out of the stock. There is no fear that he or his friends at home, to whom he takes his prize in triumph, should undervalue such a book as having cost nothing. So with the books acquired by another kind of exertion—the prizes of the cricket matches. Each boy on the winning side chooses his book, and then his name is written in it, and the score of the match pasted into the first leaf. He will not undervalue this. I have watched several instances of big boys backward in learning winning good cricket prizes, and so being obliged to choose books something beyond their then state of advancement. In such a case a boy that has any good in him never rests satisfied until he has mastered his book, and in his efforts to do so gets more good in holiday time, and with no help but that of his friends at home, than he would by a good long time of regular schooling. To the younger ones we give tickets for regular and early attendance at school, good writing, and other such things, with which, often with money of their own to help up the amount, they buy books. We also sell a great many for money to those who can afford to spend it. A price list hangs in the room, the prices being under the real cost, but not so very much so as to let the boy feel that any book he may buy is not a real purchase.

You wished me to speak of the chapel as well as of the Schools, and to give its past and present expenses. The majority of our boys did not go to public worship at all on Sunday, as I have already said, and the same was the case with many of their parents. A boy

so brought up has great difficulty in beginning to go, and in persevering afterwards. We found by speaking to them individually, how glad they would be of a place to which they could go, as to their own regular place of worship, where they could be certain of being welcome, and would be free from the feeling of strangeness with which a factory boy walks into an ordinary church. We could not find any place with room in it, nearer than the little church in Battersea Fields. In the autumn of 1848, we took one of the galleries in that church for the factory boys, and got room in the body of the church for the day school boys, but the distance was inconveniently great, and the church so vilely ventilated, that on Sunday evening the gallery was always stifling. The gas and heat used to put half the young boys to sleep, and to make me ill for a good way into the week. We, therefore, gladly seized the first opportunity of removing. We had taken a lease of St. Paul's Chapel, in Kennington Lane, at the instance of a clergyman who thought of accepting the office of chaplain, and made it a condition that he should have some place for Sunday services. The incumbent of the district was then anxiously looking out for a place for an additional service, and begged that it might be in this chapel, as the clergyman spoken of had on further consideration refused the chaplaincy, so that we could not immediately occupy it ourselves. To this we agreed, and, joining our forces with his, he finding the minister and we the place, we got the chapel licensed, and re-opened it in the spring of 1849, removing our boys thither from Battersea Fields. The place was in a poor enough state when we got the lease, and it cost a great deal to put it into decent order. The whole expenses to 31st December, 1851, have been £1196, and the present annual expenses are about £260. The boys fill the two galleries and do all the congregational part of the service. The girls sit below and also a good many of the men and their families. The men who attend, form, however, only a small proportion of our whole number, as we do not of course wish to disturb any, whether men or boys, who are already going to their own regular places of worship, but only to catch those who were not before in the habit of going anywhere, a class, the number of which our plans have happily very greatly diminished, and are still steadily, though not now rapidly diminishing. The neighbours fill any space not occupied by ourselves, holding their seats on notice of being expected to quit, as the increasing attendance of our men and boys may require us to keep the chapel more and more exclusively for ourselves. At first we took no money, but the chapel-warden complained so bitterly of the way in which this worked against the getting a regular congregation with fixed seats for them, that he was allowed to take a low rent for seats from strangers, and half the same rent from any of the men taking seats for themselves and their families; but the whole amount to be kept below that of the officiating Clergyman's stipend, which had at first been borne by the 'Additional Curates' Fund.' It was declared off that fund directly we began to take money, and the effect of this change in the source of payment, has been to make the chapel cease to be dependant on the church of the district, and so become exclusively ours. The amounts given as

those of the whole past and of the present annual expenses, are, after adding the stipend, and deducting the rents taken.

These amounts for the chapel, added to those already named for the Factory expenses, make a sum of £3,289 for the whole past expense to 31st December, and a sum of £1,105 for the whole present annual expense. With these figures before me, I can understand how, without much personal extravagance, I have been pushed to make both ends meet out of my salary of £1000 a year.

The number of young people belonging to all these schools on the day of your inspection, the 2nd March, was as follows.—

Belmont Evening School . . .	211
Belmont Day School . . .	103
Night Light Boys' School . . .	97
Night Light Girls' School . . .	101
	<hr/>
	512

If the inspection had been earlier in the year the number would have been a good deal larger. If later it would be smaller, and a re-inspection in the thick of next winter will I hope show 800."

So far for the educational provisions of the factory; but there are other points to which reference must be made, and amongst these the most important is that connected with the management of apprentices.

Coopers, Mr. Wilson observes, are much employed by Price's Patent Candle Company; and though he has known some excellent men amongst the trade, yet, "perhaps from their trade taking them much into breweries and distilleries, and making many of them too well acquainted with the inside of a cask as well as the outside," they are not always to be depended upon; and, in consequence, Mr. Wilson was much annoyed when large numbers were required in the factory. The trade is a close one, and regular coopers will not work in a shop with those who have not served, or who are not serving, a regular apprenticeship. It is, however, strictly in accordance with trade rules, that any freeman of London may take apprentices to his own or any other trade, provided only that he gets them taught the trade; and Mr. Wilson accordingly took out his freedom, and apprenticed half-a-dozen of the best conducted lads himself; had them placed in a shop, unmixed with other coopers, save one, who taught them. The original intention was that they should be coopers in the summer only, and candle makers at the busy period of the year; this plan, however, was abandoned, as it would be unjust towards them, regarding the learning their trade as coopers; and it was found also that

the factory afforded them sufficient employment in coöperation at all seasons. The entire number of apprentices in the factory was, in the year 1852, twenty-five,—being ten coopers, ten engineers, six carpenters, and one coppersmith, all of good character.

Upon the vexed question of over-time, Mr. Wilson has the following observations :—

“As for overtime, they will work cheerfully, when required, any number of hours which we, looking to their health, dare allow them to do. We, however, take as little as possible of such over-work, either from our apprentices or from any others in the factory. When an extra quantity of work has to be done, we take on additional people, on the principle that it is better to give five men a day's work each than to give four men a day and-a-quarter each, while the fifth is perhaps starving. To act steadily upon this principle is by no means a popular proceeding, as there is not one man in twenty who is not eager for overtime. Whatever evil may arise from all the late commotion on this subject, there will come also out of it at least this much of good, that it will enable us, and all other factory managers, to quote plenty of working authority for the determination to do away with overtime. We cannot now be accused of harshness and want of consideration for our people for depriving them of it. To prevent its springing up again, through the universal eagerness for it, is one of our constant objects of attention, and has been so for years. You may imagine, then, how exceedingly ludicrous, were not the matter now becoming so deeply painful, much of what has lately been said upon this subject of overtime must appear to my brother and myself, and I suppose to all who happen to be placed by their business in the way of knowing the opinion of working men upon it, when not acting under compulsion. And as for piecework, it is the very soul of many parts of the factory. Not only the wages would be half as much again without it, but the boys and men would lose that smartness and activity which are of at least as much value to them as to their masters. One of our young men, at twenty, who has been at piecework all his boyhood, will do with ease and pleasure such a day's work as would frighten an ordinary time-worker to think of, and will enjoy a cricket match after it. It must provoke every master in the country—not so much to read the speeches of the men, for they are unhappily committed to a certain course, and allowances must be made for their very strong temptation so to colour the facts as to get, if possible, the sympathies of right thinking people on their side—but to see men of social position, education, and undoubted earnestness of purpose gulled into becoming their mouth-pieces to the public, and thus getting for them on false grounds some sympathy, at least, to encourage them in continuing for a time longer in the unhappy mistake they have made instead of acknowledging it at once. To see these men doing this, and with no blame attaching to them beyond that of allowing their very earnestness to make them form a strong judgement, and take a decided

part in a matter upon which they are for want of the particular knowledge and experience required utterly incompetent to form a judgement at all, and to think of the misery they are thereby prolonging, makes one feel the force of Dr. Johnson's maxim, that, 'A man's eagerness to do that good to which he is not called will betray him into crimes.'

This seems a most gossiping letter, but really I had no way of making a report satisfactorily otherwise than by endeavouring to get into your minds all that I have in my own on the subject in question, for to have given merely the figures without the explanations would have given most false impressions. The last page is the only really irrelevant matter, but my excuse for it is, that while taking my tea before setting to my own 'overtime' for the night, I was running through some of the speeches in question, and felt so boiling over about them, that when I came to the catch word 'apprentices,' I could not help myself."

In addition to the schools and other means of physical and mental improvement, a Mutual Improvement Society has been constituted; its meetings are held in the Railway Arch school-room, and of which Mr. G. F. Wilson is the president.

The following table shows the total past outlay, and estimated outlay per annum, for these schools:—

	Outlays to 31st Dec. 1851 for which it is considered that there is value still remaining.	Outlays to 31st Dec. 1851 for which no value remains except in their effects.	Estimated future Annual outlay
	£	£	£
Candle Factory, Lower Room and Furniture - - - -	172	...	...
Candle Factory, Upper Room and Furniture - - - -	276	...	...
New Approach to both these Rooms - - - -	56	...	...
Night Light Arch and Furniture	93	...	...
Chaplain - - - -	...	...	200
Candle Factory Evening School -	...	585	190
Day School - - - -	...	327	130
Night Light Boys' School - -	...	160	110
Night Light Girls' School - -	...	96	80
Cricket and Gardens - - -	92	157	90
Summer Excursions - - -	...	76	55
Tea Parties - - - -	...	53	...
<b>Total of Expenditure in the</b>			
Factories - - - -	689	1404	845
Chapel - - - -	400	796	260
	<b>£1089</b>	<b>£2200</b>	<b>£1105</b>



The letter of Mr. J. P. Wilson, from which we have gathered these facts now before the reader, was, with the *Report* of the Education Committee, circulated amongst the Company; and at a General Meeting of the Proprietors, held on the 24th of March, 1852, it was unanimously agreed, that the annual sum of £1,200 should be devoted to the maintenance of the schools, and of the other plans, to that period supported entirely from his own private purse by Mr. Wilson; and also that a sum amounting to £3,289, which he had expended in carrying out his system, should be repaid to him. Every body knows, or should know, Sidney Smith's aphorism, which declares that we are all naturally charitable; "A. never sees B. in want but he wishes C. forthwith to relieve him;" Mr. Wilson however, is not of this class of philanthropists. At the meeting to which we have referred, after the resolution had been passed, he rose and said:—

"I will use the few minutes in which the Chairman is employed in committing the last resolution to writing, in saying a few words upon it. All the men and boys of the factory have believed that the money spent for the schools and other such matters was mine; and no doubt the willingness to spend freely for such purposes has had a good effect upon them. But I should fear that much of that good effect might be lost, if it turned out that the money spent, and for the spending of which I got credit, was not mine after all, but the Company's. For this reason alone, even had there been no other, I dare not take the money back into my own pocket. I have already, some time since, settled this question, for many in our factory being shareholders, copies of the letter so much and so kindly commented upon to-day, necessarily went into it, and I did not like to let these copies appear there without carrying marked upon them the destination of any money which might be repaid to me for the expenses of past years. For this, and for another reason which will appear immediately, I wrote a letter to the factory, or at least to its very sufficient representative—the large number of its very best men forming the new society which you have seen alluded to as having just now sprung up. Of this letter I shall now, with your permission, read the beginning and one other short extract. 'To my fellow members of the Belmont Mutual Improvement Society. My dear Friends,—I wish to give each of you a copy of a letter which I have written to Mr. Brownrigg and Mr. Conybeare, about our schools, and about the moral state of the factory generally. Will you, each of you, oblige me by reading that letter very carefully, and, if you find anything in it which may appear to contain any mis-statement, or any false colouring, or in any way to give an untrue impression of the state of the factory in a moral and educational point of view, will you point it out to one or other of your committee. When you have done this, I shall beg of your committee to hold a special meeting, at which its members, who will thus have among them the views of every one in the Society, may compare notes together, and decide whether any,

and if so, what corrections should be made in my letter, to make it perfectly accurate in all points, and thus to give an absolutely true impression to those who read it, of the true state of the factory.

Of course I shall not be present at the meeting of the committee; Mr. Craddock and Mr. Day will report to me whatever may be decided at it.

‘One of my reasons for wishing my letter to undergo this revision is that I want to get it completely adopted by you as your own. I should like it to express your feelings as much as mine, so that I may have been your spokesman, as it were, in the matter. In this way it will not be so much my letter to Mr. Brownrigg and Mr. Conybear as *the letter of the factory as a body to the shareholders as a body: a communication between two friends compelled by circumstances to live apart, but who may not on that account be the less anxious for each other’s welfare.*’

Gentlemen, the result of this application to the new society was, first a thorough discussion of my educational letter by the full Managing Committee of sixteen, and then the unanimous and most hearty adoption of that letter as their own. You will feel with me that this stamps a very great additional value upon it.

The remaining short extract which I have to read, gives the destination of the £3,289, you are now so kindly returning to me. ‘If the Company should vote to me any part of the expenses of the schools in past years, this shall be the first beginning of a fund for building, somewhere near the factory, a beautiful chapel for ourselves, with your society’s rooms on one side, and schools on the other.’

To the contents of this extract I have only to add that, from the way in which the matter has been viewed by the few friends to whom it has been mentioned, there is a good hope, that many more thousand pounds will be forthcoming, so that our work may presently assume as much beauty materially, as that which it already possesses morally, in the pictures, at least, drawn of it in some of the flattering speeches of to day, to which pictures it must now be the constant endeavour of us all to give more and more of reality.”

Having thus succeeded in proving the excellence of his arrangements, Mr. Wilson became once more a benefactor to the Company. He believed that if a greater interest in the work could be given to the persons employed, it would be found advantageous in every respect. There was, it appeared, no necessity to *create* this spirit; it existed so fully and plainly that one of the foremen, speaking of the workers, remarked to Mr. Wilson,—“To look at them, one would think each was engaged in a little business of his own, so as to have only himself effected by the results of his work.” But Mr. Wilson’s great desire was to *preserve* this spirit; and to secure this object he proposed the following plan:—

“We would, along with the thanks of the Directors, have it made

known in the Factory, that it is their intention, should the business of the year prove, as it promises, very successful, to vote after the balancing of the books, say on the 1st March next, two week's pay extra to each of the clerks and foremen, and one week's pay extra to every other person receiving weekly wages, who shall have then been in the Company's employment equal to a full year, and shall have conducted himself unexceptionably during the time; and half a week's pay to those who shall have been four months (to meet the case of the number of new people taken on in the present press of work), with discretion left to ourselves to raise any of the second class who may have been particularly deserving into the first.

We propose that the Saturday half-holiday of the summer should be made a real half-holiday, instead of being, as at present, a mere arrangement of the men themselves, sanctioned by us, to work more on five days of the week, and less on the sixth. The regular tea-time is half-past five o'clock, but in summer, it has always been altered to six, for the first five days of the week, to lengthen thus by half an hour, the work of each of those days; and the dinner hour for Saturday has been made half-past one, instead of half-past twelve, so as to gain another hour here, and thus to earn the half holiday of not returning to work after dinner on Saturday. We now propose that the tea-time should remain half-past five in summer, as well as in winter, and that the Saturday dinner-time in summer should remain as in winter, and that the Saturday after-dinner time should be given up by the Company, the work ceasing, as far as possible, at half-past twelve o'clock.

In some cases, for instance, of those who are piece-workers all the year round, or of those whose work cannot stop at half-past twelve on Saturday afternoon (for there are parts of the work which never can stop without loss to the Company between twelve o'clock on Sunday night and twelve o'clock on Saturday night), it would be almost the making of a man or boy, after a years' hard work, to pay him a fortnight's wages (which would be equal to the summer weekly half holiday), and to let him go for that time to friends in the country, if he has any, or if he has not, then to the sea-side. He comes back, especially if a boy, a different creature from what he was when he went away, in point of vigour of body and mind, and fitness for another year's hard work; and, for such hard work as ours is at present, a man or a boy at his best in these respects will not find that he has much vigour to spare.

This last summer, also, we sent away, at different times, five boys to the country; three of them, being apprentices, had money of their own; the apprentices having a certain amount of weekly wages paid out, and a small weekly sum placed to their credit in the books, to lie at interest, and not to be touched except in very special cases. To each of these three we paid out £5 of his own money, that he might invest it in good health. The other two boys had no means of their own, and, indeed, had been helped by the Sick Fund of the factory through long and dangerous fevers. They returned to their work, but it was plain that they were losing strength again daily, instead of gaining it. They would probably, like too many a factory

boy before them, on returning to his work, pulled down by fever, have continued to get weaker and weaker at it, until compelled to leave it altogether; and here would cease, according to the established trade principle of a fair day's work for a fair day's pay, all connection between their master and them, and he need not, in walking through his factory, let any uncomfortable thoughts be raised in his mind by two new and healthy faces appearing where two sickly faces had been before; and, if he wishes to avoid such thoughts, he had better ask no questions, for the answer would probably be, that, losing with their work the wages which gave them their only chance of recovering their strength, they sank all the faster after leaving it, so that but few weeks at home were needed to prevent their sickly faces troubling any one more. But the Factory Sick Fund gave our two boys £2 each, and the Company as much more, and sent them off to Margate. The two or three weeks' change sent these two and the other three back to their work quite different beings, able to bear anything.

The money amount of our first proposal, that of the extra pay, is about £900. The amount of the second proposal, that of the summer holiday, has no business to appear in money at all. The true statement is this: we are going to pay each one of a certain number of our people wages for 3110 hours in each future year, as we have in each past year; but we are going to make them work in future only 3006 hours for their pay of 3110, and we assert that out of these 3006 hours' work, done in the spirit in which it will be done, we shall get more value than out of 3110 hours in the ordinary spirit; and we would respectfully suggest that this is a matter of which the decision must depend so entirely upon knowledge of the particular circumstances, that we are really the only competent judges upon it. The only way then in which we can give a money amount for this second proposal, is by saying that if the abstract question were asked, 'What would be the money difference between 3110 hours and 3006 for the whole of those to whom you propose to give the holiday, supposing the speed and quality of the work to be alike in the two cases?' the answer would be 'about £1200.' But let the real question be asked, 'What is the difference between 3006 hours of such labour as you will have and 3110 hours ordinary labour?' Our answer would be, 'Some hundred pounds, but we cannot tell how many, in favour of the smaller number, so that we should prefer it to the other at the same price.' If, therefore, this second proposal were made to figure, in a tabulated statement of nothing but figures, as involving an outlay of £1200, this, though true in appearance, would be absolutely false in fact. The circumstance of three-fourths of the work being piece-work, in no way affects the argument; for the time-work and wages are the standard to which the piece-work and wages are from time to time re-adjusted, and every improvement in the power of work generally in the Factory necessarily brings cheaper piece-work.

The third proposal which we have to make consists rather of an alleviation of an evil imposed upon our people by the increase of business, than of any positive and unusual benefit to be conferred on them. Such a state of things as the present sets at naught for the

time our endeavours to do without night work. Much of the factory must be worked incessantly, by one gang from six in the morning till six at night, and another from six at night till six in the morning. The two hours which the night workers have between leaving off work at six and their breakfast time (answering for supper) at home at eight, make a difficulty, alluded to in a former report. In the summer this was well got over by the cricket; at which indeed they played on, in spite of cold fog and white frost, well into October. But now, with a greatly increased number of night-workers, and with any out of door employment out of the question, we propose to allow the boys to spend these two hours in the factory; and for this purpose we propose to make sufficient washing arrangements to enable them to clean themselves, and then to provide them with a plain breakfast, which will be prepared very cheaply in the large way, consisting of an allowance of bread and butter with tea or coffee. After being freshened up by this, they may set to work at reading, schooling, chess-playing, tailoring, shoemaking, or anything else they may have a fancy for, and we may be able to teach them, until it is time to go home and get to bed. The two hours so spent in our comfortable school-rooms, and after a good washing and breakfast, will be a great benefit, as well as pleasure, to the poor boys; and also their going to bed after these two hours will be better for them than taking their meal at the family breakfast, and getting into bed immediately afterwards.

The way in which we propose to carry out the washing arrangements above spoken of is, by giving up for them the present coopers' shop, which forms the basement story of the building of which the two school-rooms are the two upper stories; putting up a new coopers' shop, which may cost perhaps £150, in another part of the factory. The washing-room so made will be a most valuable addition also to the evening school, one which we have always looked forward to obtaining some time or other, feeling that the school arrangements were quite incomplete without it, as many of the boys live too far away to be able to go home, clean themselves, get their tea, and come back again in time for the opening of the school. The same machinery which furnishes the morning breakfast for the night boys, will answer for tea at night for those of the day boys who live at any distance, and this at a cost to them quite as small as that at which they could get their tea at home. But this is a digression from the present subject, that of the night-work.

Our next proposal refers to the sick fund mentioned incidentally above. This has now existed for some years, and has been the means of very much good to the Factory. It is managed by a small committee of the foremen, acting through the sick visitor, and in such a way as not in the slightest degree to incline the men and boys to look for help from it in place of saving up for themselves, or joining benefit societies. On the contrary, a man belonging to a benefit society knows that he will be helped from this fund all the more readily on that account, should he fall into distress in any of the many ways for which his benefit society cannot, with its fixed rules, at all adequately provide, while this fund, with its perfect freedom

of action, can deal with each case separately ; and there is not in the receiving help from it any breach of the laws of the benefit society, because it is understood that no one has any claim whatever upon the fund. Many subscribe to it who never have taken, and never would think of taking any help from it, feeling that it is, so to speak, just the Factory's charity purse, from which none but the really necessitous should be helped. It is understood in the Factory that every person receiving more than ten shillings a week wages subscribes to it a penny a week, and every person receiving less than ten shillings subscribes a halfpenny. Our proposal is, that the Company also should subscribe to it a penny a week, from the beginning of the present year, for every person in its employment, those receiving less than ten shillings as well as the others, for they being more helpless, draw more heavily upon the fund in long illness than the others. The fact of the Company contributing so largely will also remove any soreness felt by the few who may not be very willing to subscribe, and who yet have felt themselves unable to refuse, for the subscription is, in fact, almost compulsory.

We spoke above about washing arrangements for the night work boys, but it is most desirable that much more than this should be done, and we propose that it should be made a part of our duty to provide, when and as we may be able, for the personal cleanliness of the factory people generally. Seeing that the business is such as to dirty them beyond all power of ordinary home appliances to cleanse, this seems only reasonable.

We propose to copy, as far as our different circumstances will permit, such admirable arrangements of Mr. Cubitt, at Thames Bank, and of Messrs. Ackroyds, near Halifax, for providing cooking accommodation for the men, and a good room to eat their meals in. The first outlay in this may be £300, and the annual expense £150, but the money will come back again twice over, in the power gained from it of doing away with the practice of men who live too far away to get their meals at home, interrupting their work for a minute or two a little time before the bell rings, to put their coffee pots on, or their food to cook ; a practice which it would, of course, be easy to stop by authority, but not right to do so, nor even worldly wise, for when men are treated unkindly even in small matters like this, they may be tempted to show in their work as little consideration for the master's interest as he shows for their comfort.

When we have got the cooking arrangements and good room for meals, we shall let no night boy out, after coming in at six in the evening, till leaving at eight in the morning. At present, the night-workers have their first and chief meal at nine at night, and being without sufficient cooking means in the Factory, we are obliged to let them out to get it ; but it is very bad to do so, for most of the places open for them at that hour are very blackguard ones ; and a boy getting near manhood, and of unfixed character, perhaps a new comer into the Factory, and taking more money than he has been used to the possession of before, is in far more danger of getting into mischief then, than at any time of the day work. The worst places are the beer shops, into which if a boy chooses to go

in the day-time, and is thereby ruined in body and mind, it is no fault of ours; but we have no right unnecessarily to heighten his danger by compelling him to hang about at night outside the factory, where they stand at all times ready for him to be coaxed into, there to take his first lessons in 'life' in the shape of smoking, drinking and gambling.

We propose to rent a piece of ground near the Factory, with grass and trees upon it, and to place a careful person in charge, with a good supply of books, on the summer Sunday afternoons, from two o'clock till five; and to let the boys, and such of the men as choose, come here and sit about in the shade reading. At present this part of the Sunday is a great difficulty with our younger boys; their parents often shut them up in the house, too often close and unhealthy, except at the times for going to the chapel in the morning and evening, and thus give them a gloomy day rather than run the risk of mischief in the streets; for the younger boys will not, as many of the elder ones do, take a good walk clear away from the low part of town in which their homes are; but the parents would be delighted to send them to any place where they would at once be in the open air and out of mischief. We cannot yet say the exact cost of this, but it will not be anything considerable.

The men's Mutual Improvement Society—which is in no way interested in the educational votes of last March—having now been in existence some length of time, and succeeding so well as to leave no doubt of its permanence and usefulness, we propose to pay to it £100 as the Company's subscription for this year. They have found it absolutely necessary, on account of the varying states of progress of the members, to take a house, in order to get several different class rooms; using the night-light school-room, which we lent to them at night for their first start, only as a reading and lecture room.

We propose also £50 for a similar Society now setting hard to work in the Battersea Factory. The members of this belonged at first to the Society here, but the walk of an hour out and an hour home again was found an insuperable obstacle to properly attending it, and has led them, in the increasing importance of the Battersea Factory, and increasing number of those employed in it, to set up for themselves: also £25 for a society of the same sort in the Manor Street Factory; and £25 for an important class, formed chiefly among the Belmont apprentices, and superintended by the head engineer and the foreman of the carpenters, and which they call the Experimental Class; but which at present is hard at work making a lot of philosophical apparatus; engineer apprentices, coppersmiths, carpenters and coopers, all working in their own time, each at what he is best able to do towards this purpose; so that the money they require is chiefly for material, and each £1 given them will become £2 or £3 in value of apparatus by their labour put upon it. It is an admirable method (we can say so, because it was devised by the foremen and the boys themselves, without any suggestion from us) of advancing our mechanic apprentices in knowledge and skill, and will also bring into view the particular capabilities of the other boys of the Factory allowed to join them, and will thus guide us in the

choice of future apprentices. They hope to employ some of the summer half-holidays in visiting different factories to which we may be able to introduce them.

We propose that it should be put upon us as a part of our ordinary duty to make arrangements for receiving into the Company's charge, to lie at interest, or to be paid out at any time on demand, any part of the wages of our people which they may wish so to put away, in however small separate sums. We are aware that this opening of a private savings' bank for which the Company will be responsible, although a trifling and perfectly safe thing at first, might bring very evil consequences hereafter, unless arranged with all the caution which such a possibility of future evil points out as necessary. But the responsibility incurred and caution required by such a measure are not a tenth part so great as the responsibility incurred and caution required in the Company's daily business; so that this is no sufficient reason against the proposal.

But in our case the first savings must often be single pennies and other sums not exceeding sixpence, for many of our boys have an understanding with their mothers that threepence or sixpence a week is the most that they can afford to let them keep for their own purposes out of their wages.

That the boys will be ready to avail themselves of facilities for saving has already been proved in the factory. We have known as much as £37 in the hands of one man, the savings of the boys in his part of the work, they having confidence in him, and he being always at hand at wages time; and a good deal is done in smaller sums in this way of men persuading boys about them to save, and the boys making them their bankers to help them to do so. We have also received small sums in the school-room. But these little private plans are all defective and quite insufficient.

We propose in all parts of the Factory where regularity of time is of importance, to secure this by an annual money reward of moderate amount, to those only, however, whose conduct has been good in other respects also. This will make more hearty work than the dread of fines, or of dismissal, and, moreover, will show whatever fines or other punishment may still be necessary, to be so manifestly right, as to make, not only the Factory in general, but the delinquent himself, sensible of this, and so prevent his mind rising against them. This is a point of more delicacy and importance than a person not led by circumstances constantly to watch Factory feelings would at first suppose; for there is nothing in the exercise of the authority over him against which a man's mind rises so instantly and so strongly, as a fine imposed either upon himself or upon a fellow workman, unless he can clearly see both its justice and necessity; and as strong prejudices and fellow feeling are the spectacle glasses through which he begins to look for these, they often require to be made what the master thinks most unnecessarily plain before he can catch sight of them: and anger and soreness of mind, whether well founded or not, are quite as troublesome guests in a factory as irregularity of time. Money fines and stoppage of time are two of the first points pitched upon by clap-trap speakers about factory labour,



for a man is then caught hold of by his good side, his sense of justice. He would work more cheerfully for fifteen shillings a week, than for a pound a-week with a shilling fine of doubtful propriety. We propose that in all cases of men being obliged to pay fines to the sick-fund, the Company should pay to it an equal amount in addition, not in order to do away with ill-feeling about any fines now imposed, for happily no such feeling exists, but in order to carry higher the happy state of good feeling, and so to enable us to exercise greater strictness, and to feel less fear of putting on all fines of the propriety and advisability of which we ourselves feel certain. The amount so paid by the Company will be trifling.

The first objection will probably be, that we are an Act of Parliament Trading Company, and that this fact binds the Directors, who are but trustees of the joint stock property, to keep strictly within the limits of the ordinary trade ideas of their time and country in their management of it, whereas some of these plans are manifestly at variance with these ideas.

We shall put our review of the progress of the trade into the imaginary frame-work of a Company, to make more evident the parallelism of its course to the course which we are now engaged in defending.

We will suppose a candle company in existence a moderate number of years back. One of the then ordinary trade ideas was, that candles should be made without expensive machinery, by causing raw tallow to congeal upon a clumsy mass of unprepared cotton. Great capital was required; that of our Company would not have been at all too large; but the trade idea said that nearly the whole ought to be in floating stock, in candles, that is, made long before use, and stored, in order to get rid by lapse of time of some of the abominations incidental to their imperfect manufacture. Now, the Directors of such a Company, if good men for their place, instead of resting contented with the ordinary trade ideas of their time, would have found their professional instincts grieved and offended by the barbarous state of things around them. In this state of mind, they would have made careful observation of the effect of the introduction of science and machinery into other trades, and much cautious consideration and experiment of the best mode of introducing them into their own. They would presently have felt their way sufficiently to decide upon the withdrawal of some of the capital from the safe form of floating stock (in which it could always be realised and returned to the proprietors, in case of anything going wrong with the trade), and the sinking it in machinery, unrealisable, and indeed of little value, except in the hope afforded by it of future profits. They would have continued to lay out in this way one ten thousand pounds after another, until they had increased the amount of sunk capital to at least a hundred times that sanctioned by ordinary trade ideas. They would have quadrupled the labour and fuel expended upon each ton of material, and would have complicated so much the previously simple and inexpensive process, that each particle of the material would have to be brought into the state of invisible gas, and back again, once at least, often twice, in its passage from the

cask to the mould. And finally, they would have had the hardihood to assert, that all this expenditure was a part of their simple duty of managing the trade of the Company as prudently and economically as possible ; and that they staked their character as men of business, that the result would be the production of candles of less cost than before, and of double value, and a consequent enormous pecuniary gain to the Company. The result would have proved them to be right ; but, until it came, some of the proprietors would have shaken their heads, and would have thought that there was a great deal too much deviation here from ordinary trade ideas.

This case, constructed out of the experience of the past, is in strict analogy with our recommendations for the future, for in each there is one only reason for, and one only reason against the course in question ; the affirmative reason in both cases being confidence in the strong conviction of those in the best position for forming a right judgment, and the reason against in both cases being contrariety to 'ordinary trade ideas.'

We must, however, state that in using the words 'strictest trade principles' we do not mean that the definition of these should be sought in a dictionary of political economy, but in actual life ; by examining trading establishments, and by judging by plain common sense, which of them are in the highest state as to present, and promise of future, trading efficiency, especially in their human machinery and at what comparative expenditures of money, the various degrees of efficiency have been attained. We feel certain that this examination would prove that all such things as we are proposing are, so far as trade results are concerned, neither more nor less than the adoption into trade of the principle of high farming. In the one, an apparently extravagant amount per acre, in the other an apparently extravagant amount per man, is expended, and in each case with the same result, that of bringing back again, not in the first year perhaps, but in a series of years, all the amount expended, and a large profit on it besides. And at their first commencement they were alike scouted, the one by all received farming, the other by all received trading ideas ; and their originators were held to be visionary persons, and extravagant, forfeiting their character as prudent practical men, and their right to the confidence of such men.

The expenditure proposed should be viewed in relation to the other sums with which our concern has to deal, and not in its mere absolute amount. Suppose one of our Proprietors, not conversant with the business, were to be told, after the end of the year, but before the balance was declared, that we had lost from 800 to 1000 tons of the palm oil bought in the course of the year ; that is, that the weight of candles and oil produced was this much short of the weight of palm oil paid for ; and that the money amount of this loss was near £30,000 ; he might think that a business in which £500 a week was being wasted, must be going headlong to ruin. Yet this is the real amount of the aggregate of trifling losses, by the small quantity of impurity in each cask, added to the quantity of material which we find it profitable positively to destroy on account of the additional value given by the same process to the remainder. If we want 4000

tons of produce, we could make it out of 4000 tons of material, but it would be poor stuff when it was made; so, as we want the best produce we can get, we buy not only the 4000 tons absolutely necessary, but 800 more, which we were under no necessity to buy, and which, to any person not understanding the circumstances, would appear to be sheer waste. Now, as we want annually £30,000 value of labour, and, as we believe the best to be the cheapest, we propose to lay out not only the £30,000 absolutely necessary, but something more besides, and which, being unnecessary, would have an appearance of waste to any one not understanding the circumstances.

We would entreat the Proprietors to look at the amount in this way, not as an absolute but as a relative one, and to admit into their minds as a principle, for our benefit, and that of all their future managing directors, that there is no reason beforehand for suspecting of extravagance any plans involving an expenditure of not more than a certain moderate proportion of the whole amount paid for labour; but that on the contrary, instead of it being thought that the manager who should propose such plans was going too fast, the presumption would rather be, that one who did not propose any, was going too slow, and thus missing the opportunity of making outlays which would bring a profitable return.

On this view, of looking not at the absolute amount of all such expenditure, but at its amount relatively to the magnitude of the business, we should be disposed, were the factory our own, to place every year to a separate account, headed 'charges incidental to the employment of labour,' a certain fixed proportion of the whole amount of the wages account, or a fixed sum per ton of raw material, or an amount varying in some other such way with the variations of the business; and out of this amount to pay such charges as we are now considering, and also all educational and other such charges."

We trust that no reader of this *Review* will hold that we have inserted these extracts, condensed even as many of them are, at too considerable a length. We believe them of first importance; the Proprietors of the Company ordered several thousand copies to be printed, and we earnestly hope that all who read this paper will give the suggestions of Mr. Wilson the fullest consideration.

Mr. Wilson has wisely proposed that his Company shall identify the interests and the prosperity of the Factory with the welfare and improvement, in mind and body, of those in its employment. They are to be men—freemen not serfs. Mr. Wilson is no esprit d'escalier; he proposes no schemes which he is not prepared to carry out. The Christian Managing Director of the Candle Company to-day, is but applying to the workers of his Factory, the truth which, in old times, the pagan Pliny applied to agricultural labor done by slaves, when he wrote,—"*Coli rura ab ergastulis pessimum est; et quicquid agitur, à desperantibus.*"

The cost of all these new proposals amounted to almost £500 per annum; and although fully agreeing with Mr. Wilson in all his views, the Board thought it advisable that the consent of the Proprietors should be obtained before so large an outlay should be made. At a meeting of the Proprietors, held on the 16th of December, 1852,—66 Proprietors being present, it was resolved, with only two dissentient voices, that Mr. Wilson's plan should be carried out: the two dissentients were quite willing to vote with the majority if the resolution were confined to one year as a trial: many proprietors, residing at a distance from London, wrote approving the proposals. So far we have written of the manner in which the Proprietors received Mr. Wilson's proposals. What, it may be asked, was the conduct of the workers? it was worthy of them, it was worthy of Englishmen:—

“When the result of the Proprietors' Meeting was known in the Belmont Factory, the men arranged among themselves, without any suggestion by the managing Directors, to hold a meeting upon it; and accordingly, on the following Saturday evening, the 18th December, 1852, upwards of 500 of the workpeople in that factory came together. Mr. Craddock, foreman of the Candle-makers, was called to the chair, and the meeting proceeded as follows.

“The Chairman said, that the Meeting was called to consider a letter written by the Managing Directors, and cordially agreed to, first by the Board, and then by a General Meeting of the Proprietors, called on the previous Thursday, for that special purpose. He was fully convinced that the Meeting would feel it incumbent upon it to show, by the adoption of certain resolutions, that they were sensible of the kindness they had hitherto experienced from the Company, and could fully appreciate the boons which the Company so spontaneously proposed on Thursday last, to confer upon their workpeople, for their comfort and welfare. When it was considered that the proceedings of the Company were almost, if not quite, unprecedented, it was certainly of the utmost importance that acts which were likely to benefit thousands of the working classes, by the adoption of similar ones in other factories, should be properly responded to. He was sure, from past experience, that the Company would be amply rewarded for what it had done, as every additional act on its part to promote the welfare of its workpeople, was an additional motive, if such were necessary, for every person to do all in his power to promote the prosperity of the concern. He concluded by reading the several propositions passed at the Meeting of the Proprietors, each of which was received with the most enthusiastic cheering.

“Mr. PUNCH, Engineer, in moving the first resolution, agreed with the Chairman in the great importance of the Meeting, as it was to

acknowledge that which was calculated to benefit, not only those in the Company's service, but thousands of the industrious classes, the producers of the wealth of this Country, by inducing other employers to imitate and carry out, as far as possible, the example so admirably set forth by Price's Patent Candle Company, and he had no hesitation in saying, that had the same good feeling existed in many other factories between employers and employed as was present in our own, that fearful calamity, which acted so prejudicially to the interests of both masters and workmen, and which is yet scarcely forgotten by thousands of various trades, would never have occurred. He would conclude by moving:—

'That we, the Workmen and boys in the Company's employ, do acknowledge with gratitude, the kindness and liberality of the Directors and Shareholders in administering to our social comforts and we pledge ourselves, individually and unitedly, most heartily to exert our efforts to promote in every way the interests of the Company.'

'The motion was seconded by Mr. G. BRISTOW, Cooper, and unanimously agreed to.

'Mr. UNDERWOOD, Pressman, moved the next resolution, to the effect:—

'That this Meeting, feeling its deep sense of obligation to J. P. and G. F. Wilson, Esqs., the Managing Directors, desires to express its warmest thanks and sincere attachment to them, for their untiring zeal to promote the comfort of those under their direction.

'The motion was seconded by Mr. W. Towersey, Candle Maker, and agreed to with enthusiasm.

'The following resolutions were also agreed to:—

'That three cheers be given to the Company, and the future prosperity of the concern;

Which was responded to amidst the most enthusiastic cheering.

'That a report of the proceedings be forwarded to the Directors and Managing Directors of the Company.

'A vote of thanks having been accorded to the Chairman, the meeting terminated.'

Three days afterwards, the men of the Battersea Factory came together, and the following is the report sent in, of their proceedings.

'At a general meeting of the men employed at the Battersea Works of Price's Patent Candle Company, held on the 21st December, 1852, for the purpose of returning thanks to the Directors and Shareholders of the Company, for the kind and liberal grants made to them, it was unanimously resolved:—

'That they most heartily adopt the Resolutions passed at a similar Meeting held at the Belmont Works, on the 18th instant.

'S. I. ROBERTS, *Chairman*.'

It must not be supposed that Mr. Wilson attends solely to the formal schooling, and to the out-door amusement of the workmen and boys. He addresses letters to them frequently; all the acts of the Proprietors in which the employed are concerned, are detailed to these latter in plain, simple, vigor-

ous language. The manner in which they should conduct themselves through life; the manner of attending the cricket ground; choice of female society; the absurdity of *learning* to smoke; parents are told how they should act towards unruly children, and are reminded that if Scripture commands children to honor parents, so it likewise warns parents, that they tempt not their children to wrath; the highest points of christian duty, the least and smallest points of every day life are commented upon; the deaths of those once employed in the factory are turned to good account in working an improvement in the living; and as we read we fully understand a thoughtful passage in a very grave and valuable book which teaches that:—

“There is apparently a wider gulf between the *capitalist and the labourer*, than under the olden, the domestic system; but then there is compensation for that in the unquestioned intellectual and moral superiority, in the main, of the great capitalists of the present day, over the domestic manufacturers of the last and preceding generations. The employer now, can do far more than the employer of the last century, to advance the intellectual and moral well-being of the employed. The very concentration of the masses is favourable to concentration in the means employed, and all that is gained in concentration is a gain of power. The factory system, too, in itself, has a powerful direct influence on the character of the operative. It is essentially a system of method, order, and co-operation. It requires corresponding qualities and habits in the operative. It is a gross, vulgar error, to suppose that the factory operative is a mere machine—devoid of intelligence.”\*

We have before us now, two pamphlets, one consisting of letters addressed to the Men of The Factory, the other to the Boys, both series were written in the course of the year 1853; the first extends to 75 pages; the second to 47; and we assert, that better letters, and in all points more admirable never were printed. Take, for example, the following, addressed to the boys:—

*William Creamour.*

“The next that we lost after Thomson was one whom many of you will not remember nearly so well, for he was away from the factory, through illness, more than a year before he died; and even while he was in the factory he was not thrown very much in with the best conducted of you, for his habits of life were not good, and also, being a Roman Catholic, he could not join with us on the Sunday: I mean William Creamour. One chief thing which led

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\* See “Crime in England, Its Relation, Character, and Extent, as Developed from 1801 to 1844.” By Thomas Plint. London: Gilpin. 1881.

him wrong was, I think, his having a good voice, being able, as it is called, 'to sing a good song.' This led him into 'free-and-easy' and other low singing-places, and there he fell into much worse sin than the mere going to such places.

*Creamour's feelings about his own sufferings.*

Now, in all this long time of suffering, Creamour was able to feel not only contented with it, but happy in it, and thankful to God for sending it upon him. He was always ready to say this in the intervals between the attacks of extreme pain, and in saying it he was evidently speaking from his heart. For on his death-bed he had learned to enter a little into the meaning of the word eternity, and therefore felt that, if even years of agony were necessary to prepare him for passing into it, he would far rather have them than have years of the greatest happiness and afterwards pass into eternity unprepared. And he believed the greatness and length of pain were quite necessary for him: he felt that, if, instead of being struck down on a bed of suffering, he had gone on year after year in health and strength, he would never have thought of God at all, but would have still followed his pleasure, without caring whether in right things or wrong, and would have gone from bad to worse until thoroughly hardened.

*Death-bed Repentance.*

Now though it must make us happy to see a person to all appearance turned to God even just before leaving this world, yet think how wretched a thing the life and death of such a person are in comparison with the life and death of one who does not wait for sickness or suffering to turn him, but obeys God's call when still in youth, and health, and strength, and so gives all the energy of his life to His service, instead of, as the other does, giving only the miserable remains of life after all its energy has been given to the service of sin.

*No Popery!*

Before leaving Creamour's death-bed, it is worth remarking to you how good a place it was for learning the wrongness of a practice that we zealous Protestants are very apt to let ourselves fall into—the practice of lumping up together a great many things, some very good, some very bad, and some neither good nor bad, and sticking the label 'Popery' upon the whole bundle, and then thinking it a religious duty to hate, as something belonging to the service of the devil, every single thing in the bundle, and to cry out against any one whom we may see trying to use any of these things in his service to God.

I told you that Creamour was very often in such agony that he could neither speak to nor listen to any one at his bedside. Yet these were the times even more than any others when one would wish to keep religious thoughts uppermost in his mind—times when one would especially wish him to remember that, while he was bearing this great pain as part of the consequences of his own sins, and yet only for his good, there was One who had borne far greater

pain, not for sin of His own, but for ours, and not for any good to Himself, but only for our good.

But how was it possible to say all this to a person in too great pain to be able to attend to you? To a Protestant it would indeed have been impossible to say it, for to attempt to say it by using one's own mouth, and forcing him to use his ears and to give his attention, would have been mere useless cruelty; and the only way of saying all one wished to say, with almost certain success and without pain or effort to the poor sufferer, would so offend his prejudices, that it would not do to make use of it: so one must submit just to watch the suffering in silence, without attempting to give spiritual help of any sort.

#### *Crucifixes.*

But with a Roman Catholic there was no such difficulty. To him one could say all without words and see his eyes brighten a little even in his extreme pain, showing how perfectly he understood what was meant, and yet feel that, instead of exciting and exhausting him by forcing his attention, one had soothed and comforted him; for the representation, in a way to be taken in at one glance and without effort, of the cross and of our Lord in His agony upon it—this held up before the eyes, and then put into the hand, said more than words could say, and the look with which it was received said more than words could say in the way of answer.

#### *A right state of mind towards those of other parties than ours in religion and politics.*

I write this, however, more with a view to your general state of mind now and hereafter than to any particular point in your present practice; for I certainly do not wish to set you to work buying crucifixes for yourselves, but I wish you, whenever you see one of your Roman Catholic companions with one, not to have a feeling of spiritual pride over him in your greater wisdom and freedom from superstition, but rather a feeling that, in this particular instance, his education and habits give him a religious help which yours do not give to you; and, if you do so feel towards one of a different religious system from your own, it will prepare you for having a proper spirit throughout life towards people of all parties in politics and in religion, and will help you to avoid that crying sin of Englishmen, I suppose more than most other people, the praising up bad things and bad people if they happen to be mixed up with our own party, and the running down good things and good people if they are mixed up with the opposite party. It will prepare you, in fact, for judging of every thing by its own merits without caring what name people may put upon it: loving it, and gladly making use of it, if you find the clear stamp of good upon it; and refusing to have any thing to do with it, if you find no such stamp.

Every religious party, from Roman Catholics to Quakers inclusive, has an immense deal of good in it, and is almost sure to be better in some particular points of doctrine or practice than any other party, and on these particular points we should be glad to learn from it; while, on the other hand, every religious party, from Roman



Catholic to Quaker inclusive, has an immense deal of bad in it, and is almost sure to be worse in some other particular points of doctrine or practice than any other party, and we ought therefore, while deeply valuing all that we have learnt of good and true, and holding on firmly to it, with thankfulness to God for our having been taught it, yet to avoid so attaching ourselves to any party as to oblige ourselves to make its bad points our own.

### *Toryism and Chartism.*

The case is the same in politics. There is much that is good and true in Chartism, and much that is good and true in Toryism, and in both there is much that is as opposite to all that is good and true as any thing can well be: and the same may be said of all other parties between these two extremes. Most of you elder ones of the school have a great dislike to and fear of Chartism, though I do not know where you got it, for I never intentionally did any thing to give you it. 'I don't know what to make of this book, sir; it seems to me just what the Chartists say; I don't want to read any more of it,' was said to me by one of you, of a book which I thoroughly liked myself, and had therefore brought into the school without bothering myself to think whether it was what any body else said or not, but being content to know that it was truthfully written and by earnest men really set upon doing good to the country. Toryism, of course, you all dislike, as being of the manufacturing class. But never let yourselves be turned against a man by hearing it said of him, 'Oh! he's a Tory,' or 'Oh! he's a Chartist;' or against any thing which you read or hear, by some one saying of it, 'Oh! that's Chartism,' or 'Oh! that's Toryism,' or in religion, 'Oh! that's Popery.'"

Take the following extract, as a specimen of his style when writing to the men:—

### *"James Hill.*

One name, however, I must mention, because the owner of it having left us for Australia, is now out of hearing, so that there is less need of delicacy as to speaking of him: I mean James Hill, whose whole life among us was one of quiet personal influence for good, as we all felt, and said to one another, when the time came for his leaving us.

Some time before he left, another of our fellow-workers here, one who watches eagerly for all things bearing upon the good of the factory, said to me one day, when we were comparing notes as to how we were getting on: 'Now there is Mr. James Hill. Everyone likes to have anything to do with him, for he is so kind and considerate that he speaks even to the little boys who have to go into his office as if they were of just as much consequence as himself.' He might have added, as the reason of this:—that an earnest Christian needs no care or effort to make him always speak to others,

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\* This passage, and that on "No Popery" are quite worthy of "Peter Plymley."

of whatever worldly rank, as if 'of just as much consequence as himself;' for he has not got it in him to speak in any other way. Indeed, knowing his own greater duties, and keenly alive to all that he is failing to do of what he sees he ought to do, he may, when speaking to a good factory boy, whose far simpler duties are, he believes, better done than his own more difficult ones, feel himself to be in the presence of his superior in God's sight; and he has learned to consider all things and all people according to the judgment of God, and not according to the opinion or respect of the world.

An unpretending good character is almost always a popular one when well known; and if one wanted to judge of James Hill's popularity among us, it was only necessary to watch the feeling of all towards him, when he was getting on well in any of our chief cricket matches, as he almost always did, perhaps through his very coolness and quietness. In our grand match of all, when we beat the old established club of regular cricketers, every one rejoiced that James Hill had more share than anyone else in gaining the victory—more share than anyone else in the kind encouragement, rather too personal and expressive to be very refined, which the strangers, who had managed to smuggle themselves into the ground, gave to the players; such as '*Go along, greasers!*' and '*Aint them cocoa-nut chaps a pitchin' it into 'em!*'

*We may hope for more and more of this in our factory.*

As the factory goes on from year to year with so many well-conducted, and many of them clever, youngsters growing up in it, and therefore knowing it thoroughly, and happily,—I may add, deeply attached to it,—we shall, I trust, have more and more of this growing for itself its own foreman and others in authority. The perfection of this would be that when the Company has lasted long enough, if it should do so, for all of us of the present generation to die out, there should then be none in authority in it who had not begun life in its infant school, just as there is, I think, a law in force at Eton, that no one shall be an Eton master who had not been an Eton boy. It would, however, be wrong to let one's thoughts run much upon things so far off; only, the throwing out such a thought at all brings one back again to my brother George's point, of the enormous educational and moral importance of the mere right managing of a place,—showing no favour, no, not to one's own great-grandfather, if one could have him here, but treating all well, and bringing forward all who ought to be brought forward, and no one else whatever."

Take this passage following, as another specimen; it is addressed to the wives and mothers of those employed in the factory:—

"I said that the last letter spoke to you, mothers of our boys, as much as to our boys themselves; also to you wives of our men, and to our girls. How do you suppose the poor mother felt when leaving her family, the eldest boy but four or five years old, to the care of a worthless drunken beggar? We cannot tell whether she was able, as some have been, even in as sad a case, to put her trust in God and still hope for the best; or whether she died, as many others,

even of the best, have died, almost hopeless and broken-hearted. Who could blame her much if, dying under such circumstances, she had lamented, like Job, the day that she was born, and felt as if it would have been better for her never to have come into the world, than to have come into it only to give birth to children to be brought up so hopelessly, and so certain, according to all human appearances, to live a life of degradation and crime. But look how different the result was. One son was a missionary, another the Christian master of a large manufactory, and the amount of good which any one such master must do, in such a place as Manchester, will never be known until the day of judgment. Now, what was it that made things turn out so well at last, although beginning so wretchedly? Before answering this, I must just ask a question of those of you who have not yet become earnest in religion. You, most of you, if not all, say in Church, and by yourselves at home, some words which our Lord told us to say, and which we therefore call 'The Lord's Prayer.' Now, does it ever occur to you that there is a meaning in these words? If it does not, then this is just the difference between you and the mother of this manufactory. When she knelt down and said, 'Thy Kingdom come,' she felt in her heart at the same time, a real earnest wish to God, that his Kingdom should come into her own heart, and into the hearts of her children. When, too, she read in her Bible other words of our Lord, such as, 'If ye shall ask anything in my name, I will give it you,' 'Ask, and ye shall receive, that your joy may be full,'—she believed there was a meaning in these also. She knew that He who said them, was able to do what he said; and this made her go on asking the more earnestly what her heart was so set upon—the coming of God's kingdom into the hearts of her children. God gave her what she asked, and God will give you the same, if you ask it in the same way, and if you, as she did, teach your children to ask it for themselves. Is it not sad that some of you, who are the best and most devoted mothers, for all that part of your children's lives which lies in this world, toiling the flesh off your bones, in your anxiety for their good, scrimping yourselves, when necessary, of food, rather than let them run short—should yet seem to care nothing at all what is to become of them, in that much longer part of their life which is to be spent out of this world? For, if you neither pray for them nor teach them to pray for themselves, does not that show that you care for nothing that can be got by prayer? And yet you know that real religion can be got in no other way; and that, without real religion, there can be no hope for the next world. If you knew how hopeless a feeling comes over a master, or any one else trying to turn a boy right when nearly grown up, when he finds that the boy knows nothing about prayer, never having been taught to pray as a child—this would make you feel how wrong you have been. What makes it still more sad that you, who are so anxious for the good of your children, should yet be neglecting their greatest good, is, that each of you mothers and wives, is the one in the family who has the most advantages for prayer; so that God seems to be trusting to you to pray for the whole family. Your husband and your sons never can be

alone in the house, and must therefore pray as they can, without any quiet. But you, after your husband and sons are gone to work, have the house all to yourself and plenty of opportunity thus given you to kneel down, when there is only God to see you, and ask for every blessing you can think of for them and yourself. Read in the New Testament what our Lord said and did when He was on earth, and remember that whatever He was on earth He is now in heaven, and then think whether he will be slow to hear such prayers. I said you would be alone, but perhaps not; perhaps you will have the younger children about you. So much the better; if they see 'mother' on her knees, speaking to some one they cannot see, and very earnest about something, but they do not understand what; this will soon set them asking questions, and will be the best possible way of leading them into religion. And even if there is an elder daughter present, do not let this be a hindrance to you: get her to kneel down with you, and then you may expect the special blessing promised to two or three gathered together in our Lord's name. But you do not know what words to use. Just try, and you will find the words come fast enough. Did you ever find yourself short of words in telling your husband any of your difficulties or wants, for yourself or the children? God is more ready to hear and better able to understand, than your husband is; and therefore He will not refuse any words which would do for your husband, if you try to put into them the same real feeling and hope that you have when you speak to your husband for anything. Ever so few and simple words will do to begin with, if only such as these: 'O God, I feel that I have not prayed for my husband and children as it was my duty to do, help me to begin now, for Jesus Christ's sake; and help me also to teach my children to pray.'

What is the occasion on which I am writing to you wives of our men, and mothers of our boys? It is at a time when many good things are about to be done to your husbands and sons. You know this, and are thankful for it. But do you know what all these good things spring from? If not I will tell you. They spring *from a mother's prayer*. A great many years ago, a boy of nine years' old was passing the door of his mother's room, and heard her speaking, and found that it was to God that she was speaking, to beg for blessings upon him. This was the beginning of true religion in that boy's heart, and he grew up to be a blessing to all about him, and to us also; for he was Samuel Budgett, of Bristol,—and it is from his example that we have taken the good things now to be done in our Factory. Little could that mother tell, when she was kneeling alone before God, that, so many years afterwards, and at such a distance, hundreds would be rejoicing in things springing out of her prayers for her son; and little can you tell what blessings your children may be to the world, if you so pray for them as to get them made true Christians by God's power working in their hearts.

One word for our girls: the first I have ever said to you, and probably the last I may ever say. You have been reading what I have written to wives and mothers; but it is sad work to put off real prayer till you have become a wife and a mother; sad work first to be

married, and have children, and then to begin to think of God's blessing afterwards. I need not say any more; for you are in the hands of those who understand you better, and are better able to teach you, than I am. But this little hint may help you to feel the blessing of such teaching, and especially that part of it which would lead you to earnest prayer while you are yet only entering upon life.

As I have been now writing to the female department of the Factory, it may be well, before going back to the males, to give an extract from at least one of the many letters which we have received from ladies, expressing the same delight as that expressed in the other letters, in what is going on amongst us. The letter I shall choose is from a lady whose opinion is worth having, because she lives in the heart of the factories of England, and has written upon them a book, which has done an immense deal towards opening the eyes of the manufacturers to the good which exists among factory workers. This Book, 'Mary Barton,' tells of the warmth of feeling, and the generosity, of working people towards each other; and shews therefore that any warmth of feeling and generosity shown towards them, by those above them in worldly position, will certainly be met by them at least half way. The author rejoices, as you will see, to find in our Factory a place in which this happy meeting has come about. The letter is dated from Manchester; and it is there that the scene of 'Mary Barton' is laid.

'I received your letter about an hour ago, and I now write these few lines in haste to say how glad and thankful I am for all done already; and how much I rejoice in all you propose to do. I am at this moment (writing without much reflection, but on the spur of feeling) particularly struck with all of No. 2 proposal—about the midsummer holiday. The Margate plan is admirable. Here, in Manchester, we see the evils of purposeless and mere pleasure trips so forcibly, that anything like a kind supervision, and the sanctity of home extending itself over the holidays, seem to me a great thing. The proposal, No. 6, of cooking arrangements for the men, &c., I know from experience (in Mr. North's factory, near Liverpool) to be a great gain, not merely as to comfort and economy, but to the steadiness of those employed. I like the proposal No. 7, for the place for Sunday reading in the open air. (I like all; but some strike me more from bearing more especially on evils which I have observed here.)

'I like the proposal of rewards rather than fines. It comes in curiously with what I heard last week from a great land agent, who told me that the old way of letting land with *fines* for every injury done to it, was so far less efficacious than what he adopted, of no fines, &c., but promised encouragement and reward for good cultivation. Then I like the Company paying the same amount to the sick-fund as the fine.

'But I have no right to take up more of your time, nor have I any time to spare, if this letter is to go to-night. I wish you a true and hearty God speed.'

When I said only one extract from ladies' letters, I really meant it; but, while the paper is being printed, and just in time for inser-

tion, there has come to my father a letter which you must not be deprived of the pleasure of reading. It is from a lady who has been for months past warming the hearts of all England, as well as the hearts of her own country. It was written upon her receiving in America the Educational Report: and therefore of course it could not have any notice of our recent proceedings. It is dated Andover, Massachusetts, 2nd December, 1852.

'Accept my thanks for the very interesting pamphlets you have sent to me. I am interested in every such movement in England, not only for England's sake, but for America's. The situation of the operatives in England has often been used—most illogically, it is true—as an apology for a far worse system of things in this country. Every attempt, therefore, to improve the working classes in England, acts directly on the question of American slavery. I therefore wish all success to the benevolent exertions of your son, and of such as act with him. Very truly yours,

H. B. Stowe.'

Do not be surprised at the author of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' naming English labour in the same breath as American slavery; for if we, London factory workers, can happily see no likeness at all between the two, there are, in other parts of England, and indeed there are in London itself, if not in its factories, states of things so bad, that one would almost doubt if anything in the world can be worse. 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' shows how all the best feelings of human beings may be torn and trampled upon. I am afraid we can show in England human beings who have not their good feelings trampled upon, only because they have been so treated from their birth that there seems to be scarcely any human feeling left in them. Which is the worst state of the two? However, American slavery does, this last also sometimes, I suppose, as much as anything in England; so, though we are bad enough, we may have at least the poor comfort of being not quite so bad as we should be with slavery among us."

With a friend, and guide, and employer such as this, it cannot be supposed that patriotism finds no place in the bosoms of the workmen. The Company agreed to give £300 to the Patriotic Fund, and the Messrs Wilson promised that the workers would contribute a like sum—but how? Mr Wilson thus, in a letter to Mr. Charles Ranken, Chairman of the Company, thus informs us:—

"This day week what we longed for happened; for on that day the thought struck one of us, that the large lanterns with which we have now for a good while past supplied the Government Emigrant ships might be turned to great use in the tents and huts of the Crimea. They give a strong, steady light—may be hung up in a gale of wind without being blown out—are not liable to break, and can be turned by a few slight alterations easily made in them, and which we have since made, into a cooking apparatus, such as will in half an hour bake a piece of meat, or boil a pint of water.

From the Board one of us went to the Managers of the Crimean

Fund, and there, and also in a visit immediately afterwards to a gentleman just returned from the camp, received such information as made our conviction yet more strong than before of the value of the lanterns and candles to the army.

When we stated what the Company, as such, and individuals connected with it, were going to do, Lord Ellesmere wrote a kind, warm, and most grateful letter in his own name, as Chairman, and in the name of the whole Committee; and both from this letter, and yet more from the many direct and indirect communications we have since had with members of the Committee, we can say that they one and all take the same hopeful view as ourselves of the value of the gift, and therefore the same delight as ourselves in the fact of its being made. 'No gift,' one member of the Committee said, and speaking evidently the feeling of all, 'could be more acceptable or better timed.'

The lanterns and their candles, and other candles to accompany them, in proportionate quantities fixed chiefly on the advice of the gentleman recently from the camp, with whom, as we just now said, we consulted on the matter, are now all ready, and will be sent off by the Committee in the course of this week. As the quantity to be sent to represent the 600*l.* subscribed is taken at the bare cost, without charge by the Company for the use of its capital and machinery, or by the workers for their wages for the time they work in making the things sent, the quantity is great; probably as much as 1000*l.* would buy.

We propose, should the subscriptions be more than enough to give a stove and a lantern to each English hut or tent, that the excess should be sent out to General Canrobert for the use of the French; or if any subscribers to the Fund for supplying the English should wish to add a special additional subscription towards an immediate trial shipment to the French without waiting for the completion of the English supplies, we will see that this special subscription is applied at once to its intended purpose; yet not so as to check for a day the English supplies.\*

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\* Some of our readers may feel interested in the following description of the Lanterns thus sent to the Crimea:—

*Price's Patent Candle Company's Ship Lantern.*

Directions for use.—After a candle has burned out, before putting another in the tube, see that you remove all hard fat that may stick to the nozzle or that may adhere to the brass that forces up the candle. These Lanterns were designed to give light only; but for our Soldiers in the Crimea the following auxiliaries have been added, enabling them to boil water or cook a ration of meat when no fires can be lighted. 1st. Three bent wires riveted to upper side of reflector. 2nd. Round cooking dishes with covers. If you want to boil water without lighting a fire, open the lid of the Lantern, place your canteen on the wires at the top of the reflector, and the flame of the candle will boil a pint of water in half an hour. the canteen or vessel holding the water should be wiped quite dry on the outside

It must not be supposed that Price's Patent Candle Company is the only Company, Joint Stock or Private, in England, devoting portions of its funds to the education of those in its employment—and this too, irrespective of any legislative provision in the Factory Labor Acts. Good, wise, and philanthropic manufacturers have, for years, opened schools for the education of their workers. To some of these Mr Wilson has referred, as furnishing him with much and valuable assistance, by the examples of their success; and in the first volume of Mr Frederick Hill's excellent work, *National Education; Its present State and Prospects*, very interesting and valuable information, upon Factory schools, supported previous to the year 1836, is contained, relating to these establishments in England and in America.

At the Glass Works, of the Messrs Chase, near Birmingham, a very excellent school is supported, and many proprietors in the Mining Districts have founded most admirable schools for those in their employment. Some few years since the coal mines belonging to the Earl of Ellesmere, in the neighbourhood of Worsley, were in a state of very great neglect so far as regarded the secular and religious education of the miners. Upon Lord Ellesmere's taking up his residence in the district he caused various places of worship to be erected; the reading room was opened every evening; a piece of land of about sixty acres in extent was set aside for the use of the miners for recreation during their leisure hours, and public houses were prohibited; this kindness and regard for their welfare upon the part of their employer were fully appreciated by the men, who refused to take any part in the riots of August, 1842. Referring to this latter circumstance, Lord Ellesmere observed, in writing to the Editor of *The Manchester Guardian*, (and his observations are fully supported by the experiences of Mr Wilson)—“It cannot be too widely known how liberally the working classes of this country are disposed

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before placing it over the flame. A ration of meat may be cooked in a similar manner by means of the small round cooking dishes with covers, which have been provided and sent out with the Lanterns. A chop or steak will be well cooked in half an hour, and when once put over the candle and covered up, no attention is required till the meat is done. Each Lantern has been provided with the following spare fittings in case of breakage—2 Glass slides, 1 Glass chimney, 1 Steel spring. The outer glass slides in a groove in the frame of Lantern, and can readily be replaced if fractured, without the use of putty.



to reward, with their good will and affection, those to whom, right or wrong, they attribute similar feelings toward themselves."

The most recently established school, and one upon which the munificent sum of £5,500 has been expended, was recently opened by the Messrs Bagnall for the persons employed in their iron works at Wednesbury. The following account of this institution, taken from *The Midland Counties Herald*, of Thursday, January 11th, 1855, will be read with interest. It is but a proof that manufacturers and employers are beginning to understand and to act upon a truth very eloquently expressed by Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, in his speech delivered at the Leeds Mechanics' Institution, in January, 1854, when he said,—“in ancient times nobles demanded the right to fortify their castles : citizens demanded the privilege to bear arms. But now the claims of both are conceded ; it is education that fortifies the castle of the noble, and it is education that supplies to the citizen his arms.”

#### “EDUCATION IN THE MINING DISTRICTS.

A munificent provision for the educational and religious requirements of the numerous persons employed in and dependent upon the extensive ironworks of Messrs. John Bagnall and Sons, in the neighbourhood of Wednesbury, has just been made by that firm in the erection of a commodious group of buildings, to be employed both as school rooms and chapel. For a considerable time, a clergyman has been engaged to visit the workpeople at their own homes, and to conduct Divine service on Sundays ; but the room hitherto employed for the latter purpose, though spacious, has not afforded adequate accommodation for the congregation. A schoolmaster has also been engaged for the past twelve months, under whose care a flourishing night school has been formed, numbering about 240 scholars, varying from eight to twenty-two years of age, the entire expense having been borne by Messrs. Bagnall. Anxious to establish a day school on a scale commensurate with the necessities of the district, the present commodious and handsome edifice has been erected by those gentlemen, at a cost of about £5,500 ; which sum, however, includes all the additional fittings requisite for the proper celebration of Divine service, the gas fittings, and hot-water apparatus for heating the building. The school consists of one large room fifty-three feet in length by twenty-three in width, and thirty feet in height to the point of the roof, which is open. The centre (or as it may be termed transept) is divided from the two wings by lofty arches, and is carried backward considerably beyond the line of the building ; and the space thus acquired is occupied by a gallery for the infant school, a small class room or vestry being placed immediately behind. The girls' school room is to the north, and the boys' to the south of the infants' portion ; and large crimson curtains drawn across the arches, com-

pletely seclude each department from the other. The general arrangement is similar to that employed at the Chapel of the Church of England Cemetery in this town. The centre space, (or infant school,) where the clergyman will officiate, has been fitted up with a communion table and rails, a pulpit and reading desk, and is ornamented by a large five-light window, filled with neat stained glass, in diamonds, every alternate row containing the sacred monogram. In adapting the building for its twofold purpose, the architect has confessedly had a difficult task, which has been executed with great skill, for the officiating minister can see, and be seen by, the entire audience. The desks in the girls' and boys' schools are ranged in three rows, one above the other, and as the leaves are moveable are no obstacle on the Sunday. About half of the floor for the whole length of the building is left entirely vacant, that amount of space being necessary for the children to be grouped together when required, and for those evolutions so much delighted in by the children themselves, and so pleasing to spectators, and which now form an important element in the maintenance of proper discipline. This vacant space, however, is filled with comfortable benches on the Sunday, a roomy receptacle under the floor being appointed for them during the week. In school hours 500 children can be accommodated, (150 boys, as many girls, and 200 infants,) and about 700 worshippers on the Sunday. The building is heated throughout by hot water, and lighted by neat gas branches painted blue. Without any attempt at elaborate decoration, there is a pleasing appearance about the whole structure, which shows it to have been designed with good taste, and the details to have been planned with skill and executed with judgment. The style is that of Gothic, the material employed in the erection being red brick, with stone dressings and copings. At each end of and communicating with the school room, is a comfortable house, the one for the master and the other for the mistress. In the rear are large playgrounds, separated from each other, and the necessary out-offices. An omission—which we doubt not will be speedily supplied—occurs, in no lavatory having been constructed, which, as night schools will be conducted, would be a great convenience to the boys from the various furnaces. The building has been erected from the designs of Mr. Daukes, of Whitehall Place, London, by Mr. Wood, of Worcester, and is situated within a few hundred yards of the central office of the firm, at the Gold's Hill Works, and readily accessible to all the employes in the extensive establishments in the vicinity belonging to the firm. The day school will not be in operation for a few weeks, but we purpose, as soon as it is fairly in motion, describing the system under which it is regulated. We also hope, at no distant period, to give the results of our examination of the schools (the building of which is nearly completed) in connection with the Capon Fields Works of the same eminent firm, in the neighbourhood of Bilston.

The Gold's Hill Schools, being licensed for Divine Service, were opened on Sunday morning last. The morning prayers were read by the Rev. F. P. B. N. Hutton, Chaplain to the Works. The sermon was preached by the Lord Bishop of Lichfield. It was an

eloquent and impressive discourse on 1 John, iv., 11v.—‘Beloved, if God so loved us, we ought also to love one another;’ and at the conclusion, the Right Reverend Prelate referred to the good which had already been done in the neighbourhood by the family who had exemplified so much their true Christian Charity in personally attending to all the plans which had been carried out for the moral and spiritual benefit of their workpeople—in providing a chaplain who had visited the people from house to house, and had raised up a large congregation in the midst of a dense population—in appointing a schoolmaster, who had been indefatigable in his exertions in educating the children employed in the works—and in erecting that noble and magnificent edifice in which they were assembled, for the excellent purposes of worshipping the God of Love and the Christian instruction of the young. The Holy Communion was afterwards administered by the Bishop, assisted by the Rev. F. P. Sockett, when nearly 100 persons communicated, and it was truly gratifying to behold the employer and the employed assembled together in public worship, under such peculiar and interesting circumstances as that of opening the new schools. In the evening, prayers were read by the Lord Bishop, and the sermon was preached by the Rev. Henry Bagnall, Rector of Great Barr, from 2 Tim. ii. 3v.—‘Thou therefore endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ.’ The principal traits of a faithful soldier were brought forward as examples to the Christian soldier—and his hearers were exhorted to imitate the example of the soldiers in the east, a beautiful prayer from one of whom he read, which had been sent to a family residing in his parish. The reverend gentleman at the conclusion of his sermon, stated that the members of his family who had erected that large and beautiful edifice, and had set on foot the several plans of usefulness connected with it, were acting under the conviction that it was their duty to promote the temporal and religious improvement of the various classes of persons who were engaged in their service, and brought under their influence. He also urged upon the clerks, agents, and others holding responsible situations, to assist them in carrying out the good work already commenced. The School Rooms were crowded in every part, upwards of a thousand were present during each service, and a large number could not gain admittance. The congregation was chiefly composed of the workpeople and their families, and nearly all the branches of the respected family of the Messrs. Bagnall were present. At the conclusion of these interesting services, the Bishop, with much feeling and emotion, expressed his great delight and satisfaction at having witnessed the good work which is being carried on by Messrs. Bagnall for the moral and spiritual welfare of their workmen in this part of his diocese, an example which, his Lordship hoped, would be followed by others similarly situated. His Lordship was hospitably entertained at Meyrick House by James Bagnall, Esq., during his stay in the neighbourhood.”

In Ireland some very admirable factory schools have been established, particularly in Belfast; but the chief institution of this class is that founded by the Great Southern and Western

Railway Company, at their works at Inchicore. It is not, strictly considered, and regarded as we must regard those noble institutions founded by Mr. Wilson, and by the Messrs Bagnall, worthy to be ranked as a factory school; but such as it is, we have the following account of it, in the first volume of *The Twentieth Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, for the year 1853* :—

“During the present year we have undertaken to erect a Model School at Inchicore, near Dublin, in connexion with the ‘Great Southern and Western Railway.’ The Directors have contributed £500 towards the building and fitting-up of the Institution (which is to be under our exclusive control), and granted an eligible site for the purpose upon a lease for ever. The day schools will be attended, principally, by the children of the persons in their service, and in the evenings instruction will be given to the mechanics, artisans, and labourers employed by the Company. We deem it of great importance that a Model School of this character should be established in connexion with every principal railway in Ireland; and we shall be prepared to give our favourable consideration to applications for grants towards the promotion of an object which cannot fail to open a wide field of improvement to a useful and increasing class of our working population.”

If this school be successful, and if other Companies adopt the plan of connecting their schools—*yet to be formed*, alas! that we should write *yet to be formed*, with the Irish Board of National Education, we may, in time, produce schools worthy of the country. Let it be remembered too, that there is no compulsion of learning in factory schools; no proselytism in religion: “the morning meetings,” writes Mr. Wilson, in a letter, dated Good Friday, 18th April, 1851, and addressed “To the Men Employed in the Belmont Factory,” “are not a place for religious controversy. I shall carefully avoid, when dissenters are present, anything in which they could not agree, and if any of the Roman Catholics of the factory should come, I should for the morning, when they were present, confine the reading to the subject upon which, happily, earnest Christians of whatever name are agreed, the worship, service, and love of our one Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.”

What factory schools are, and the good to be derived from them, not alone by the Company, but equally by society, is now within the judgment of the reader. It will have been observed that Mr. Wilson, from his salary of £1,000 per annum, was enabled to originate and support the Belmont Schools for about five years, upon his own sole responsibility;

and was enabled to expend upon them no less a sum than £3,289. It has been said that Mr Wilson is a man of peculiar and extraordinary ability, of indomitable zeal and of never-flagging industry. Doubtless Mr Wilson is all this; but he himself has written of Factory Schools what our honored friend Miss Carpenter has of Reformatory Schools,—that all can be done by foresight, patience, and, above all, by *Faith*—Faith by which all great deeds are accomplished; and is there a nobler deed than that which James P. Wilson has achieved. The Alma and Inkermann are glorious victories of chivalry to which the historian will, in older days, refer; but many a man who charged upon these bloody fields, many a man who fell undaunted, giving his last word to country, his last prayer for victory, his last sigh to regret that he had not fallen amongst the thickest of the combat, would, with all his bravery of soul, all his boldness of heart, have turned despairing from the encounter with such difficulties as James Wilson has opposed, and battled against, and at length triumphed over—and now he stands a hero to all, to every mind save his own. How beautifully he has exemplified the thought expressed by Charles Mackay, in that poem in which he asks, and so nobly answers,—

WHAT might be done if men were wise—  
 What glorious deeds, my suffering brother,  
     Would they unite,  
     In love and right,  
 And cease their scora of one another?  
 Oppression's heart might be imbued  
 With kindling drops of loving-kindness,  
     And knowledge pour,  
     From shore to shore,  
 Light on the eyes of mental blindness.  
 All slavery, warfare, lies and wrongs,  
 All vice and crime might die together;  
     And wine and corn  
     To each man born,  
 Be free as warmth in summer weather.  
 The meanest wretch that ever trod,  
 The deepest sunk in guilt and sorrow,  
     Might stand erect,  
     In self-respect,  
 And share the teeming world to-morrow.  
 What might be done? *This* might be done,  
 And more than *this*, my suffering brother—  
     More than the tongue  
     Ever said or sung,  
 If men were wise and loved each other.

It is not in any spirit of absurd or maudlin philanthropy that we have written thus in support of Factory Schools. We have long believed in the wisdom, and in the forethought of those who have urged upon the nation the

necessity of educating up to the age, but not beyond it, the laboring and working classes. It was, whilst fully impressed with such sentiments as these, that the late Sir Robert Peel, in the inaugural address, delivered by him as President of the Tamworth Library and Reading Room, in January, 1841, urged these points upon the members, and said :—

“I beseech you to reflect upon these things ; and to enter upon the path that leads to knowledge. There may be difficulties at first, there may be habits of listlessness and inattention to be overcome ; but as you advance, new prospects will expand, new beauties will beguile the way, and you will be cheered onward by a voice from within, of self-confidence, and self-respect.

That path *must* lead to improvement, it *may* lead to eminence and honourable fame. The aspirations of a pure ambition may be indulged by those of a lowly estate, and you will not now be able to say, that ‘chill penury’ has ‘frozen the genial current’ of your aspirations for knowledge and distinction. Review the names of many men conspicuous in our own time, in the annals of art and science. Enquire into their origin. Mark the first steps in life of the late Mr. Bennie—Sir Humphrey Davy—Sir Francis Chantrey—Mr. Dalton—Professor Faraday—Mr. Wheatstone, who by means of Electricity, is speeding the intercourse of thought and expression, with the velocity of light. Look around you. If you go to Lichfield, you see the monument of Dr. Johnson. If you go to Handsworth, the monument of Mr. Watt. Nay, without leaving the narrow precincts of your own town, you have the confirmation of these truths. Who is constructing here the wharfs from which new supplies of lime and coal are to be poured into the midland districts ? Mr. Stephenson, the civil engineer. Had he any advantages over you in early life ? What has raised him from the bottom of the colliery in which he worked as a boy, but the elastic force of natural acuteness and industry, combined with that economy of time, which enabled him to save one hundred pounds by mending the watches of his fellow workmen, after the hours of daily labour ; and with those pious feelings, that prompted him to sanctify this first accumulation of capital, by applying it to the support of his indigent parents ? In him you have a daily example of the methods by which, from the lowest origin, merit has been enabled to raise itself to high eminence and great respect.

I was making enquiry the other day, of a valued friend of mine, himself among the very first in scientific knowledge, as to the early history of men who have worked their way to distinction, and I received a letter from him which I will read to you.

‘I forgot to mention yesterday, that Mr. Grainger, the great architect, who has, within the last five years, rebuilt the town of Newcastle—in a style infinitely superior to Regent-street, and whom I met at the Duke of Northumberland’s two years ago—began his career as a poor mason’s boy, carrying a hod. In the interval between 1834 and 1838, he converted Newcastle from a black and filthy cluster of narrow streets of brick, to a condition exceeding

anything I have ever seen—excepting in the best parts of the New town of Edinburgh. The late Mr. Harvey, who died at an early age, three years ago, a professor at Woolwich, who published an excellent treatise on Meteorology in the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, had worked for many years as a carpenter in the Dockyard at Plymouth, where he afterwards became a teacher of mathematics, and whence removed to the professorship above mentioned. I will send you his treatise, as I am sure it will interest you; and as there is in the first page, a private letter from the author; which if to your purpose you are welcome to quote.'

I cannot believe that by assuming the office of such a friend, by facilitating the access to such knowledge as we hope to dispense, that we shall be defeating any legitimate object of human policy, or counteracting the purposes of that Almighty Being, who gave us faculties to distinguish us from the beasts that perish, and will demand from us a severe account of the manner in which we have employed them.

I cannot believe that we shall make men dissatisfied with their lot, by proving to them that a humble condition is no obstruction to the gaining of those distinctions which learning and science confer—that there is a field of competition in which nothing but merit can secure the prize.

It seems to me, that by bringing into immediate contact, the intelligent minds of various classes and various conditions in life, by uniting (as we have united) in the Committee of Management of this Institution, the Gentleman of ancient family and great landed possessions, with the most skilful and intelligent of our Mechanics, that we are harmonizing the gradations of society, and establishing a bond of connection which will derive no common strength from the motives that influence us, and the cause in which we are engaged.

I can hardly conceive a mind so constituted, that being familiarized with the wonderful discoveries which have been made in every department of experimental Science—that seeing the proofs of Divine intelligence in every object of contemplation, from the organization of the meanest weed that we trample on, or the insect invisible to our eyes, up to the magnificent structure of the heavens, or the still more wonderful phenomena of the soul and reason of man—can retire from such contemplations, without more enlarged conceptions of God's providence and a higher reverence for His name. It seems to me that we must feel the dignity of our own nature exalted, when we hold communion with such thoughts and speculations as these; and that struck with awe, at the contemplation of infinite power, and infinite wisdom, we must yield the silent assent of our heart and reason, to the pious exclamation—'Oh Lord, how glorious are thy works, thy thoughts are very deep.' 'An unwise man doeth not well consider this, and a fool doth not understand it.'

Yes! it is ignorance and folly that form unworthy conceptions of God's providence. Far different are the impressions of those who have the most considered this—and have made the greatest, how-

ever imperfect, advances towards understanding it. Let me read to you the thoughts with which Sir Isaac Newton concludes his profound investigations into the mechanical causes which produce, and the laws which govern, the motions of the Universe.

'This beautiful system of sun, planets, and comets, could have its origin in no other way, than by the purpose and command of an intelligent and powerful Being. He governs all things—not as the soul of the world, but as the Lord of the Universe. He is not only God, but Lord or Governor. We know Him only by His properties and attributes—by the wise and admirable structure of things around us, and by their final causes; we admire Him on account of His perfections, we venerate and worship Him on account of His government.'

These again, are the reflections from which Sir Humphrey Davy, in his last illness, derived according to his own expression, 'some pleasure and some consolation, when most other sources of consolation and pleasure were closed to him.' Speaking of the intellectual and moral qualities which are required in his opinion to form the character of a true philosophical inquirer, he observes, 'His mind should always be awake to devotional feeling; and in contemplating the variety and the beauty of the external world, and developing its scientific wonders, he will always refer to that infinite wisdom, through whose beneficence he is permitted to enjoy knowledge; in becoming wiser, he will become better; he will rise at once in the scale of intellectual and moral existence—his increased sagacity will be subservient to a more exalted *faith*, and in proportion as the veil becomes thinner, through which he sees the causes of things, he will admire more the brightness of the *Divine* light, by which they are rendered visible.'"

There is nothing of the dreamer in this; nothing of the utopian world creator, making all the earth a joint plan of spoliation for schemers, who call themselves the friends of the working classes. It is sound, common sense, worthy the son of an English manufacturer, worthy an English statesman, above all, worthy an English, patriotic gentleman.

We have, in the course of this paper, told the history of Factory Schools, in the words of Mr James P. Wilson, and have referred to him as the chief authority—we have done so as we believe that he who works a principle, and succeeds, in a matter requiring a sound head and a christian heart, is best adapted to explain his own hopes, his own fears, and his own noble triumphs. Such a man as this we find James Wilson to be; in all that he has accomplished, his brother, Mr. G. F. Wilson, has heartily aided him; and if, from the reading of this paper, one *practical* friend can be secured to the cause, our labor will not be vain—the only reward a man like Mr Wilson can desire will have been gained.



"Go it, greasers," "aint them cocoa-nut chaps a pitchin' it into 'em,"—cried the crowd of on-lookers as they watched the Belmont Factory Cricket Match; may it not, has it not, come to pass, that in more refined language, many a thoughtful man now repeats the hearty sentiment of admiration thus expressed.\*

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ART. V.—THE ROMANCE OF LIFE:—JOSEPH BALSAMO, OTHERWISE COUNT CAGLIOSTRO.

*The Memoirs of a Physician.* By Alexander Dumas.  
London: Simms and M'Intire. 1852.

There are few works of fiction have had more readers than the two novels from the pen of Alexander Dumas, under the respective titles of *The Memoirs of a Physician*, and *The Count de Monte Christo*. Although in every page, the author leaves the bounds of probability, nay of possibility, far behind, and indulges in the most exaggerated spirit of Romance, his readers feel no disinclination to accompany him, and turn his pages with all the interest that could be felt in the perusal of an awful, but strict reality. We fear that in the instances which Romance affords of heroes taken from the ordinary or inferior classes, a searching investigation would disclose much ridiculous insignificance and very humble pretensions magnified into importance, of which the originals themselves never dreamed, and occasionally low vulgarity and ruffianism exalted into a dignity to which in fact it would form the strongest contrast. We suspect that but for the exercise of imaginative power, Rob Roy would be a homely, rough cattle-stealer, Jack Sheppard and Dick Turpin would find but slight sympathy on their way to the gallows, and Claude Duval would never be recognized as a rival to Charles the Second in courtly manner and in the favor of Nell Gwynn. To the examination of such subjects it is intended to devote some future occasions, but at present it is proposed to offer to the reader a few particulars connected with the genuine history of the man whom Dumas has invested with such wonderful interest to his read-

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\*In connexion with the subject of this paper, see, "Temperance as Affecting the Interests of Employers and Employed." By Archibald Prentice, Esq., Manchester. The Eleventh of the Edinburgh Series of Temperance Tracts.

ers, as Joseph Balsamo, but who will be better known under the designation to which he answered before the parliament of Paris in 1785—Alexander, Count de Cagliostro.

Dumas introduces Joseph Balsamo to his readers during the progress of Marie Antoinette to her ill fated marriage in 1770, and describes the astonishment and dismay of the Dauphiness at having her ultimate fate mirrored to her by the arch magician in a decanter of spring water : he subsequently presents Balsamo as facilitating the introduction at court of Madame du Barri, anticipating all her wishes, and by means of a *Clairvoyante*, reading the secrets of Ministers of State, and enabling their enemies to effect their overthrow. He speaks to old noblemen of occurrences which happened fifty years previous, and convinces them that he was an eye-witness, although apparently not forty years of age. But it is useless to recapitulate the wonders ascribed by the novelist to his hero : it is our object to shew how very small indeed was the lock of wool which he spun into such a lengthened yarn.

We are not about to enter upon the strict details of that extraordinary and never thoroughly elucidated affair of "The Diamond Necklace." Dumas has not adverted to it, but as it was the transaction which introduced Joseph Balsamo, or rather the Count de Cagliostro, not merely to a French, but to an European celebrity, we shall briefly notice it. Cardinal Louis de Rohan, whose family occupied the first rank amongst the *ancienne noblesse* of France, and whose ecclesiastical titles and dignities imparted immense rank, power and emolument, was at the commencement of 1785 excluded from court favor and influence, which he attributed to the personal dislike of the queen, towards whom it has been insinuated, he entertained sentiments of an amatory character. Having heard that her Majesty had expressed great admiration for a diamond necklace belonging to Messrs Bohner and Bassanges, jewellers, the cardinal conceived the idea, that if he either procured the magnificent ornament for her majesty, or aided her essentially in its acquisition, such a service would effect his restoration to favor, and establish for him a paramount influence with the queen. In the adoption of this course he was stimulated by the suggestions of an unprincipled woman, the wife of an officer of *gendarmérie*, and who assumed the rank of a countess, pretending a connection with the royal family of France through the house of Valois. This Madame

Jeanne de Saint Reney de Valois, Countess de la Motte, persuaded the Cardinal that she was a *protegé* of the Queen, to whom she pretended to have frequent access; she assured him of her Majesty's anxiety to possess the necklace, induced him to become its purchaser and to undertake the payment of one million four hundred thousand livres (£56,000 sterling) in certain instalments, and having procured from him the written stipulation entered into by the jewellers, she returned it marked "approved" and signed "Marie Antoinette de France." She subsequently induced her dupe to believe that the Queen was desirous to afford him a personal interview at Versailles—in the garden, and at midnight: she managed to substitute for the royal personage a young woman of similar figure and complexion, who received the Cardinal, muttered some complimentary phrases, gave him a note and a rose, and was accepting the homage of the enraptured courtier, who had sank to his knee to salute the queenly hand, when a preconcerted alarm, given by some confederates of Madame de la Motte, produced a precipitate retreat. Matters remained in an unsettled state as regarded the necklace, the jewellers had been informed that it was for the Queen, they had even seen her alleged approval of the terms, and when the period for payment of the first instalment had passed, they forwarded a statement of their claim to the King, who actuated by every feeling of just resentment, both as a sovereign and husband, directed a searching investigation, from which a prosecution eventuated.

The husband of Madame de la Motte was inculpated by the accusation, he fled the kingdom—The defendants who were amenable were the Cardinal de Rohan, Madame de la Motte, Alexander de Cagliostro, Marie Nicole le Guay, otherwise d'Oliva or Dessigny (the girl who had personated the Queen) and Louis Marc-Antoine Retaux de Villette, a retired *Gendarme*. The process was instituted the 5th September 1785, and concluded the 4th July 1786.

Cagliostro had been intimate with the Cardinal, and had certainly possessed a considerable share of his confidence; Madame de la Motte sought to shift the culpability imputed to herself entirely upon Cagliostro and his wife, and insisted that various phrases, such as "*la petite comtesse*" used by the Cardinal, were applied to Madame de Cagliostro; she describes Cagliostro himself as a sharper who derived his subsistence

from preying on the pusillanimous credulity of the Cardinal ; she proceeds to state, as to the age of Cagliostro, that one of his attendants declares " he knows not what his master's age may be, but that as for himself, he has been one hundred and fifty years in his service ; that his master has frequently asserted he was present at the marriage of Cana in Galilee and witnessed the miraculous transformation of the water into wine." Madame then indignantly asks as to his country, and replies to her own question by designating him a Portuguese Jew, a Greek, or an Egyptian from Alexandria, whence he has introduced affected mysteries and soothsayings, that he pretends to cabalistic lore, and to hold familiar converse with elementary beings, with the distant and the dead, that illuminated by Rosicrucian philosophy he understands all human sciences, and is an adept in the transmutation of metals ; that in the seeming spirit of philanthropy he devotes his medical acquirements gratuitously to the indigent, whilst he exacts large sums from the rich, to whom he professes to administer the elixir of immortality.

Even in these assertions there may be found a grain or two of the malleable material which the imaginative novelist knows how to beat out until it becomes a mere extensive superficies ; but Madame de la Motte does not stop here, she proceeds to inform the court that in the previous April, the Cardinal thus addressed her, " You must be aware that the public are impressed with the absurd idea that I am ruining myself through the means of M. de Cagliostro, whilst in fact he is the greatest of created beings—a godlike man. Write to me that you wish to see him, do not assign a motive of *curiosity*, but that you simply wish to see *him*. Urge your request warmly and you shall witness what he is capable of doing ; no one knows the amount of his fortune, none can tell who he is, or whence he comes,—young after living centuries. Bring, if you choose, that your confidence may be perfect, a child of seven or eight years, intelligent, for if she is not intelligent she will see nothing." Madame then states that she brought the demoiselle de la Tour, her husband's niece, who was sojourning with her.—Twenty wax tapers were lighted in the Cardinal's bed chamber, a screen was placed before the bed, a table before the screen, with other lights, and a decanter of the clearest water. Cagliostro drew his sword, placed it on the head of the kneeling child, and entered into a conversation, respecting which

he had previously given her a lesson behind the screen. Madame de la Motte here remarks that this need not surprise the court except so far as it proves the utter weakness of the Cardinal's mind and his absurd credulity in Cagliostro's powers.

The affair commenced with the child—I command you, she said to Cagliostro, in the name of Michael and of the grand Copht, the last name inscribed on the cabalistic roll, I command you to bring before my eyes all that I wish to behold. Cagliostro replies; dear child, what see you now?—nothing—he stamps his foot, what see you? nothing: he stamps vehemently, see you not a stately lady clad in white? know you not the Queen? do you not see her, do you not recognize her? yes monsieur, I see the Queen—Look to her right, see you not an angel who wishes to embrace you? embrace that angel warmly. Madame de la Motte and also the Cardinal heard the sounds of kisses as from fervent lips.—Look now at the point of my sword, beneath the screen, see you not that I am speaking to God, that I am ascending to Heaven, do you see? No. Well then stamp your foot and I command by the grand Copht and by Michael &c. do you behold, do you behold the Queen? yes, monsieur, I see her. But when the ceremony was concluded, the young demoiselle confessed to Madame de la Motte that she had received her lesson behind the screen, “and when you, aunt, heard me kiss the angel, it was mine own hand I kissed, as M. le Comte had directed me;” nevertheless the child was convinced that he had some extraordinary qualities, which impression was the result of her tender and excited imagination, as she declared “*That when he had removed the decanter of spring water, she had really seen the Queen.*—Her “Memoire” continues, “meanwhile the Cardinal was in raptures, he knelt at the feet of the magician, kissed his hands and raised his own towards heaven.—Behold, he exclaimed to Madame de la Motte, this great man can achieve anything, but if you indiscreetly speak of his mysteries he is equally potent for evil as for good, had the Cardinal faith in him? or did he rather wish to make Madame de la Motte a believer in his powers? yes, such was his object, and she soon was initiated in a magical rite (*un Sabat*) the object of which was the last disposition of the diamonds.”

“This profanation consisted in placing the Countess de la Motte opposite to a table covered with crosses of every descrip-

tion, of Jerusalem, of the passion, and of St. Andrew, drawn swords laid across, a dagger &c., and this awful spectacle lighted with extraordinary brilliancy.—Swear, Madame, exclaimed the prophet, in a deep and solemn tone, Swear that no matter what misfortune may occur to you, the events of this scene shall never be disclosed; he then adds in a hasty tone, Prince, proceed. The Cardinal goes, and returns bringing a large white box which they open.”—Madame continues her statement as to the box containing an immense quantity of diamonds, as to her being sworn to secrecy, and commissioned to dispose of the diamonds through the agency of her husband in England.

But we are not going to fasten the Diamond Necklace on our readers, we are only dealing with the Thaumaturgic power attributed to Cagliostro, and have noticed very fully all that was alleged against him before the court that had cognizance of the accusation. No other person except Madame de la Motte attributed to him any unworthy practices or pretences; the account he gives of himself is rather turgid and self-important; but in it he utterly repudiates and ridicules the imputations of any assumption or assertion of supernatural powers. We may remark on his excessive anxiety and affectionate solicitude for his wife, who was committed to the Bastille as a suspected accomplice, and it is curious that he accounts for Madame de Cagliostro's inability to write her name, by the statement that many of the most respectable ladies of her native city, (Rome,) were purposely left uninstructed in writing, in order to keep them free from the folly of inditing love-letters. This certainly does not speak well for parental confidence or female education in the Eternal city during the last century. But as to Cagliostro's statement.—It asserted that he was forty-nine years old, and had passed his mere infancy in the city of Medina in Arabia; that he then bore the name of Acherat, and resided in the palace of the Mufti, Salahaym—That he was attended by a person of about 60 years of age named Althotas who took most affectionate care of him, and that of three domestics one remained with him day and night. That Althotas, informed him his parents had died when he was only three months old, and by some other expressions led him to believe that his birth-place had been Malta. He declared that the utmost attention was paid to his education, and that under the tuition of Althotas he made rapid progress especially in Botany and Medicine, to which his own inclinations strongly tended.

That he was taught to adore the one God, to love and assist his fellow creatures, and in all places to respect the religious institutions and the laws of the country.

Cagliostro then enumerates the scenes of his early travels, accompanied by his tutor Althotas, to Mecca, Trebisonde, Egypt, Rhodes, Malta, Sicily, Naples, and his arrival at Rome in 1770. He mentions that in each of those places he experienced the utmost kindness, and enjoyed the intimacy and hospitality of most exalted personages, amongst whom he particularizes the Grand Master of Malta, Pinto, and Cardinal Ganganelli afterwards Pope Clement XIV. At Rome he married, and subsequently visited Spain, Portugal, England, Holland, Germany, Russia, and Poland. He mentions his arrival at Strasburgh, in 1780, and that there at the request of many illustrious personages, he made use of his medical acquirements, but although it was in his power to become the recipient of an immense revenue, he abstained from accepting fees, and dispensed large sums in charity to the afflicted poor; he proceeds to state that his acquaintance with the Cardinal de Rohan commenced soon after his arrival in France, and eventuated in a request to accompany the cardinal to Paris to see the Prince de Soubise, who was afflicted with a painful disease, and that to such request he acceded.

Cagliostro inserts in his "Memoire" the following paragraph, which if false, must at once injure a defendant in a state prosecution, but which if true is certainly most extraordinary, and the truth or falsehood of which must have been well known to his judges.

"The public having been apprized of my arrival, such crowds, came to consult me, that during the thirty days I remained in Paris, I was occupied in seeing patients from five in the morning until midnight.

He returned to Strasburgh and found that his medical celebrity had engendered hostility, and produced libels describing him as Anti-Christ, the wandering jew, a man of 1800 years of age, &c. Under such annoyances he formed the intention of leaving Strasburgh, but was diverted from such a course by different letters of a most complimentary character from persons "*high in the Ministry of the Kingdom*" which are copied into his "Memoire" and submitted to his judges; consequently there can be no doubt of their authenticity, and it may be mentioned that one is from M. de Vergennes, the minister for foreign

affairs and others from the keeper of the Seals, the Marquis, de Miromenil, and from the Marquis de Segur. Could such men be imposed on by a wretched charlatan?

However, his sojourn at Strashburgh was not very prolonged, he went to Naples to see a dying friend, from thence to the south of France, and having resided a short time at Bourdeaux, arrived in Lyons in the autumn of 1784, and finally betook himself to Paris in January 1785. We now proceed to give Cagliostro's account of the magic scene previously described by Madame de la Motte.

"The Cardinal paid me occasional visits, and I recollect that one day he proposed to introduce me to a lady named Valois de la Motte in reference to the following matter.

'The Queen,' said the Cardinal, 'is plunged in deep melancholy, because some one has predicted that she is to die in her *accouchement*. It would afford me the greatest gratification if I could dispel that impression and restore her to her former spirits. Madame de Valois sees the Queen daily. It will confer an obligation on me, if she asks your opinion, to tell her that the Queen shall be happily delivered of a prince.'

I was not less disposed to oblige the Cardinal by the reflection that I might indirectly produce a salutary effect upon her majesty's health.

Having gone next day to the Cardinal's residence, I there found the Countess de la Motte, who, after applying to me many complimentary observations, remarked, 'I know a personage at Versailles of whom it has been foretold, as well as of another lady, that they would both die in their *accouchements*; one is already dead, and the other awaits her confinement with most gloomy apprehensions. If you can divine the true result which we may expect, in case it is of a felicitous character, I shall go to-morrow to Versailles, and make a report to the interested party, who,' added she, 'is the Queen.'

I replied to Madame de la Motte that predictions were ridiculous, but for her to advise the illustrious patient to address her prayers to the Eternal Being, that as her past *accouchement* had been happy so she might indulge a similar hope for the approaching one.

With this she was not satisfied, but insisted on having a direct opinion from me, so recollecting my promise to the Cardinal, I said in a very grave tone, 'Madame, you know that I have some acquirements in Medicine, I also possess some in Animal Magnetism. In such a case a young female of perfect purity is essential to our investigations, so, if you wish to ascertain the truth, commence by producing to me such a creature.' She replied, 'as you require a female of spotless purity, I have a niece of the most perfect innocence, and I shall bring her here to-morrow.'

I imagined that this pure being would be a child of five or six years old; I was much surprised to find, next day, at the Cardinal's, a young lady of fourteen or fifteen years of age, taller than myself. 'Here,' said Madame de la Motte, 'is the young maiden of whom I



spoke.' I could hardly keep my countenance, but I gravely accosted the young lady, 'Mademoiselle, do you firmly assert your perfect purity and innocence?' She replied with more assurance than simplicity, 'Certainly, Monsieur.' I then said, 'Mademoiselle, I now proceed to test your profession; recommend yourself to God, rely upon your innocence, betake yourself behind this screen, close your eyes, and form to yourself the wish to see the object you most desire to behold. If you are a being of purity you will see what you desire, if you are not what you profess to be you shall see—nothing.'

The young lady placed herself behind the screen, and I remained outside along with the Cardinal, who was not in a state of excited enthusiasm, as pretended by Madame de la Motte, but standing beside the chimney with his hand on his mouth, lest, by an indiscreet laugh, he might disturb our awful ceremonies. I applied myself for a few moments to make some magnetic passes, and then exclaimed, 'Stamp the foot of purity on the ground, and say if you see anything?' 'I see nothing,' she replied. 'Then, Mademoiselle,' I answered, striking the screen, 'you cannot be pure and virtuous.' At these words the young lady, feeling piqued at their import, exclaimed that she saw *the queen*. I then perceived that the innocent niece had been well tutored by her aunt. But this was not all.

Anxious to see how she would play her part, I directed her to describe the phantom that she beheld. She replied that the lady was *eccentric* and dressed in white; she described her features, which were precisely those of her Majesty. 'Ask of this lady,' I said, 'if her accouchement will be propitious.' She answered that the lady bowed her head, and that her accouchement would occur without any disastrous result. 'I command you,' I said finally, 'to kiss respectfully this lady's hand.' The *innocent* kissed her own hand and issued from the screen, perfectly satisfied to have convinced us of her purity.

Thus terminated a little comedy, equally harmless in itself as laudable in its motive.—Three or four days after, being at the Cardinal's and Madame de la Motte being present, they requested me to recommence the same kind of amusement, with a little boy of five or six years of age. I did not refuse them such a slight request, never supposing that a joke so harmless would be afterwards denounced as an act of sorcery and a sacrilegious profanation of the rites of Christianity."

In the judicial proceedings to which we have adverted, there is not an assertion except on the part of Madame de la Motte in her "Memoire," that Cagliostro pretended to any cabalistic lore or magical power. The Cardinal de Rohan in whose presence, as one of the accused, these statements were made, does not adopt or countenance one of them, neither did he contradict a syllable of Cagliostro's explanation, whilst Madame de la Motte became so enraged at his cool impassive manner before the judges, that forgetting the presence in

which she stood and her own position, she flung a candlestick in Cagliostro's face.

So far as the proceedings, respecting the necklace went, nothing could be more satisfactory to this supposed magician. He was acquitted and discharged, with full leave to publish any statements he might wish to submit to the public as to his character and reputation, and without prejudice to such proceedings as he might choose to adopt against certain functionaries of the Bastile, whom he accused of purloining his effects. But contemporaneous with the prosecution against him, there appeared numerous anonymous publications from pens of deadly hostility, imputing to him the assumption of most extraordinary characters and supernatural powers, and at that period the French public were prepared to believe the most absurd and preposterous accusations. He was represented to have stopped before a crucifix in a public place at Strasburgh, and to have remarked on the great likeness which the sculptor had chanced to make of the blessed original, whom he professed to have frequently seen. In the ridiculous and blasphemous tales published in reference to our *hero* there are great inconsistencies, he is represented in one anecdote as pretending to have been present at the marriage of Cana in Galilee when

“The modest water saw its God and blushed.”

That he drank of the “good wine” procured by the miraculous transmutation. Presently he is made to say, “he repeatedly warned Jesus Christ as to the result of his proceedings, but without effect, the man could not be induced to give up his practices, he betook himself to the sea side, associated with fishermen and such description of persons, brought on himself the anger of the authorities, and thus ensured his own destruction.” It is not probable that the rankest cheat and impostor would at one time, acknowledge having witnessed the exercise of divine power, and at another, speak of its source as an infatuated man, who could not be effectually warned against his own ruin.

One of the publications concerning Cagliostro imputed to him and his wife a participation in orgies, minutely described, of the most loathsome and diabolical obscenity, and it also remarked upon his assumption of the title of “Count” as an instance of unpardonable insolence, this production was not unreasonably conjectured to have been published under the

auspices of one whose resignation of a title for the assumption of a mere name soon after occurred, and divided an eternal infamy between the memory of Philippe duc D'Orleans and that of Philippe Egalité.

We find a grave publication from an anonymous pen in 1786 entitled, "*Memoires authentiques pour servir a l'histoire Du Comte Cagliostro,*" in which our hero is asserted to have invited five of his friends to supper—twelve covers were laid, and he demanded of each guest, "what departed spirit he wished for the society of?" The result produced was, the presence at this happy party of D'Alembert, Le duc de Choiseul, Diderot, Voltaire, L'Abbé de Voisenon and Montesquieu, and the author professes to give the table-talk of the night, in which it would certainly seem as if the minds of the portion of the company that had come on "short notice" had been affected by the inanimate state of their bodies, and become like them.

"Dull, stale, flat and unprofitable."

Another author gives an account with affected precision, of Cagliostro and his wife at St. Petersburg, in which we are informed that the lady appeared to be about twenty-six years of age and was of surpassing beauty.—She formed an extensive acquaintance amongst the Russian ladies, to whom she occasionally spoke of her son, a captain in the Dutch service.—This excited their curiosity, and they eagerly enquired how the mother of a Dutch captain could look so very young? Madame communicated to some of them, *a profound secret*, that a few days after her marriage, her husband had given her an elixir which *fixed* her constitution, so that age left no trace and effected no visible alteration. The profound secret produced a most extraordinary demand for the *fixing elixir*, and the departure of the practitioner precluded the necessity of any future explanations with the dissatisfied recipients.

A Russian officer, decorated with the order of St. Vladimir and a wooden leg, had offended Cagliostro, who caused the leg to be purloined from the delinquent's bed-room. It was rubbed with a peculiar ointment, conveyed to the garden and planted; such was the revivifying quality of the unction that the leg took root, budded and acquired a new existence totally incompatible with its future employment as a timber shin! Alas! if we believe the French pamphleteer, medical science

has retrograded since the days of Cagliostro, for even Holloway's ointment will not now resuscitate a wooden leg.

From these absurdities we pass to the most extraordinary publication connected with the fate of this or perhaps any other unfortunate being that has ever come under our observation. *Compendio della vita e delle geste di Guiseppe Balsamo denominato Il Conte Cagliostro, che si é estratto dal processo contro di lui formato in Roma, L'anno 1790, e che puo servire di scorta per conoscere l'indole della Setta dé Liberi Muratori. In Roma 1791. Nella Stamperia della Rev. Camera Apostolica.\** By this book, printed under the authority of the Holy Inquisition of Rome, it appears that Cagliostro was arrested in that city, on the evening of the 27th December 1789, his papers examined and sealed up, and himself conducted to the castle of Santo Angelo. The work consists of four parts; the first refers to the life of Cagliostro from his birth until his arrest; the second professes to give a brief detail of Masonry in general, and a special account of Egyptian Masonry, of which he is stated to have professed himself the restorer and propagator. In the third is given a detail of his proceedings in such restoration and propagation; and the fourth contains an account of a particular lodge of Freemasons stated to have been discovered in Rome. In the preface to this work it is pronounced to be sinful to pursue a chemical research for the "Philosopher's stone," on the grounds that its discovery would remove the primal curse from its possessor, and abrogate the divine sentence, "In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread." We shall not stop to argue the subject, but content ourselves with waiting patiently until some wretched sinner incurs the guilt by making the gold. We find from the book in question, that Cagliostro was born at Palermo of humble parents, on the 8th of June 1743. That his father's name was Pietro Balsamo, that by the death of his parents the care of our *hero* devolved upon his maternal aunts, and then there follows an account of his life, too minute to be credited, even coming from the press of the Holy Inquisition, but certainly well adapted to reconcile the ignorant or careless to the sentence ultimately awarded against

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\* "An Abridgment of the Life and Actions of Joseph Balsamo, commonly called the Count Cagliostro, which has been extracted from the process instituted against him in Rome in the year 1790, and which may serve as a guide to a knowledge of the nature of the society of Freemasons.—Rome, 1791. From the press of the Rev. Apostolic Chamber."

him.—We are informed that at the age of thirteen he took the habit of a novice in the Monastery of Cartagirone, where he gave early indications of a depraved mind, defacing the records of martyrology and substituting the names of some naughty females for those of the saints. Having fled from the monastery and returned to Palermo, he associated with the most thorough scape-graces ; he carried messages between lovers and embezzled the presents with which he was entrusted, forged a will—was accused of murdering a friar, defrauded a monk, and having pretended to a certain silver-smith, that he knew where a treasure was hidden, and having procured some money “on account” from his dupe, he directed him to a cave where he was cudgelled by some associates of Balsamo disguised as devils. The silver-smith threatened to assassinate him and he fled from Palermo, betook himself to Messina, where he met Alhotas and proceeded with him to Alexandria, where they practised the art of adulterating raw silk. From thence to Rhodes where chemistry was the pursuit, and then to Malta, where they worked in the laboratory of Pinto, the grand master. Having gone to Naples where he was accused of female violation, he left for Rome where he married Lorenza Felichiani. We now come to many pages of allegations imputing to him the basest and most thoroughly infamous proceedings of obtaining money by the charms of his wife, and these practices are stated with circumstantial exactness to have been followed in various parts of Italy, Spain, and Portugal. We next find him in London, and are informed that here he induced another foreigner to assist him in promoting and afterwards detecting an assignation between Signora Balsamo and a *Quaker*, by which means he extorted one hundred pounds from the duped broad brim. The confederate having pressed for a share of this money, Balsamo made excuses for some days, but in the mean time left in his friend’s way some well counterfeited topazes, which the other stole, and decamped with his worthless booty : on the authority of the inquisition, we are told that Balsamo had numerous amours with English ladies, but the writer adds, that inasmuch as he was by no means a handsome man, it is extremely probable *the ladies were old and ugly*. He next visited France, where his wife manifested a preference for another man, and was confined as a disorderly character, at her husband’s instance, in the prison of St. Pelagie, whilst he manufactured a water supposed to preserve the freshness of the

human skin, professed alchymy, and cheated "an illustrious personage" of five-hundred Louis; he then with his wife left Paris, arrived at Brussels, and after travelling through Germany and Italy, arrived again at Palermo.

In the further account of Cagliostro's travels there is little or no variety, but the most suspicious exactness of details; his inquisitorial biographers profess to trace him on from Palermo to Malta, thence to Naples, Marseilles, Barcelona, Alicant, Cadiz, and London. Here his ordinary avocation of forgery, fortune-telling and miscellaneous swindling, are diversified by the introduction of freemasonry, the institution of a new system, and a complete reform of the existing one, in which we are told that he made great progress: he is also represented as cheating a certain Mrs. Fry of sixty-two small diamonds and a gold box, by undertaking to soften the diamonds and weld them all into one magnificent gem. From London to the Hague, Brussels, Venice, Mittau, St. Petersburg, Frankfort, and Strasburgh, and finally to Paris, his progress is noted by the scribe of the inquisition with a particularity perfectly astonishing *if true*. The affair of "The Diamond Necklace" is noticed only to adopt as correct all the imputations thrown out against Cagliostro, and to give us the assurance of his guilt, and that he would certainly have been convicted, but for his wily conduct in corrupting his guards at the Bastille, and concocting with his fellow prisoners statements which misled the court. It is worthy of remark, that in the work to which we refer, the Prince of the Church, the Cardinal de Rohan, is never named, he is only mentioned as "the victim" lured to the brink of ruin, by love, ambition and freemasonry—what a frightful trio for a Cardinal to encounter!

After his *escape* he resided some days at Passy, about a league from Paris, and we are gravely informed, that there, he initiated some fine *ladies* into freemasonry, that one of them forfeited her reputation with our hero, and that she was *a very ugly American*, (un Americana brutissima.)—He left France for London, where in 1786 he published "a letter to the French people," dated the 20th June in that year, in which he predicted "that the Bastille would be destroyed and its site become a public highway:" of the authenticity of this extraordinary letter there is no doubt; the prediction was verified exactly by the events which commenced July 14, 1789.

But the fearful fact of being believed to be a freemason

threw all the enormities imputed to Cagliostro into a comparative insignificance, and of his participation in the proceedings of the mystic craft the Holy Inquisition had no doubt. As to the Egyptian masonry, they have put forward many documents from which we extract the obligations of a gentleman and a lady. We have heard of an Irish lady having been concealed in the case of a clock, whence she overheard the secrets of a lodge, but if she had the good luck to have met Cagliostro, he would have initiated her into masonry without subjecting her to such inconvenience.

"In Egyptian masonry no religion is excluded. Jews, Calvinists, Lutherans, or Catholics, are all admissible, provided they believe in the existence of a God and the immortality of the soul, and have been initiated in ordinary masonry. Men elevated to the degree of Master are denominated 'Ancient Prophets.' The women are termed 'Sybils.' The oath of the former is as follows:—'I promise, pledge myself, and swear never to reveal the secrets which may be communicated to me in this Temple, and implicitly to obey my superiors.' The female oath is longer:—'I swear in presence of the great, eternal God, in that of my *mistress* and of all persons who now hear me, never to reveal or make known, write, or cause to be written, whatever may here happen before my eyes, condemning myself, in any case of imprudence, to be punished according to the laws of the Great Founder and of all my superiors; I equally promise the most exact observance of all the other commands which are imposed upon me; love towards God, respect to my sovereign, veneration for religion and the laws of the state, love of my associates, an attachment without reserve to this order, and an implicit submission to its regulations and laws as they shall be communicated to me by my *mistress*.'"

Whether our hero was or was not a freemason we presume not to pronounce, but we close by giving the judicial announcement of his fate:—

"The deliberative judgment upon his destiny was before persons full of humanity and clerical benignity, for such are the council of the Holy Inquisition; and the definitive judgment was reserved for the Great Pius the Sixth, who, in his glorious pontificate, has known well how to unite in himself the characteristics of a just and merciful prince. He did not wish the death of a sinner, but rather to leave him a future field for true contrition. It was therefore resolved, not merely in reference to the case of Joseph Balsamo, but also as regarding fully the interests of justice, equity, and prudence, of religion and the public tranquillity, not merely of the Pontifical State, but of the entire world, that Joseph Balsamo, the accused, having confessed and been convicted of many offences, is obnoxious to the censures and punishments promulgated against formal Heretics, Dogmatizers, Heresiarchs, masters and followers of magical superstitions, and also to the censures and punishments set forth as well

in the Apostolic constitutions of Clement the Twelfth as in those of Benedict the Fourteenth, against those who in any manner favor and promote the society and conventicles of Freemasons, which constitutions are announced in the edict of the Secretary of State against such as may offend in the premises in the Pontifical dominions. In the exercise of our special mercy we commute the punishment of delivering him over to the secular authority ; (that is the punishment of death) to perpetual imprisonment in some one of our fortresses ; such custody to be strict, and without hope of further pardon, and there let him abjure his formal heresy, and be absolved from ecclesiastical censures on performance of a salutary penance."

There is no further trace of Joseph Balsamo, otherwise Count Cagliostro, who, if he has not sufficed "to point a moral," has, under the imaginative genius of Dumas, served

"To adorn a tale."

F. T. P.

#### ART. VI.—ANCIENT MANUSCRIPTS OF TRINITY COLLEGE (DUBLIN) LIBRARY.

*The Codex Montfortianus : a Collation of this Celebrated MS., with the Text of Wetstein, and with certain MSS. in the University of Oxford.* By the Rev. Orlando T. Dobbin, LL.D., T.C.D., M.R.I.A. London : S. Bagster and Sons. 1855.

We have never acquiesced in the appellation of *Silent Sister* said to be bestowed upon our University by the proud Establishments of another Country. We think that the *Alumni* of Trinity College Dublin have laboured not ingloriously in many regions of literature and in most of those of Science. There is however one department in which we are ready to confess that there exists on the part of our venerable seat of learning a culpable silence : the manuscript treasures bequeathed to us by the industry of past ages have been suffered to lie on its shelves unpublished and almost unknown. Since the days of Usher and Ware it is surprising how little



has been done to illustrate the ancient documents which the libraries of this country contain. And yet what country with the exception perhaps of Italy, can supply richer materials to the antiquarian, or the critic? There is the *Book of Dimna* a noble manuscript of, we believe, the 7th century, whose text of the Gospels could not but prove interesting to the biblical student, while the ecclesiastical forms of prayer which it contains should throw much light on the history of the Irish Church.—There is—older still we believe in time as it is certainly more wonderful in execution—the *Book of Kells* or Gospels of St. Bridget, a volume whose elegance of character and brilliancy of illustration excited the wonder of Cambrensis in the 12th, as it has done that of Westwood in the 19th century. Need we mention the *Book of Armagh*—itself a treasure and a history—which we are told the munificence of the present Primate is about to add to the MS department of the College—or the Gospels of St. Patrick, the same probably which Pope Pelagius presented to the Saint with relics of Saints Peter and Paul previously to his departure for this country, and which contains, as Petrie justly surmises, “the oldest copy of the Sacred Word now existing.” We could add other manuscripts open to the inspection of the curious in the Library of Trinity College or in the Museums of our Public Institutions; but while we admit that the politeness of the Custodians has made those documents *visible*, we regret that they may be yet looked upon as *inaccessible* to the generality of scholars, and we are forced to confess that the reproachful complaint addressed to our countrymen by Sember in a particular case, was justified in its widest sense and might be repeated in the instance of nearly every MS. we possess—“*Mirum est viros doctos ejus insule nondum in clariori luce collocasse hujus codicis historiam.*”

Fortunately there is some indication that better days are about to dawn upon us. The gentlemen who are engaged in preparing for the press a digest of the Brehon Laws will, we doubt not, impart to the public much that has hitherto been confined to mouldering parchments; the Ancient Music of Ireland is about to be rescued from oblivion, and of the ardour and successful energy with which our *biblical* manuscripts are about to be explored, we have a sufficient earnest in the volume lately published by Dr. Dobbin from these sources

and entitled—from the ancient record with which it deals—the Codex Montfortianus.

There are few persons, however moderately versed in the history of the Sacred Volume, who need to be informed to what keen controversies the passage of St. John, 1. ep. v. ch. 7th v. has given rise. To those, however, who have contented themselves with the current or vernacular edition of Scriptures, it may not be amiss to state, that the passage above mentioned, "and there are three that bear witness in Heaven," &c., &c., though at present contained in most editions of the Greek Testament, (and of course in the versions from them) is yet wanting in almost all the Greek MSS. of the N. T. whose date is anterior to the origin of printing. The Vulgate or Latin versions of the Bible have, it is true, (or certainly seem to have,) contained this passage from the earliest date; it seems to be alluded to by the Latin Fathers of the *second* century; it is quoted as a biblical passage by those of the *third*; in after ages it occurs as a Scripture citation in most of the Western Fathers; and Councils, as well as Theologians, have made use of it as a sacred testimony, to confirm or illustrate the doctrine of the Trinity.

Shortly after the invention of the Art of Printing, however, the cares of the learned were turned towards editing the Sacred Scriptures in their original tongues. The University of Alcalà in Spain was the first to undertake the work. Under the auspices of the great Ximenes that learned body collected the most ancient MSS. from Italy, Greece, and other countries, and edited the whole of the Scriptures. (1504—1522) in four different tongues in the immortal work, known to the world as the Complutensian Polyglot. The testimony of the "three heavenly witnesses" appears in the Greek text of this work; but in a critical edition of the Greek Testament edited by Erasmus and Printed at Basil by Frobenius in 1516, that same testimony is wanting. This first edition of Erasmus was, it is true, printed after one manuscript only. That MS. too was defective in many places, and, being written in cursive characters, could not date even as far back as the tenth century—*Glairé, Introd. Vol. II. p. 445*. But a second edition of the Greek Testament prepared by the same accomplished scholar and edited in 1519, was still silent as to the heavenly witnesses. Erasmus appears not

to have seen as yet the Complutensian edition of the New Testament, which indeed was not publicly sold until the year 1522 Remonstrances, however, were addressed to him in consequence of the omission of the commonly-received text (1. John v. 7.) not by a Jesuit, though the Titular Bishop of Meath creates one for the occasion just 30 years before the time,\* but by Lee, Stunica and some others. The classical editor replied, that in the next edition of his Greek Testament he should insert the missing text, in case it were sustained by the authority of a single Greek Manuscript. To this engagement of Erasmus may be traced the origin of the fame of the Montfortian Codex. It was then, it would appear, a manuscript of some reputed antiquity. It was in the possession, it would seem, of Oxford University: it was consulted by Lee: it contained in legible and undoubted characters the text of the three heavenly witnesses: the fact was averred to Erasmus by Lee and other competent scholars; and Erasmus, not to avert censures, no where existing, or trench upon infallibilities attached to no manuscript, save that perhaps of an episcopal reviewer; but, we believe, to redeem his promise, and restore what he considered to be, not improbably, the true reading, inserted in his edition of the Greek Testament of 1522, the since famous passage, 1 John v. 7., "Οτι τρεις εισι οι μαρτυροντις εν τρινω αναπατη, λογος και πνευμα αγιον και ούτοι οι τρεις εν υψει." "And there are three, who bear witness in Heaven, the Father, the Word and the Holy Spirit, and these three are one."

Towards the middle of the 16th century the celebrated French printer, Robert Stephens, gave to the world several editions of the Greek Testament, all of them excelling in beauty of typography as well as in the general accuracy of text. The third of these editions, printed in 1550, exhibits the Complutensian and Erasmanian reading of 1 John v. 7, said by the editor to be sustained by the additional evidence of seven out of sixteen Greek MS. which he collected on this occasion. It is needless to inform our readers, that the popular editions of the Greek Testament, which followed those

\* See a Review of the Codex Montfortianus in the Christian Examiner of January, 1855. *Herbert*. The Article is supposed to have been written by the Titular Bishop of Meath. It gives a clear and succinct account of Dr. Dobbin's work, but the well known controversial tendencies of the good Prelate betray him at times into violations of history, as well as common sense.

of Erasmus and Stephens adopted universally the above text and transmitted it, as a part of the inspired writings, not less to the vernacular *versions* of the West, than to the Greek editions issued in the East and in general to the Liturgy of the Oriental Churches.

But at the hands of the keen divines of the 16th and 17th centuries every portion of the sacred volume was sure to be subjected to the closest investigation. Sandius a Unitarian, and Richard Simons, a Roman Catholic critic, contended warmly and ably against the genuineness of the adopted passage. The former maintained that it was nothing more than a modern interpolation—a mere imposture of the Trinitarians; the latter urged the probability, that, from a marginal gloss, it passed insensibly into the text of some Latin MSS. and thence was adopted into others. Both those critics regarded the absence of the verse (1 John v. 7.) from Greek MSS. as proof conclusive that it was not genuine. Those on the contrary who were unwilling to reject the established reading, grounded their arguments for its retention on the fact chiefly that it was already *in possession*, as also on the authority of the Latin Fathers and the Vulgate; but they urged at the same time that vouchers for its genuineness were to be found even among the Greek *Codices*. Unfortunately for the issue of this appeal, the Greek MSS. which the Complutensians had used in their edition of the N. T. had perished in the flames: those of Stevens too had disappeared and some others as that of Berlin (*Ravianus*) &c. were obviously of too recent a date to be held of much critical value. The controversy therefore, *so far as it concerned existing Greek MSS.*, was narrowed to a consideration of one *Codex*—that from which Erasmus had borrowed his reading of 1522, and which, subsequently changing its name and owners, had passed through the hands of Froy (*a Franciscan Friar*) Clements, Clark, Montfort\* and Ussher, till with the other volumes of the illustrious prelate it found a last resting-place in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin.

The volume indeed had changed its name and owners, but the controversy which we have mentioned above, and whose

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\* It was while in possession of Dr. Montfort—a Cambridge Professor of Divinity towards the middle of the last century—that the *Codex* was collated for the great London Polyglott. From this circumstance it is styled *Montfortianus*.

chief element regarded the age and authority of this Codex, had not abated: some critics, as Mons. Martin of Utrecht, were inclined to attribute to it an antiquity as high as the 11th century: others again, as Dr. Marsh, considered it not prior to the 16th; while many, with Dr. Clarke, assigned it to the 14th, but regarded it however as a transcript of little value—the work of a bold and unscrupulous scribe.

It will be seen that while itself the subject of such a variety of opinions, the Codex could not throw much light on the controversy of “the three witnesses;” it was, however, by no means creditable to the learned men of this country, that a volume cited by most European critics should have its origin wrapped in obscurity, and its value unascertained. True; circumstances might have placed its external history beyond the reach of recovery, but manuscripts, like other things, have been taught to tell their own story; the lines of origin and age are impressed on volumes as well as men, and a careful comparison of these with one another would be sure to be followed by the same results in this country as have attended the labours of the Benedictines elsewhere.

To such a task, in fact, has Dr. Dobbin-addressed himself, and, though we are slow to assent to all his conclusions, we give him ample credit for the spirit with which he has undertaken, and the success with which he has executed his work.

The plan of examination followed by our author, was determined in some measure by that which Dr. Barret adopted in 1808 with the same Codex. That learned doctor—familiarily known as Jacky Barret, of simple and economical reputation—commenced a collation of the Codex Montfortianus with the printed text of Wetstein, which he probably regarded as the best sample of the *textus receptus*, or established reading among Protestants. With this text he carefully collated that of the Dublin MS. throughout the Pauline and Catholic Epistles, as well as the Apocalypse. We know not at what conclusion of practical value the learned doctor’s labors enabled him to arrive other than this, that the Book of the Apocalypse as it stands in the Codex Montfortianus, bears undoubted marks of being transcribed from a Leicester MS. not older than the 13th century. Dr. Dobbin, however, besides *completing* the collation, begun by Dr. Barret, with the text of Wetstein, has extended his researches into a new and hitherto unexplored region. Struck by a remarkable similarity said to exist between

the Montfortian Codex and those of Oxford, marked respectively by Wetstein as 56, 58, 39, our author has subjected the texts and characters of those MSS. to a critical comparison with one another, and from data, of whose amplitude and variety the volume before us gives sufficient proofs, has arrived at the conclusion that the Montfort MS. is in two of the Gospels (Luke and John) a transcript from the *New College MS.* (Wetstein, 58), while in the Acts and Epistles it copies the *Lincoln College MS.* (Wetstein, 39) with some differences, inserting for example, 1 John, v. 7, which the Lincoln exemplar does not contain.

"We have thus at last, however," observes the author, p. 56, "reached the point at which we have been aiming in this more recent part of our introduction, namely, that of proving how Erasmus, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, rested the verse exclusively upon the testimony of this one MS. In the middle of the nineteenth century, that verse rests upon no broader basis still: for although modern research has discovered four other Greek codices containing it, it is found in them under such circumstances of marginal position, transcription from printed texts or variety of reading, as disqualifies them from giving any evidence on the question at all.

"But," he continues, "while we thus narrow the ground of our conviction to the testimony of this single MS., we disclaim any intention thereby to prejudice the mind of the reader, in favor of a particular conclusion. We, for the nonce, ignore the testimony of all the existing Greek copies against the verse, in order to test the merits of this affirmative witness in its favor, because **BY THIS SINGLE TESTIMONY, THE VERSE MUST STAND OR FALL.** Let the student then carefully examine the whole of the citations from the Acts in which the Dublin Codex, and that of Lincoln College, Oxford, agree, their numbers, their variety, their peculiarity, and he cannot fail to land in the conclusion, we have thus far arrived at, that the Montfort Codex is a transcript with arbitrary and fanciful variations, of the Oxford." To facilitate his arrival at that conclusion, the author subjoins a list of remarkable coincidences between the *Lincoln* and *Montfort* MSS., in cases where both these differ from the vulgate; after which he continues p. 61. "Of these readings in the Acts, we may be allowed to say, that involving as they do, faults of grammar, orthography,

and signification, they can only be traced to a servile transcription of the Codex Lincolnienſis, where they are to be found. But this conformity is not confined to the Acts, but runs through the Epistles; so that, the inference respecting the relation of the two MSS. to each other, can by no possibility of reasoning be reduced to conjecture, but rises to absolute demonstration. With a resemblance, then, between the two documents so full and pervading, so curious and minute, we should expect to find the classical text of 1 John v. 7, in the parent MS.; *but it is wanting in the Lincoln College Codex:—therefore its presence in the Montfort Codex is an arbitrary and unauthorised interpolation.*" Farther on, the author absolves the alleged interpolator from the charge of wilful fraud. "The passage was written," he observes, "before the Erasmusian controversy began; and it may be accounted for on the same principle as many other variations from his original which mark this transcript. Its introduction was purely self-suggested, originating in no polemical purpose, and leaves our confidence in the good faith of the transcriber unshaken. Let a moderate share of Greek scholarship be combined with a high veneration for the Latin Vulgate, and a desire to complete what is evidently a tentative text throughout—one designed for private edification and not for sale,—and this supposition meets all the phenomena of the case: the existence of the reading in our Codex is accounted for, and the fair fame of the author is untarnished."

From these extracts the reader will be enabled to judge at what results Dr. Dobbin has arrived in consequence of the laborious collation he has undertaken. The Montfort Codex—famed in a controversy of 300 years standing—is no more than a servile transcript from an Oxford MS. of the 10th century. Having received the controverted verse, 1. John v. 7, in opposition to the authority of its prototype, it is of no weight as a testimony in favour of the genuineness of that verse, and as this last (or rather only) voucher for the integrity of the disputed passage disappears, that passage must be surrendered as a fiction, or human gloss, engrafted on the Inspired Word—a gloss too whose stealthy advances from margin into brackets, from brackets into the text itself,\* can be traced through all its stages, till the "*prima mali labeſ*"

\* See Introduction, p. 45, where much undue stress, it appears to us, is laid on the particle *Sicut*, in the St. Gall MS.

rests on an unfortunate Irishman, St. Gall, or at least on one of his Helvetic fraternity.

Should these conclusions of the learned author be true, we should yet, like him, be free from all apprehensions as to their effects on the substantial integrity of the Divine Oracles, as on the belief of the sacred dogma of the Trinity—to confirm or illustrate which the passage in question has often been adduced. Indeed, as Catholics, we feel on this head an assurance, we had almost said an independence, as to particular passages, which can never fall to the lot of those whose only and entire rule of Faith are the Scriptures as they stand to-day set forth in the authorized version, or may stand to-morrow shorn by criticism of their most cherished passages and contracted to narrower dimensions.

We feel, like the learned author, a hallowed “satisfaction, as biblical students, in every accumulation of evidences” which tends to throw light on the sacred volume, and “leave no room,” as regards it, “for the exercise of doubt:” but for this very reason we are compelled to pause a little, and to call for an “absolute proof” of interpolation before we reject as spurious what we had long regarded as inspired, and what, besides the names of Mill, Fell, Bengel and others, can reckon in its defence the authority of nearly all our present editions of the Bible, Greek, Latin, or Vernacular, Protestant, Oriental, or Roman Catholic. We think that Dr. Dobbin’s work, deserving all the praise that is due to eminent scholarship, and laborious investigation, yet fails of displacing these authorities. It does not, we think, establish, *beyond a reasonable doubt*, the fact of the *Montfortian Codex* having been transcribed in the passage at issue, or indeed in any part at all, from the Lincoln manuscript, No. 89. Having disposed too summarily, of the evidences of Greek MSS., adduced or adducible in the support of the contested verse,\* and narrowed them unjustly to this single MS., it sets aside the authority of this one itself, on a charge of interpolation, not clearly sustained; and then, ignoring a large portion of the indirect, or Latin, evidences admissible

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\* Among these, besides the Montfort Codex and the Complutensian exemplars (unjustly set aside by Dr. Clarke), we may reckon a Venetian Greek MS. described by Cardinal Wiseman (*Two Letters &c.* Rome 1825), the Greek models used by Bruccioli in his critical edition of the New Testament in 1582, the greater number of those consulted by Luke of Bruges and Robert Stephens for their respective editions &c. Calvin and Beza also, if we are rightly informed, attest that the majority of Greek MSS. in their day contained the verse in question.



in the case, it "lands" the reader on conclusions against which criticism may demur, and in which orthodoxy will find no comfort. We shall illustrate our meaning, by a few references to the book itself. From the collation of the Montfort MS. with the Lincoln, or alleged prototype, in the Acts, (pp. 139—146,) it appears that the former differs from the latter in full 414 readings, while if the differences of orthography and collocation of words, between the two MSS. be taken into account, the total sum of discrepancies which they exhibit, one from another, in the short book of the Acts, will amount to a much greater number.

Now, making every allowance for the carelessness or ignorance of the scribe, we are inclined to look upon 414 discrepancies, (in a book whose least kindred copies should exhibit no discrepancy) as at least no great proof of transcription. In fact a comparison with the printed text of Wetstein the remotest possible of standards from the Montfortian—exhibits little more than twice this number (884) of discrepancies. It is true indeed *remarkable coincidences exist* between the Montfortian and the Lincoln Codex, whole clauses appearing in both, which are wanting in the Vulgate and in most other editions of the Bible. This coincidence in extraordinary and unusual readings seems to be the strongest argument in favour of Dr. Dobbin's views as to the parentage of our MS. but it proves the relationship of *kindred only, not of lineal descent*. In other words, to account for such affinity of readings it were sufficient to suppose the two Codices copied at different times and each with its own share of blunders, from a common Manuscript earlier than both, or from two different MSS. kindred to one another and transcribed from a common exemplar still earlier. This hypothesis would at once account for the coincidences that exist and would seem suggested by and more reconcilable with the (414) discrepancies we have noticed above. It was in fact the hypothesis adopted by the late Dr. Barrett, as regards a different part of the same volume. That accomplished scholar observed existing between the Montfort Apocalypse and that of the Leicester MS. coincidences not less numerous nor less remarkable than those exhibited by Dr. Dobbin in the Acts. His conclusion is "*unde in Apocalypsi statuendum est Montfortianum et Leicestriensem ex eodem Codice nobis nunc ignoto, exscriptos fuisse et ejusdem exemplaris apocalypsis esse.*"

Would not a similar hypothesis meet all the phenomena of the case before us?

Besides we have no evidence nor even assurance from Dr. Dobbin that the *same amount* of coincidence with the Lincoln MS. which characterizes the Acts in the Montfortian, is found in the Catholic Epistles of the same volume. Once indeed (p. 61) we are told that "this conformity is not confined to the Acts, but runs through the Epistles," but this assertion we take to apply to a *generic conformity*. At all events it is too incidental, too brief and unemphatic to justify us in concluding that the Epistles of St. John were transcribed from the same exemplar, as the Acts—more especially so as by the shewing of Dr. Dobbin himself, the Montfortian codex represents, in different parts, different originals, having been copied from at least three distinct codices. The assertion then that the verse 1. John v. 7., "is a capricious interpolation" in the Montfortian, appears to us to rest upon two assumptions, neither of which has been fully proved, and against both of which exceptions may be justly urged.

We have dwelt the longer on this defect of "absolute proof" of transcription and interpolation, as the author has ventured to set aside or treat lightly much of the indirect or what may be called the *Latin* evidences in favour of the genuineness of the debated passage, 1 John v. 7.

These, whatever German criticism may decide to the contrary, have ever been of sufficient weight to influence the sober-minded in this controversy; and recent investigation is but adding to their number. In the Library of La Sala\* for instance, is an ancient copy of the Vulgate, in uncial characters and belonging, according to the critical estimate of Cardinal Mai and others, to the *seventh century*, in which the testimony of the three Heavenly Witnesses reads as follows;—"Et tres sunt qui testimonium dicunt in cœlo Pater, Verbum et Sps et hii tres unum sunt;" being placed after the three earthly witnesses and forming the 8th verse, (not the 7th) as was usual in the older MSS.

Again, in the Library of the *Santa Croce* at Rome, is an ancient MS. inscribed *Libri de Speculo*, and attributed by Cardinal Wiseman to the 6th or 7th century, in which the text of the three

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\* A Benedictine Convent between Naples and Salerno.

Heavenly Witnesses is quoted with great emphasis by the writer in proof of the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity. The quotations in this MS. are all from the *Vetus Itala*, or the old Latin version of the Scriptures in use before the days of St. Jerome. It is written in square uncial characters, and bears evident proofs of a very high antiquity. These two documents alone will shew how false is the assertion, repeated by our author with seeming approbation, that the disputed verse, 1 John v. 7, is not found in Latin MSS. prior to the *ninth century*. We omit, because they are already well known, the quotations of this text, as Scripture, by Phœbadius (Bishop of Agen,) in the *Fourth*, Vigilius (Bishop of Tapsum,) in the fifth, and Fulgentius, Cassiodorus, &c., in the sixth century. There is evidence also, that the verse in question existed in *Greek MSS.* more ancient than any we now have except perhaps the Vatican and the Alexandrine. In fact with the exception of these two, (whose antiquity alone establishes their merit,) we see not why such distinguished deference should be paid to the Greek MSS. which we now possess. They are for the most part of a date posterior to the ninth century. In this respect they are, with the two exceptions above stated, inferior to the Latin Manuscripts. Nor is this disadvantage counterbalanced by the circumstance of their being in *Greek*. Omission in a Greek copy is in the nature of things, and *a priori* a much more natural supposition than is *interpolation* in a Latin Version; and here, as is evident, the question is between *omission* on one hand and *interpolation* on the other; not between the relative force of words or their proximity to the original root—for in such we should undoubtedly admit the superiority of the Greek over the Latin text.

The 7th and 8th verses of the 7th chapter of St. John (ep. 1,) as they now stand, end with the same words "and these three are one." Nothing has been so frequently the cause of omissions and blunders in copying the sacred Scriptures as this "all-devouring *ἡμετέλευτοι*" or similarity of desinence in succeeding clauses. The copyist has reached the end of the first clause in transcribing: his eyes are for a moment turned to the original document and keenly search out the words next in order; and words next in order to those he has transcribed meet his eye, and are diligently copied out, and in that very place an entire verse of the original is wanting in his transcript.

Now suppose an omission of this kind, owing to the cause above mentioned, to have taken place; in an early age of Christianity (say the 3rd century), in copying out one or two of the Normal MSS. of the Oriental Church. The consequence would be that apographs from these models should exhibit the same omission; and that entire *recensions* of some churches, together with the versions made from them, should be defective in the like manner. Some earlier MSS., it is true, would still continue to present the true reading; but even these, or the copies from them, might be corrected to the apographs we have spoken of, when these latter were once established in the churches. In this supposition the true reading would be likeliest to be preserved in *versions of an earlier date* and whose circulation should in some manner be isolated from the sphere of the others.

This supposition is at least as probable—nay more probable—than any that have been made in a contrary sense. It involves nothing beyond the existence of the most intelligible of all errors—an omission, and the circulation of that error to some extent. It seems to us that the facts of the case—our different readings, citations, &c. &c., of the disputed passage, 1 John v. 6, 9, are explicable on this hypothesis and no other. On the one hand the Vatican and Alexandrine codices (of the 4th century) with numerous later Greek MSS., want the disputed verse; on the other hand the Latin version called the *Vetus Itala*—made long before these codices were penned, and current in Africa, Spain, Italy, and Gaul—undoubtedly contained the passage. The version, or correction of the old version, by St. Jerome, appears to have lacked it; but these facts would just fall in with the supposition we have been making—of an early omission in a principal Greek codex. The Vatican and Alexandrine would be but apographs of this: the version of St. Jerome would have been made or amended according to the recension of which the above faulty copy was the type; while the genuine reading would have been preserved in the ancient African\* version, till in later days—after quotations by many Fathers, with the authority, we believe, of

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\* The earliest Latin version of the New Testament is shewn by Dr. Wiseman to have been made in Africa. This may explain why St. Cyprian quotes the passage of the Heavenly Witnesses, though later Latin Fathers (who used Jerome's version) appear not to have read it in their texts.

some Greek MSS., and the traditions of others—it reentered the page of the Inspired Word, and was adopted as well into the common text of Scripture as into the Confessions of Faith and Liturgical\* Books of all churches—Greek as well as Latin.

Such at least is the view which we have been long inclined to take as to the fortunes and phases of this much-contested passage; nor can we say that the Introduction of Dr. Dobbin's learned work has materially changed our opinion. We would gladly, however, imitate the forbearance and impartiality of that accomplished scholar. We have stated our views frankly, but in no sense disparagingly to those (and they are many, we know) whose opinions on 1 John v. 7, are opposed to our own. As to the date and origin of the Montfortian codex, our exceptions, we beg to remind our reader, are *dilatory* (to speak with Roman jurists) not *peremptory*. We do not oppose the conclusions come to by Dr. Dobbin; we only hesitate to embrace them to their full extent till further evidence is adduced in their support, or till other hypotheses than those he makes to account for coincident readings are shewn to be inadmissible.

We have reason to believe that a further collation of the Lincoln and Montfort MSS. through the Epistles—a work announced by the author as ready for the press—will go far towards effecting this object. We shall hail its appearance with pleasure and regard it as an interesting accession to our critical biblical apparatus.

In the mean time we would encourage others to enter on the field which Dr. Dobbin has trodden with so much praise. There is, as he observes, harvest enough to be gathered in this field. The manuscripts enumerated at the beginning of this paper, are of themselves sufficient to excite the hopes and the curiosity of the learned: and although the inspiration of authorship is nowadays drunk in chiefly at the "Tagus, whose sands are gold," yet must we hope that among our countrymen there are those, who would be pilgrims to nobler streams. To each of those we would urge the neglected state of our manuscripts, and borrowing a quotation from the close of our author's preface we would say, in the language of the Apostle Paul,

ΦΕΡΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΒΙΒΑΙΑ, ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΤΑΣ ΜΕΜΒΡΑΝΑΣ.

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† See the Confessio Orthodoxa Eccl. Orientalis, A.D. 1643, where the passage is appealed to as undoubted Scripture.

## ART. VII—THE LIFE OF A SHOW-MAN.

*The Life of P. T. Barnum*, Written by Himself. Author's Edition. London : Sampson Low, Son & Co., 1855.

On rising from the perusal of this book, we should feel disposed by changing a word to coin a phrase as trite and as true as the well known adage, and exclaim in school-boys' Latin, magna est impudentiæ et prævalebit.

We look upon Barnum with a very considerable amount of admiration. Not admiration in the ordinary conventional meaning, which implies that the object which excites it demands our approval, as well as wonder, but admiration in its strict lexicographical understanding, which as we take it, means wonder without the respect. Men of great abilities often excite wonder, that is admiration, from those gifts which they possess ; while the character of their lives or the use to which they apply their talents must excite feelings very different from those of respect or approval. When we find qualities of any kind much superior to the general average, we look with admiration on the possessor. If we were in a drawing-room we should assist with pleasure, the most intense pleasure, in knocking down stairs an ordinary impudent or offensive individual, while none could be better disposed to enjoy and be amused with the magnificent impertinence of Brummel. To be extraordinarily impudent, like every thing else extraordinary, requires talents of a rare, although, perhaps, not a very useful description ; ergo, our admiration of those individuals, and it may be, consequent amusement in their society. An ordinary thief or housebreaker gets his four years' penal servitude or fourteen years' transportation without even attracting our notice for a moment ; whereas if one of the votaries of St. Nicholas contrives to take a few thousands worth of precious stones out of a jeweller's shop in Regent-street, in the broad noon day, from amidst active and shrewd shopmen, by a happy mixture of audacity, coolness, and tact, we read the report with the most accurate care from beginning to end, and possibly we may go to the police-office to assist, as our French friends would say, at the second examination and get a full view of the ingenious rascal. It is with something of the same feeling that we believe the great majority of readers have hastened, or will hasten, to read

Barnum's life, and although we here record our admiration of Barnum as the most magnificent impostor of the day, we feel it the more necessary, from the extensive circulation which we think the book will obtain, to paint the narrative in its true colors.

Claude Duval, the gentleman highway-man, who dressed so elegantly, took purses with so polite an air, and such a fascinating bow, who rode so gracefully, and only pistoled the discourteous traveller who would not quietly stand and deliver, was a great favorite in his day, and possessed so many good qualities, and such engaging manners, that many people were very much disposed to admire the hero of the highway, and to lament his ungentlemanly not to say untimely exit. In his day he was the Magnus Apollo of discontented apprentices, and dissipated students; and if the chroniclers may be believed, even some of the fair and haughty dames, whom he relieved of their superfluous jewellery, were disposed to pity the handsome young man. Plain matter of fact people, however, who had no romance in their composition, and thought that some regard should be paid to the laws of meum and tuum, took another view of his case, and as a cruel judge, and twelve naughty jurymen, happened to be amongst this latter class, he went the way of all robber flesh. Now as the morality of Mr. Barnum seems to us of a kind likely to lead astray a much more important class than foolish boys or giddy women of fashion, as in our opinion its tendency is to corrupt not alone our great business class, but all who engage in buying or selling—the great mass of society, we consider it our duty to take up the task of trying this life, and if after a full consideration and investigation of the case, we should find it guilty, to pronounce the necessary sentence. The present popularity of Mr. Barnum with his countrymen is owing, we are inclined to think, to his dollars, although we very much doubt that dollars, in his case, were the result of *both* those qualities of which, according to *Colonel Diver*, dollars are the necessary consequence: when asked by *Martin Chuzzlewit*, of what the aristocracy of New York was composed, “of intelligence, sir,” replied the *Colonel*, “of intelligence and virtue, *and* of their necessary consequence in this republic—dollars, sir.” It is because of the spurious halo which dollars and success have spread about this man, and the immense numbers who are likely to read this book, and to be more or less injured by it, that we

stoop to a work which its literary pretensions would render unworthy of notice.

Before we got this book into our hands, an additional triumph achieved by Barnum had presented itself to our gaze in the public papers. It was the sale by auction of the manuscript and copyright of his *Life* at the enormous sum of £15,000. Mr. Barnum, however, has himself let us behind the scenes, and though he does not in this matter take us into his confidence, yet from other disclosures, we can have no difficulty in putting upon this transaction a name and interpretation which, were it not for the ingenious tricks of that respectable gentleman we should never have dreamt of, though not a bit more simple-minded than the generality of our neighbours. The name we should give it is—a swindle, and the interpretation—that the biddings were fictitious, for the purpose of attracting public attention and exciting public curiosity, and, as Mr. Barnum would call it, advertising the book.

Our specific charge against this prince of tricksters is, that by his writing, though not venturing openly and directly to encourage fraud, and trickery, and lying, he has covertly and indirectly encouraged them by relating his own successful manœuvres, glossing over the rascality, gilding it with the net-amount of profits realized thereby, making a good joke of it, (a thing which may be done, and has been attempted in other days, with nearly every vice in the calendar, from adultery to manslaughter,) and inferentially telling his reader, if he wants to amass money, rejoice in a princely residence and fortune, and excite the wonder and envy of his fellowman, to go and do likewise. We are, however, delaying too long from our task.

In his introduction he tells us, that “my paternal grandfather was Captain Ephraim Barnum, of Bethel, a Captain of the Militia in the Revolutionary War. His son Philo was my father. He too was of a lively turn of mind, and relished a *joke* better than the average of mankind. These historical facts I state as some palliation for my own inclination that way—‘what is bred in the bone, &c.’”

It is to be hoped, for the sake of his ancestors, that they took a different line of joking from their worthy descendant, as people in these countries, especially if they knew anything about legal matters, would feel inclined to call his jokes “ob-



taining money under false pretences." After informing us that he was born on the 5th of July, 1810, or in his own words, that "the cannon had ceased to thunder forth their remembrances of our National Anniversary, the smoke had all cleared away, the drums had finished," (it is to be hoped they concluded with "See the conquering hero comes,") "and when peace and quiet were restored, I made my debut,"—he proceeds to give us some details of his boyish days and companions, pursuits, turn for trading ginger-bread and sugar-candies, first visit to New York, and other equally interesting facts, which he expects will be read with the same avidity as the record of the boyhood of Pitt, of Byron, of Edmund Burke, of Moore, or of any other of those men *equally* great with himself. Mr. Barnum appears to have learned some of the tricks of bookmaking in addition to his other accomplishments, for he informs us with the most charming naiveté, that knowing what tricks his grandfather, in the character of a professed practical joker, had played off, he pumped the old gentleman for facetiæ to swell his volume. These anecdotes, with a great many more of his own experience or invention, fill a considerable part of the book, and may be briefly described as details of low roguery, or coarse horse play, with all the vulgarity, without the fun or extravagance of *Sam Slick's* selections from American humorists. While on this matter we shall give one of this collection, a case of diamond cut diamond, which is, it must be admitted, a very wonderful specimen of that 'cuteness for which Yankees are proverbial.

"What is the price of razor strops," inquired my grandfather of a pedlar, whose waggon, loaded with Yankee notions, stood in front of our store.

"A dollar each for Pomeroy's strops," responded the itinerant.

"A dollar a piece," exclaimed my grandfather, "they'll be sold for half the money before the year is out."

"If one of Pomeroy's strops is sold for fifty cents within a year, I'll make you a present of one," replied the pedlar.

"I'll purchase one on these conditions. Now Ben, I call you to witness the contract," said my grandfather, addressing himself to Esquire Hoyt.

"All right," responded Ben.

"Yes," said the pedlar, "I'll do as I say and there's no back-out in me."

My grandfather took the strop and put it in his side coat-pocket. Presently drawing it out and turning to Esquire Hoyt he said, "Ben, I don't much like this strop now that I have bought it. How much will you give me for it?" "Well, I guess, seeing it's you, I'll give fifty cents," drawled the squire, with a wicked twinkle in his eye,

which said that the strop and the pedlar were both incontinently sold.

"You can take it. I guess I'll get along with my old one a spell longer," said my grandfather, giving the pedlar a knowing look.

The strop changed hands, and the pedlar exclaimed, "I acknowledge, gentlemen; what's to pay?"

"Treat the company, and confess you are taken in, or else give me a strop," replied my grandfather.

"I never will confess nor treat," said the pedlar, "but I'll give you a strop for your wit;" and suiting the action to the word, he handed a second strop to his customer. A hearty laugh ensued in which the pedlar joined.

"Some pretty sharp fellows here in Bethel," said a bystander addressing the pedlar.

"Tolerable, but nothing to brag of," replied the pedlar; "I have made seventy-five cents by the operation."

"How is that?" was the inquiry.

"I have received a dollar for two strops which cost me only twelve and a half cents each," replied the pedlar; "but having heard of the cute tricks of the Bethel chaps, I thought I would look out for them and fix my prices accordingly. I generally sell these strops at twenty-five cents each, but, gentlemen, if you want any more at fifty cents a piece I shall be happy to supply your whole village." Our neighbours laughed out of the other side of their mouths, but no more strops were purchased."

The first recorded specimen of ingenuity (some people would call it by a harder name) worthy of note of which this excellent Barnum gives us the details, was practised at somewhat about the age of sixteen. The only thing that seems puzzling to us in the matter is, that it should have been for the benefit of his employers, and not a little private speculation of his own. It may be, however, that he wished to test the gullibility of the public, the experiment being made at another's risk. We have learned from himself quite enough of his proficiency in scheming, but we doubt if his natural or acquired love for dirty ways would have been a sufficient inducement for him to exercise his abilities when he did not expect a fair share of the profits.

We shall permit Mr. Barnum to tell the story in his own language:—

"On one occasion a pedlar called at our store with a large waggon filled with common green glass bottles of various sizes, holding from half a pint to a gallon. My employers were both absent, and I bantered him to trade his whole load of bottles in exchange for goods. Thinking me a greenhorn he accepted my proposition, and I managed to pay him off in unsaleable goods at exorbitant prices. Soon after he departed, Mr. Keeler returned, and found his little store half filled with bottles!"

After explaining that he had got the bottles at less than half the wholesale price, from the worthlessness of the goods he had given in exchange for them, he proceeded to broach his plan, which was to dispose, by a lottery, of the bottles and large quantities of tinware which had been in the store for some years, and had become begrimed with dirt and fly-specks :—

“On the first wet day, therefore, when there were but few customers, I spent several hours in making up my scheme. The highest prize was twenty-five dollars, payable in any kind of goods the customer desired. Then I had fifty prizes of five dollars each, designating in my scheme what goods each prize should consist of. For instance, one five-dollar prize consisted of one pair of cotton hose, one cotton handkerchief, two tin cups, four pint glass bottles, three tin skimmers, one quart glass bottle, six tin nutmeg graters, eleven half-pint glass bottles, &c. &c.—the glass and hardware always forming the greater portion of each prize. I had one hundred prizes of one dollar each, one hundred prizes of fifty cents each, and three hundred prizes of twenty-five cents each. There were 1000 tickets at 50 cents each. The prizes amounted to the same as the tickets—500 dollars” (he means in value but has enough of grace not to say so). “I had taken an idea here from the church lottery in which my grandfather was manager, and had many prizes of only half the cost of the tickets. I headed the scheme with glaring capitals, written in my best hand, setting forth that it was a ‘magnificent lottery!’ 25 dollars for only 50 cents!—over 550 prizes! only 1000 tickets!! goods put in at the lowest cash prices!!! &c. &c.

The tickets went like wild fire: customers did not stop to consider the nature of the prizes.”

The drawing takes place, and with the most perfect coolness Mr. Barnum relates numerous amusing little details connected with the prizes :—

“A young lady who had drawn five dollars would find herself entitled to a piece of tape, a spool of cotton, a paper of pins, sixteen tin skimmers, cups, and nutmeg graters, and a few dozen glass bottles of various sizes! She would beg me to retain the glass and hardware, and pay her in some other goods, but was informed that such a proceeding would be contrary to the rules of the establishment, and could not be entertained for a moment.

One man would find all his prizes to consist of tinware. Another would discover that out of twenty tickets he had drawn perhaps ten prizes, and that they consisted entirely of glass bottles. Some of the customers were vexed, but most of them laughed at the joke.” \* \* \* My grandfather enjoyed my lottery speculation very much, and seemed to agree with many others, who declared that I was indeed ‘a chip of the old block.’”

After confiding to his reader several of his vicissitudes as a storekeeper, a lottery office keeper, a clerk, &c. and his courtship and marriage at the precocious age of nineteen (certainly as

far as having his wits about him he was fit to undertake a much more serious responsibility than matrimony) we find the account of his first attempts as a showman. A Mr. Coley Bartram, in the latter part of July 1835, called at his store, and informed him that he had earned a share in a celebrated negro woman named Joice Heth, who was upwards of 161 years of age, and had been nurse to Washington, and that he had disposed of his interest in her to Mr. R. W. Lindsay, who being an inefficient showman was anxious to sell out. Barnum hastening forthwith to see this phenomenon, and judge for himself as to the likelihood of carrying on the cheat of passing off an ordinary old negro woman as double her actual age, declares :—

“I was favourably struck with the appearance of the old woman. So far as outward indications were concerned, she might almost as well have been called a thousand years old as any other age. She was lying upon a high lounge in the middle of the room; her lower extremities were drawn up, with her knees elevated some two feet above the top of the lounge; she was apparently in good health and spirits, but former disease or old age, or perhaps both combined, had rendered her unable to change her position; in fact, although she could move one of her arms at will, her lower limbs were fixed in their position, and could not be straightened. She was totally blind, and her eyes were so deeply sunken in their sockets that the eyeballs seemed to have disappeared altogether. She had no teeth, but possessed a head of thick bushy gray hair: her left arm lay across her breast, and she had no power to remove it. The fingers of her left hand were drawn down so as nearly to close it, and remained fixed and immovable. The nails upon that hand were about four inches in length, and extended above her wrist: the nails upon her large toes also had grown to the thickness of nearly a quarter of an inch.”

Having thus ascertained that as far as get-up was concerned, to use a theatrical phrase, the old woman looked her part, Barnum proceeds to inquire into the veritable document purporting to be a bill of sale of Joice Heth from Augustine Washington to Elizabeth Atwood, dated 1727, and stating the age of Joice Heth to be fifty-four, which is said to prove the age of Joice. This document came from the Record Office of Virginia, and was even to be one of the great features of the exhibition, lying in state like the old woman, with this difference, that one was under a glass-case and the other not. He was told that Joice had been pining neglected in an outhouse of John Bowling for several years, and that it was the accident of seeing this document which led to her discovery and promotion. Barnum was too shrewd a man not to know well that the whole thing was a perfect farce, and that he had not a particle of evidence to support the assertion as to the old

woman's age; yet, as he says, "the whole account appeared to me satisfactory, and I inquired the price of the negress." That is, it appeared to me that with the assistance of the press I could gull the public, and that the evidence was sufficient for *that* purpose, and therefore "satisfactory." The old woman told stories about Washington, and sang hymns, all of which reflected a great deal of credit or rather discredit on her ingenious trainers. It must strike any reader that one link was wanting to make out the truth of the statement as to Joice Heth's age, namely, identification of the individual exhibited with the person named in the document. If Mr. Barnum is so easily satisfied, we could undertake to produce one of King James's troopers who was engaged at the Battle of the Boyne. We should first pick up an old muster roll of one of the troops, and take, say Peter Finnerty or Thomas Fogarty, and descending into those unknown parts whereabout those rejoicing in the above distinguished surnames, pick up some terribly withered old peasant (if bed-ridden all the better), cram him with a few facts, etc, produce him in London, and make him relate the fall of Schomberg, and the pluck of William the Third.

This by the way; Joice Heth became the property of the excellent Barnum, and between advertisements and editorial articles in the New York Sun, New York Evening Star, New York Daily Advertiser, New York Courier and Express, and New York Spirit, from all of which extracts are kindly given in the book, Joice Heth proved a complete triumph, and brought store of dollars to her lord and master. When the exhibitions began to flag in any city or town, resort was had to various artful contrivances to attract public attention to the exhibition. We shall mention one: when the audiences began to decrease in number, a short communication appeared in one of the newspapers signed "A Visitor," in which the writer claimed to have made an important discovery. He stated that Joice Heth as at present exhibited was a humbug, whereas if the simple truth was told in regard to the exhibition, it was really vastly curious and interesting:—

" 'The fact is,' said the communication, 'Joice Heth is not a human being: what purports to be a remarkably old woman, is simply a curiously constructed automaton made up of whalebone, India rubber, and numberless springs ingeniously put together and made to move at the slightest touch according to the will of the operator: the exhibitor is a ventriloquist, and all the conversations apparently held with the ancient lady are purely imaginary so far as she is concerned. for the answers and incidents purporting to be related by her are merely the ventriloquial voice of the exhibitor.' "

This we needly hardly say was the production of Barnum, and the consequence, a rush to see whether or not the public had been taken in, in the way suggested, and thus the desired object was effected of filling the exhibition room and the pockets of the exhibitor. We shall pass briefly over the mock contest for 1000 dollars between Roberts, an American sleight of hand performer, and Barnum's Italian, Vivalla. It is enough to state, that finding his conjurer did not attract, he offered 1000 dollars to whomsoever could surpass Vivalla. A private arrangement was entered into between Roberts and Barnum that Vivalla, who was much the more accomplished artist, should commence with his easiest tricks, so that the contest should be for a time doubtful, and the interest excited the greater. The house was crowded as might be expected, and the receipts enormous, the result being that Roberts when beaten, proclaimed that he had a lame wrist, and but for this he would not fear for the result, and that he would wager five hundred dollars on the result of the second contest:—

“Three hearty cheers were given by the enthusiastic audience, and the antagonists looking daggers at each other, withdrew at opposite sides of the curtain. Before the uproar of applause had ceased, Roberts and Vivalla had met upon the stage, shaken hands, and were enjoying a hearty laugh, while little Vivalla with his thumb to his nose, was making curious *gyrations* to an imaginary picture on the back of the screen, or possibly to a real tableau vivant in front of the curtain.”

Mr. Barnum improved as he went along. We next come to the crowning cheat, and one, as it strikes us, peculiarly revolting to every well constituted mind—we speak of what was called the Fejee Mermaid. All through his statement of the circumstances under which he took up this exhibition, he has at least the energy not to stultify himself by professing to believe in the existence of such an animal, or that his specimen was anything more than a clever joining of the head and bust of a monkey to the tail of a fish—that it was a manufactured article. The history of the imposture is needless as well as uninteresting, the probability being that it was the handiwork of some skilful Japanese, at least such was Mr. Barnum's idea, and we have no wish to inquire into the matter. Early in the summer of 1842, Moses Kimball, Esq. the popular proprietor of the Boston Museum, offered to sell Barnum a preserved specimen of a mermaid, concerning which he told a long

history, tracing it from Japanese sailors to an orphan sailor boy, who had sold it a bargain to the popular Moses Kimball. We wish to let Barnum tell the remainder of the tale in his own words :—

" Such was the story. Not trusting my own acuteness on such matters, I requested my naturalist's opinion of the *genuineness* of the animal. He replied that he could not conceive how it was manufactured; for he never knew a monkey with such peculiar teeth, arms, hands, etc., nor had he knowledge of a fish with such peculiar fins.

' *Then why do you suppose it is manufactured?* ' I enquired.

' *Because I don't believe in mermaids,* ' replied the naturalist.

' *That is no reason at all,* ' said I, ' *and, therefore, I'll believe in the mermaid, and hire it.* '

This was the easiest part of the experiment. How to modify general incredulity in the existence of mermaids, so far as to awaken curiosity to see and examine the specimen, was now the all-important question. Some extraordinary means must be resorted to, and I saw no better method than to 'start the ball a-rolling' at some distance from the centre of attraction.

In due time a communication appeared in the New York Herald, dated and mailed in Montgomery, Ala, giving the news of the day, trade, the crops, political gossip, etc., and also an incidental paragraph about a certain Dr. Griffin, agent of the Lyceum of Natural History in London, recently from Pernambuco, who had in his possession a most remarkable curiosity, being nothing less than a veritable mermaid taken among the Feejee Islands, and preserved in China, where the doctor had bought it at a high figure for the Lyceum of Natural History.

A week or ten days afterwards, a letter of similar tenor, dated and mailed in Charleston, S. C., varying of course in the items of local news, was published in another New York Paper.

This was followed by a third letter, dated and mailed in Washington city, published in still another New York paper—there being in addition the expressed hope that the editors of the Empire City would beg a sight of the extraordinary curiosity before Dr. Griffin took ship for England.

A few days subsequently to the publication of this thrice-repeated announcement, Mr. Lyman (who was my employé in the case of Joice Heth) was duly registered at one of the principal hotels in Philadelphia as Dr. Griffin, of Pernambuco, for London. His gentlemanly, dignified, yet social manners and liberality, gained him a fine reputation for a few days; and when he paid his bill one afternoon, preparatory to leaving for New York the next day, he expressed his thanks to the landlord for special attention and courtsey. 'If you will step to my room,' said Lyman, alias Griffin, 'I will permit you to see something that will surprise you.' Whereupon the landlord was shown the most extraordinary curiosity in the world—a mermaid. He was so highly gratified and interested that he earnestly begged permission to introduce certain friends of his, including several editors, to view the wonderful specimen.

'Although it is no interest of mine,' said the curiosity-hunter, the Lyceum of Natural History, of which I am agent, will not be injured by granting the courtesy you request.' And so an appointment was made for the evening.

The result might easily be gathered from the editorial columns of the Philadelphia papers a day or two subsequently to that interview with the mermaid. Suffice it to say, that the plan worked admirably, and the Philadelphia press aided the press of New York in awakening a wide-reaching and increasing curiosity to see the mermaid.

I may as well confess that those three communications from the South were written by myself, and forwarded to friends of mine, with instructions respectively to mail them, each on the day of its date. This fact and the corresponding post-marks did much to prevent suspicion of a hoax, and the New York editors thus unconsciously contributed to my arrangements for bringing the mermaid into public notice.

While Lyman was preparing public opinion on mermaids at the Pacific Hotel, I was industriously at work (though, of course, privately) in getting up wood cuts and transparencies, as well as a pamphlet, proving the authenticity of mermaids, all in anticipation of the speedy exhibition of Dr. Griffin's specimen. I had three several and distinct pictures of mermaids engraved, and with a peculiar description written for each, had them inserted in 10,000 copies of the pamphlet which I had printed and quietly stored away in a back office until the time came to use them.

I then called respectively on the editors of the 'New York Herald,' and two of the Sunday papers, and tendered to each the free use of a mermaid cut, with a well-written description, for their papers of the ensuing Sunday. I informed each editor that I had hoped to use this cut in showing the Fejes Mermaid, but since Mr. Griffin had announced that, as agent for the Lyceum of Natural History, he could not permit it to be exhibited in America, my chance seemed dubious, and therefore, he was welcome to the use of the engraving and description. The three mermaids made their appearance in the three different papers on the morning of Sunday, July 17, 1842.

Each editor supposed he was giving his readers an exclusive treat in the mermaid line; but when they came to discover that I had played the same game with the three different papers they pronounced it a *scalpy* trick.

The mermaid fever was now getting pretty well up. Few city readers had missed seeing at least one of the illustrations; and as the several printed descriptions made direct allusion to *the* mermaid of Mr. Griffin, now in town, a desire to see it was generally prevailing. My 10,000 mermaid pamphlets were then put into the hands of boys, and sold at a penny each (half the cost) in all the principal hotels, stores, etc., etc."

The cut referred to, representing the busts of three nude women, terminating, from the middle, in the appearance of a fish. In order, amongst other things, to attract attention, Barnum posted a flag over his exhibition room, representing



a figure about eighteen feet in length, whereas the cheat measured only some eighteen inches. Before we write a word about this exhibition, we must let the future of the mermaid be told out by this virtuous Barnum :—

"The mermaid was afterwards exhibited in various parts of the country, and finally returned to its owner, Mr. KIMBALL, who has ever since given it a prominent niche in his truly beautiful and attractive 'BOSTON MUSEUM.' There it will remain until the 31st day of March, 1855. On the 1st of April next, (a most appropriate day,) it will again make its appearance in my AMERICAN MUSEUM, New York, where it will remain until January 1st, 1856, to the admiration and astonishment, no doubt, of many thousand patrons. On the 2nd day of January, 1856, the mysterious lady-fish will again take up her old quarters under the guardianship of her owner, *the Hon. Moses Kimball, (he having recently been elected to the State Senate, and thus acquired the title,)* and from that period the FINE MERMAID will be installed as a prominent and interesting *fixture* in the BOSTON MUSEUM.

That 'her ladyship' was an attractive feature, may be inferred from these facts and figures :—

The receipts of the American Museum, for the four weeks immediately preceding the exhibition of the mermaid, amounted to 1,272 dollars. During the first four weeks of the mermaid's exhibition, the receipts amounted to 3,341 D. 93 c."

Now, in the name of common sense, common honesty, and common decency, we ask, is this man to be allowed to publish his disgraceful trickery, and hope not alone to pass unscathed, but to be actually raised in public estimation thereby? If a man comes with bare feet, and a blue shirt, "and a hole in his breeches too" to our house, asking charity, and produces a certificate purporting to be from the mayor of Waterford or Wexford, or some minor town, stating that the bearer is the mate of the vessel Jane of Liverpool, or elsewhere, and that the ship was lost on the coast in his neighbourhood, and that the bearer Thomas Jones, with two other of the crew, were the sole survivors, and that he recommends them to the consideration of the humane, to assist them in returning to their homes, (which by the bye are always a very considerable distance from the place where the charity is asked) we, in our abounding cunning, cross examine the ragged individual, and the odds are, fifty to one, that he turns out to be an impostor. If we are actuated by proper feelings, if we possess a spark of public spirit, we communicate with the police, (unhappily but too often the bore and worry of attending a prosecution, not alone damps, but entirely extinguishes the

ardor of public spirit,) the impostor is conducted to his solitary retirement, enquiries are made, the mayor is brought up to prove that he never signed the document, that it is a forgery; great expense is gone to in the prosecution, (and properly so) and the result is, that the would-be mate of the Jane of Liverpool is sent at the public expense from amidst his countrymen, who would prefer not being the objects on which the said mate should practise his ingenuity. Now, what is the difference between Mr. Barnum and the begging letter impostor—none. The analogy is perfect, for we have the dressing, the character, the false name, the false pretence, in Dr. Griffin of Pernambuco, of gentlemanly, dignified and social manners, (i. e. Lyman) agent of the Lyceum of Natural History in London, with a veritable mermaid, taken among the Fæje islands, bought at China, at a high figure, for the Lyceum of Natural History. It must be borne in mind, that in all this Lyman was merely the tool and servant of Barnum, and that Barnum is the responsible person. He cannot now hope to escape on any plea of this kind; and can it be believed that any man, in a sound state of society, and public morality, could venture to make such disclosures as these, with a perfect complacency, as Barnum has done? Is this man, because of his dollars, to be permitted to parade and glory in his dishonesty, without one word of rebuke or comment? Are we to take for a veritable peacock, this wretched jay, strutting about, with a few draggled feathers in his tail? We can very well understand that people would allow themselves to be amused by the revelations of a rogue, as they would occasionally laugh at tricks upon the stage in a clever comedy, which their better sense would condemn. For this reason we would not speak harshly of those who now hurry to read Barnum's book and recommend it to their friends: but if, when attention is called to those discreditable revelations, which are dashed off in that ready way in which rogues can relate their adventures, public indignation is not aroused, and public disapproval expressed, we should not hesitate to pronounce such a society rotten to the core.\*

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\* The following most extraordinary passage referring to this "Life," appeared in the last number of "The Church of England Quarterly Review":—"We consider it the most amusing work that has appeared since the Personal Sketches of Sir Jonah Barrington. *He will gain much in general estimation by his book, and all who read it will be well entertained.*"

There are many other incidents in this man's life which we had intended to remark upon. The task, however, is an irksome one, and after convicting him of a transportable offence, we have not the patience to accumulate charges of petty larceny. We would wish, however, before parting with this subject, to deprecate any intention of identifying the American people generally with Barnum. Too often has injustice been done to that noble nation who, like all others, have their own imperfections. It is one of the weaknesses of humanity to bow down before the man who has the command of great wealth; society is often for a time led astray by this cause, but when once a well proved charge is brought against the millionaire, his ill-gotten money does not save him from public contempt and execration. Society tramples upon the man whom formerly it adored: we would this were otherwise, and that these extremes could be avoided. Such reactions, however, show a healthy tone of public morality. We have no doubt this reaction will come upon Barnum, if it has not already commenced, and we should deem it as unjust to stigmatize America on account of Barnum, as to identify England with Hudson, her quondam Railway King.

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#### ART. VIII.—MRS. JAMESON'S COMMONPLACE BOOK.

*A Common-place Book of Thoughts, Memorics, and Fancies, Original and Selected. Part I.—Ethics and Character. Part II.—Literature and Art. With Illustrations and Etchings.* By Mrs. Jameson. London: Longman and Co. 1854.

It was wisely observed by Doctor Johnson, that "He who collects is laudably employed; for though he exerts no great talents in the work, he facilitates the progress of others; and by making that easy of attainment which is already written, may give some mind, more vigorous or more adventurous than his own, leisure for new thoughts and original designs;" and truly, here, in this book, this book charming in all its "thoughts, memories, and fancies" selected, and exquisite in every "thought, memory, and fancy" original, the full force of the

great moralist's opinion is brought evidently before the reader. Mrs. Jameson has not, it is true, proclaimed herself "a patient drudge;" this book is not a compilation of wise saws, or a spiritless but well designed "Beauties of Literature." The authoress tells us at the outset, that she has never aspired to teach, being herself but a learner; yet, in our mind, she has done better than if she had written with this purpose of teaching, because in the working of her own intellectual and moral being, as evidenced in these "thoughts, memories, and fancies," she is teaching in that best of all forms, a womanly woman's counsels of example.

There is not one, in the whole noble band of English female writers, from the Duchess of Newcastle, of whose life of her husband Charles Lamb wrote,—“no casket is rich enough, no casing sufficiently durable, to honour and keep safe such a jewel,” to Hannah More, of whom Sydney Smith said, bantering, that he spoke timidly of her, as of a mysterious and superior being,—more worthy of the great praise bestowed upon her works than Mrs. Jameson. Twenty-two years have elapsed since she delighted, instructed, and taught, in her admirable *Characteristics of Women*. Who can read without feelings of delight and wonder her papers on *Imogen*, *Desdemona*, and *Hermione*, in her exposition of the “Characters of the Affections?” and how beautifully she observes—“All that can render sorrow majestic is gathered around Hermione—all that can render misery heart-breaking is assembled round Desdemona! The wronged but self-sustained virtue of Hermione commands our veneration; the injured and defenceless innocence of Desdemona so wrings the soul, ‘that all for pity we could die!’”

Remembering these passages, recalling happy hours which owed their chiefest pleasure to these, and other books from Mrs. Jameson's pen, we opened her *Commonplace Book* hoping to find it worthy her reputation, and from chapter to chapter we read on, finding in each some thought of beauty or of goodness, and over all was that charm of womanliness which ever shines in Mrs. Jameson's works—till, closing the last page, we exclaimed, as did *Cassio* of *Desdemona*—

“She's a most exquisite lady.”

The title of the work expresses its exact character: it is a *Commonplace Book* of thoughts, of memories, and of feelings

—and of its composition and publication, Mrs. Jameson thus writes:—

“For many years I have been accustomed to make a memorandum of any thought which might come across me—(if pen and paper were at hand), and to mark (and remark) any passage in a book which excited either a sympathetic or an antagonistic feeling. This collection of notes accumulated insensibly from day to day. The volumes on Shakspeare's Women, on Sacred and Legendary Art, and various other productions, sprung from seed thus lightly and casually sown, which, I hardly know how, grew up and expanded into a regular, readable form, with a beginning, a middle, and an end. But what was to be done with the fragments which remained—without beginning, and without end—links of a hidden or a broken chain? Whether to preserve them or destroy them became a question, and one I could not answer for myself. In allowing a portion of them to go forth to the world in their original form, as unconnected fragments, I have been guided by the wishes of others, who deemed it not wholly uninteresting or profitless to trace the path, sometimes devious enough, of an ‘inquiring spirit,’ even by the little pebbles dropped as vestiges by the way side.”

Of the *Commonplace Book* the first part is composed of original and extracted notes, on subjects of a nature ethical and characteristic, and it contains, also, some Poetical Fragments, an allegory entitled “The Indian Hunter and the Fire,” and best of all, “A Revelation of Childhood.” In this latter, Mrs. Jameson intends to show, through her own experiences, the mistakes in our present educational system. It is most admirable in design, but we prefer it as a beautiful tale, like the opening chapter of *The Confessions of an English Opium Eater*, rather than as a didactic, formal essay on a very grave subject; and we therefore extract from it those passages indicating how Mrs. Jameson came to be the Mrs. Jameson all the world admires:—

“Enough of the pains, and mistakes, and vagaries of childhood; let me tell of some of its pleasures equally unguessed and unexpressed. A great, an exquisite source of enjoyment arose out of an early, instinctive, boundless delight in external beauty. How this went hand in hand with my terrors and reveries, how it could coexist with them, I cannot tell now—it was so; and if this sympathy with the external, living, beautiful world, had been properly, scientifically cultivated, and directed to useful definite purposes, it would have been the best remedy for much that was morbid: this was not the case, and we were, unhappily for me, too early removed from the country to a town residence. I can remember, however, that in very early years the appearances of nature did truly ‘haunt me like a passion;’ the stars were to me as the gates of heaven; the rolling of the wave to the shore, the graceful weeds and grasses bending before the breeze as they grew by the wayside; the minute and de-

licate forms of insects; the trembling shadows of boughs and leaves dancing on the ground in the highest noon; these were to me perfect pleasures of which the imagery now in my mind is distinct. Wordsworth's poem of 'The Daffodils,' the one beginning—

'I wandered lonely as a cloud,'

may appear to some unintelligible or overcharged, but to me it was a vivid truth, a simple fact; and if Wordsworth had been then in my hands I think I must have loved him. It was this intense sense of beauty which gave the first zest to poetry: I loved it, not because it told me what I did not know, but because it helped me to words in which to clothe my own knowledge and perceptions, and reflected back the pictures unconsciously hoarded up in my mind. This was what made Thomson's 'Seasons' a favourite book when I first began to read for my own amusement, and before I could understand one half of it; St. Pierre's 'Indian Cottage' ('*La Chaumière Indienne*') was also charming, either because it reflected my dreams, or gave me new stuff for them in pictures of an external world quite different from that I inhabited,—palm-trees, elephants, tigers, dark-turbaned men with flowing draperies; and the 'Arabian Nights' completed my Oriental intoxication, which lasted for a long time.

I have said little of the impressions left by books, and of my first religious notions. A friend of mine had once the wise idea of collecting together a variety of evidence as to the impressions left by certain books on childish or immature minds: if carried out, it would have been one of the most valuable additions to educational experience ever made. For myself I did not much care about the books put into my hands, nor imbibe much information from them. I had a great taste, I am sorry to say, for forbidden books; yet it was not the forbidden books that did the mischief, except in their being read furtively. I remember impressions of vice and cruelty from some parts of the Old Testament and Goldsmith's 'History of England,' which I shudder to recall. Shakspeare was on the forbidden shelf. I had read him all through between seven and ten years old. He never did me any moral mischief. He never soiled my mind with any disordered image. What was exceptionable and coarse in language I passed by without attaching any meaning whatever to it. How it might have been if I had read Shakspeare first when I was fifteen or sixteen, I do not know; perhaps the occasional coarsenesses and obscurities might have shocked the delicacy or puzzled the intelligence of that sensitive and inquiring age. But at nine or ten I had no comprehension of what was unseemly; what might be obscure in words to wordy commentators, was to me lighted up by the idea I found or interpreted for myself—right or wrong.

No; I repeat, Shakspeare—bless him!—never did me any moral mischief. Though the Witches in Macbeth troubled me,—though the Ghost in Hamlet terrified me (the picture that is,—for the spirit in Shakspeare was solemn and pathetic, not hideous)—though poor little Arthur cost me an ocean of tears,—yet much that was obscure, and all that was painful and revolting was merged on the whole in the vivid presence of a new, beautiful, vigorous, living world. The plays which I now think the most wonderful produced comparatively

little effect on my fancy: *Romeo and Juliet*, *Othello*, *Macbeth*, struck me then less than the historical plays, and far less than the *Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Cymbeline*. It may be thought, perhaps, that *Falstaff* is not a character to strike a child, or to be understood by a child:—no; surely not. To me *Falstaff* was not witty and wicked—only irresistibly fat and funny; and I remember lying on the ground rolling with laughter over some of the scenes in *Henry the Fourth*,—the mock play, and the seven men in buckram. But *The Tempest* and *Cymbeline* were the plays I liked best and knew best.

Altogether I should say that in my early years books were known to me, not as such, not for their general contents, but for some especial image or picture I had picked out of them and assimilated to my own mind and mixed up with my own life. For example, out of *Homer's Odyssey* (lent to me by the parish clerk) I had the picture of *Nausicaa* and her maidens going down in their chariots to wash their linen: so that when the first time I went to the Pitti Palace, and could hardly see the pictures through blinding tears, I saw *that* picture of *Rubens*, which all remember who have been at Florence, and it flashed delight and refreshment through those remembered childish associations. The *Syrens* and *Polypheme* left also vivid pictures on my fancy. The *Iliad*, on the contrary, wearied me, except the parting of *Hector* and *Andromache*, in which the child, scared by its father's dazzling helm and nodding crest, remains a vivid image in my mind from that time.

The same parish clerk—a curious fellow in his way,—lent me also some religious tracts and stories by *Hannah More*. It is most certain that more moral mischief was done to me by some of these than by all *Shakspeare's* plays together. These so-called pious tracts first introduced me to a knowledge of the vices of vulgar life, and the excitements of a vulgar religion,—the fear of being hanged and the fear of hell became coexistent in my mind; and the teaching resolved itself into this,—that it was not by being naughty, but by being found out, that I was to incur the risk of both. My fairy world was better!

About Religion:—I was taught religion as children used to be taught it in my younger days, and are taught it still in some cases, I believe—through the medium of creeds and catechisms. I read the Bible too early, and too indiscriminately, and too irreverently. Even the New Testament was too early placed in my hands; too early made a lesson book, as the custom then was. The *letter* of the Scriptures—the words—were familiarised to me by sermonising and dogmatising, long before I could enter into the *spirit*. Meantime, happily, another religion was growing up in my heart, which, strangely enough, seemed to me quite apart from that which was taught,—which, indeed, I never in any way regarded as the same which I was taught when I stood up wearily on a Sunday to repeat the collect and say the catechism. It was quite another thing. Not only the taught religion and the sentiment of faith and adoration were never combined, but it never for years entered into my head to combine them; the first remained extraneous, the latter had gradually taken

root in my life, even from the moment my mother joined my little hands in prayer. The histories out of the Bible (the Parables especially) were, however, enchanting to me, though my interpretation of them was in some instances the very reverse of correct or orthodox. To my infant conception our Lord was a being who had come down from heaven to make people good, and to tell them beautiful stories. And though no pains were spared to *indoctrinate* me, and all my pastors and masters took it for granted that my ideas were quite satisfactory, nothing could be more confused and heterodox."

"Educators are not always aware, I think, how acute are the perceptions, and how permanent the memories of children. I remember experiments tried upon my temper and feelings, and how I was made aware of this, by their being repeated, and, in some instances, spoken of, before me. Music, to which I was early and peculiarly sensitive, was sometimes made the medium of these experiments. Discordant sounds were not only hateful, but made me turn white and cold, and sent the blood backward to my heart; and certain tunes had a curious effect, I cannot now account for: for though, when heard for the first time, they had little effect, they became intolerable by repetition; they turned up some hidden emotion within me too strong to be borne. It could not have been from association, which I believe to be a principal element in the emotion excited by music. I was too young for that. What associations could such a baby have had with pleasure or with pain? Or could it be possible that associations with some former state of existence awoke up to sound? That our life 'hath elsewhere its beginning, and cometh from afar,' is a belief, or at least an instinct, in some minds, which music, and only music, seems to thrill into consciousness. At this time, when I was about five or six years old, Mrs. Arkwright—she was then Fanny Kemble,—used to come to our house, and used to entrance me with her singing. I had a sort of adoration for her, such as an ecstatic votary might have for a Saint Cecilia. I trembled with pleasure when I only heard her step. But her voice!—it has charmed hundreds since; whom has it ever moved to a more genuine passion of delight than the little child that crept silent and tremulous to her side? And she was fond of me,—fond of singing to me, and, it must be confessed, fond also of playing these experiments on me. The music of 'Paul and Virginia' was then in vogue, and there was one air—a very simple air—in that opera, which, after the first few bars, always made me stop my ears and rush out of the room. I became at last aware that this was sometimes done by particular desire to please my parents, or amuse and interest others by the display of such vehement emotion. My infant conscience became perplexed between the reality of the feeling and the exhibition of it. People are not always aware of the injury done to children by repeating before them things they say, or describing things they do: words and actions, spontaneous and unconscious, become thenceforth artificial and conscious. I can speak of the injury done to myself, between five and eight years old. There was some danger of my becoming a precocious actress,—danger of permanent mischief such as I have seen done to other children,—



but I was saved by the recoil of resistance and resentment excited in my mind.

This is enough. All that has been told here refers to a period between five and ten years old."

Growing up thus, in all the refined natural tastes of a very woman, Mrs. Jameson has become the mental anatomist of her sex. It must be acknowledged, that whilst claiming their fullest and highest position in the ranks of human nature, she has never become, in the most remote degree, a woman's right advocate. With ability of the highest order; gifted with energy of mind, and endowed with great and eloquent powers of expression, she has always been mindful of the truth, that the qualities making woman glorious, and equal to man, are not the qualities which induce women to demand equality with men. We have, from this book, selected, and here inserted, in order, the passages scattered through its pages, and expressing Mrs. Jameson's opinions on all the subjects relating to her own sex noted by her :—

" Among the absurdities talked about women, one hears, perhaps, such an aphorism as the following, quoted with a sort of ludicrous complacency,—' The woman's strength consists in her weakness ' as if it were not the weakness of a woman which makes her in her violence at once so aggravating and so contemptible, in her dissimulation at once so shallow and so dangerous, and in her vengeance at once so cowardly and so cruel.

I should not say, from my experience of my own sex, that a woman's nature is flexible and impressive, though her feelings are. I know very few instances of a very inferior man ruling the mind of a superior woman, whereas I know twenty—fifty—of a very inferior woman ruling a superior man. If he love her, the chances are that she will in the end weaken and demoralise him. If a superior woman marry a vulgar or inferior man he makes her miserable, but he seldom governs her mind, or vulgarises her nature, and if there be love on his side the chances are that in the end she will elevate and refine him.

The most dangerous man to a woman is a man of high intellectual endowments morally perverted; for in a woman's nature there is such a necessity to approve where she admires, and to believe where she loves,—a devotion compounded of love and faith is so much a part of her being,—that while the instincts remain true and the feelings uncorrupted, the conscience and the will may both be led far astray. Thus fell 'our general mother,' type of her sex,—overpowered, rather than deceived, by the colossal intellect,—half serpent, half angelic.

Coleridge speaks, and with a just indignant scorn, of those who consider chastity as if it were a *thing*—a thing which might be lost or kept by external accident—a thing of which one might be robbed,

instead of a state of being. According to law and custom, the chastity of Woman is as the property of Man, to whom she is accountable for it, rather than to God and her own conscience. Whatever people may say, such is the common, the social, the legal view of the case. It is a remnant of oriental barbarism. It tends to much vice, or, at the best, to a low standard of morality, in both sexes. This idea of property in the woman survives still in our present social state, particularly among the lower orders, and is one cause of the ill treatment of wives. All those who are particularly acquainted with the manners and condition of the people will testify to this; namely, 'that when a child or any weaker individual is ill treated, those standing by will interfere and protect the victim, but if the sufferer be *the wife* of the oppressor, it is a point of etiquette to look on, to take no part in the fray, and to leave the brute man to do what he likes 'with his own.' Even the victim herself if she be not pummelled to death, frequently deprecates such an interference with the dignity and the rights of her owner. Like the poor woman in the 'Médecin malgré lui':—'Voyez un peu cet impertinent qui veut empêcher, les maris de battre leurs femmes!—et si je veux qu'il me batte, moi?'—and so ends by giving her defender a box on the ear.

'I observe,' said Sydney Smith, 'that *generally* about the age of forty, women get tired of being virtuous and men of being honest.' This was said and received with a laugh as one of his good things; but, like many of his good things, how dreadfully true? And why? because, *generally* education has made the virtue of the woman and the honesty of the man a matter of external opinion, not a law of the inward life.

Dante, in his lowest hell, has placed those who have betrayed women; and in the lowest deep of the lowest deep those who have betrayed trust.

Inveterate sensuality, which has the effect of utterly stupifying and brutifying lower minds, gives to natures more sensitively or more powerfully organised a horrible dash of ferocity. For there is an awful relation between animal blood-thirstiness and the proneness to sensuality, and in some sensualists a sort of feline propensity to torment and lacerate the prey they have not the appetite to devour.

Our present social opinion says to the man, 'You may be a vulgar brutal sensualist, and use the basest means to attain the basest ends; but so long as you do not offend against conventional good manners you shall be held blameless.' And to the woman it says, 'You shall be guilty of nothing but of yielding to the softest impulses of tenderness, of relenting pity; but if you cannot add hypocrisy you shall be punished as the most desperate criminal.'

Milton's Eve is the type of the masculine standard of perfection in woman; a graceful figure, an abundance of fine hair, much 'coy submission,' and such a degree of unreasoning wilfulness as shall risk perdition.

And the woman's standard for the man is Adam, who rules and demands subjection, and is so indulgent that he gives up to blandishment what he would refuse to reason, and what his own reason condemns.

Women are inclined to fall in love with priests and physicians, because of the help and comfort they derive from both in perilous moral and physical maladies. They believe in the presence of real pity, real sympathy, where the tone and look of each have become merely habitual and conventional,—I may say professional. On the other hand, women are inclined to fall in love with criminal and miserable men out of the pity which in our sex is akin to love, and out of the power of bestowing comfort or love. 'Car les femmes ont un instinct céleste pour le malheur.' So, in the first instance, they love from gratitude or faith; in the last, from compassion or hope.

'A single life,' said Bacon, 'doth well with churchmen, for charity will hardly water the ground where it must first fill a pool.'

Certainly there are men whose charities are limited, if not dried up, by their concentrated domestic anxieties and relations. But there are others whose charities are more diffused, as well as healthier and warmer, through the strength of their domestic affections.

Wordsworth speaks strongly of the evils of ordaining men as clergymen in places where they had been born or brought up, or in the midst of their own relatives: 'Their habits, their manners, their talk, their acquaintances, their friendships, and let me say even their domestic affections, naturally draw them one way, while their professional obligations point out another.' If this were true universally, or even generally, it would be a strong argument in favour of the celibacy of the Roman Catholic clergy, which certainly is one element, and not the least of their power.'

While we were discussing Balzac's celebrity as a romance writer she (o. o) said, with a shudder: 'His laurels are steeped in the tears of women,—every truth he tells has been wrung in tortures from some woman's heart.'

A woman's patriotism is more of a sentiment than a man's,—more passionate: it is only an extension of the domestic affections, and with her *la patrie* is only an enlargement of *home*. In the same manner, a woman's idea of fame is always a more extended sympathy, and is much more of a presence than an anticipation. To her the voice of fame is only the echo—fainter and more distant—of the voice of love."

Thinking thus of the position, of the duties, and of the rights of her sister women, it is very natural that Mrs. Jameson should object to many of Thackeray's heroines. Doubtless some of his heroines are not perfect women; but the question to be asked is—Are they women? And here a strange psychological fact rises before us—the women drawn by Thackeray, and considered by men as most natural, are precisely the women whom Mrs Jameson condemns as false in design. She calls that little, fair-haired, blue-eyed fiend, *Becky Sharp*, "inimitable Becky"! and tells us that no woman resents her; and then she adds that *Laura*, in *Pendennis*, is "a fatal mistake." Can it be that women are, what some of

their slanderers, such as Brantome and Rochefoucauld, have represented them, and would be, to express it gently, *Becky* rather than *Laura*? None can dispute the fact that *Pendennis* is, as Mrs. Jameson calls him, "a poor creature," but he loved *Laura*, in his way: she loved *Warrington*, would have married him, had he not already formed a connection darkening his life. Surely women do these things every day, even when they have but short acquaintance with their lovers, and here was *Laura*, knowing *Pendennis* from childhood. We do not contend that Thackeray's female characters are perfect: we merely differ with Mrs. Jameson on this point, that we are, and we are sure most men will be, of opinion that *Laura* is a woman seen every day, that *Becky* is a woman seen not often, amongst a thousand. It must however, be admitted, that when encountered she cannot be readily forgotten, whilst *Laura* may pass before us every hour and never attract our notice. Indeed, Thackeray's heroines are rarely such as a man can admire; he draws them as men know them in the *mass*; women draw them as they should be, (and this very point is well urged by Mrs. Jameson, in her criticism, which we shall give hereafter, on Milton's Adam and Eve.) Thackeray does, it is true, seem to laugh at love, as it is popularly understood. "Ils commençaient à dire *nous*. A! qu'il est touchant ce *nous* prononcé par l'amour! Quelle déclaration il contient timidement et cependant vivement exprimée," writes Madame De Stael, in *Corinne*; to travesty such sentiments as this seems Thackeray's chief object in writing his love scenes, and in painting life as it is he paints it in the finest, but most unflattering colors.

Mrs. Jameson thus writes of him in commenting on his *Lectures*:—

"In these lectures, some fine and feeling and discriminative passages on character, make amends for certain offences and inconsistencies in the novels; I mean especially in regard to the female portraits. No woman resents his Rebecca—inimitable Becky!—no woman but feels and acknowledges with a shiver the completeness of that wonderful and finished artistic creation; but every woman resents the selfish inane Amelia, and would be inclined to quote and to apply the author's own words when speaking of 'Tom Jones':—'I can't say that I think Amelia a virtuous character.' I can't say but I think Mr. Thackeray's evident liking and admiration for his Amelia shows that the great humourist's moral sense was blunted by his life, and that here in art and ethics there is a great error. If it be right to have a heroine whom we are to admire, let us take care at least that she is admirable."

Laura, in 'Pendennis,' is a yet more fatal mistake. She is drawn with every generous feeling, every good gift. We do not complain that she loves that poor creature Pendennis, for she loved him in her childhood. She grew up with that love in her heart; it came between her and the perception of his faults: it is a necessity indivisible from her nature. Hallowed, through its constancy, therein alone would lie its best excuse, its beauty and its truth. But Laura, faithless to that first affection; Laura, waked up to the appreciation of a far more manly and noble nature, in love with Warrington, and then going back to Pendennis and marrying him! Such infirmity might be true of some women, but not of such a woman as Laura; we resent the inconsistency, the indelicacy of the portrait.

And then Lady Castlewood,—so evidently a favourite of the author, what shall we say of her? The virtuous woman, *par excellence*, who 'never sins and never forgives,' who never resents, nor relents, nor repents; the mother who is the rival of her daughter; the mother, who for years is the *confidante* of a man's delirious passion for her own child, and then consoles him by marrying him herself! O Mr. Thackeray! this will never do! such women *may* exist, but to hold them up as examples of excellence, and fit objects of our best sympathies, is a fault, and proves a low standard in ethics and in art. When an author presents to us a heroine whom we are called upon to admire, let him at least take care that she is admirable. If in these and in some other instances, Thackeray has given us cause of offence, in the lectures we may thank him for some amends: he has shown us what he conceives true womanhood and true manliness ought to be; so with this expression of gratitude, and a far deeper debt of gratitude left unexpressed, I close his book, and say, good night!"

That the *Commonplace Book* of the authoress of the works on Sacred and Legendary Art, should contain many passages relating to painting and sculpture is only what one might expect, and Mrs. Jameson has more than fulfilled this expectation. Forty concluding pages of her book are devoted to this subject, and in them she writes with her usual grace, knowledge, ability, and taste. In writing of subjects for sculpture, from the works of Shakspeare, Spenser, and Milton, she has the following observations:—

"CHARACTERS FROM SHAKSPEARE.

Joan of Arc is not, however, a Shakspearian character; and, in fact, there are very few of his personages susceptible of sculptural treatment. They are too dramatic, too profound, too complex in their essential nature where they are tragic; too many-sided and picturesque where they are comic.

For instance, the attempt to condense into marble such light, evanescent, quaint creations as those in 'The Midsummer Night's Dream,' is better avoided; we feel that a marble fairy must be a

heavy absurdity. Oberon and Titania might perhaps float along in a bas-relief; but we cannot put away the thought that they have reality without substantiality, and we do not like to see them, or Ariel, or Caliban fixed in the definite forms of sculpture.

There are, however, a few of Shakspeare's characters which appear to me beautifully adapted for statuesque treatment: Perdita holding her flowers; Miranda lingering on the shore; might well replace the innumerable 'Floras' and 'Nymphs preparing to bathe,' which people the *ateliers* of our sculptors. Cordelia has something of marble quietude about her; and Hermione is a statue ready made. And, by the way, it is observable that Shakspeare represents Hermione as a *coloured* statue. Paulina will not allow it to be touched, because 'the colour is not yet dry.' Again—

'Would you not deem those veins  
Did verily bear blood?

The very life seems warm upon her lips,  
The fixture of her eye hath motion in't,  
And we are mocked by Art!

The ruddiness upon her lip is wet,  
You'll mar it if you kiss it, stain your own  
With oily painting.'

I think it possible to model small ornamental statuettes and groups from some few of the scenes in Shakspeare's plays; but this is quite different from life-size figures of Hamlet, Othello, Shylock, Macbeth, which must either have the look of real individual portraiture, or become mere idealisations of certain qualities; and Shakspeare's creations are neither the one nor the other.

#### CHARACTERS FROM SPENSER.

Spenser is so essentially a picturesque poet, he depends for his rich effects so much on the combination of colour and imagery, and multiplied accessories, that one feels—at least *I* feel, on laying down a volume of the 'Fairie Queene', dazzled as if I had been walking in a gallery of pictures. His 'Masque of Cupid,' for instance, although a procession of poetical creations, could not be transferred to a bas-relief without completely losing its Spenserian character—its wondrous glow of colour. Thus Cupid 'uprears himself exulting from the back of the ravenous lion;' removes the bandage from his eyes, that he may look round on his victims; 'shakes the darts which his right hand doth strain full dreadfully,' and 'claps on high his coloured wings twain.' This certainly is not the Greek Cupid, nor the Cupid of sculpture; it is the Spenserian Cupid. So of his Una, so of his Britomart, and the Red Cross Knight and Sir Guyon: one might make elegant *statuesque* impersonations of the allegories they involve, as of Truth, Chastity, Faith, Temperance; but then they would lose immediately their Spenserian character and sentiment, and must become something altogether different.

#### THE LADY. COMUS.

It is not so with Milton. The 'Lady' in Comus, whether she stand listening to the echos of her own sweet voice, or motionless as

marble under the spell of the 'false enchanter,' looking that divine reproof which in the poem she *speaks*,—

'I hate when vice can bolt her arguments,  
And virtue has no tongue to check her pride'—

is a subject perfectly fitted for sculpture, and never, so far as I know, executed. It would be a far more appropriate ornament for a lady's *boudoir* than French statues of *MODESTY*, which generally have the effect of making one feel very much ashamed.

Sabrina has been beautifully treated.

It is difficult to render *Comus* without making him too like a *Bacchus* or an *Apollo*. He is neither. He represents not the beneficent but the intoxicating and brutifying power of wine. His joviality should not be that of a God, but with something mischievous, bestial, Faun-like; and he should have, with the Dionysian grace, a dash of the cunning and malignity of his Mother *Circe*. These characteristics should be in the mind of the artist. The panther's skin, the coronal of vine leaves, and, instead of the *Thyrsus*, the magician's wand, are the proper accessories. It is also worth notice, that in the antique representations *Comus* has wings as a demigod, and in a picture described by *Philostratus* (a night scene) he lies crouched in a drunken sleep. Little use, however, is made of him in the antique myths, and the Miltonic conception is that which should be embodied by the modern sculptor.

*Il Penseroso* and *L'Allegro*, if embodied in sculpture as poetical abstractions (either masculine or feminine) of *Melancholy* and *Mirth*, would cease to be Miltonic, for the conceptions of the poet are essentially picturesque, and expressed in both cases by a luxuriant accumulation of images and accessories, not to be brought within the limits of plastic art without the most tasteless confusion and inconsistency.

#### SATAN.

THE religious idea of a Satan—the impersonation of that mixture of the bestial, the malignant, the impious, and the hopeless, which constitute *THE FIEND*, the enemy of all that is human and divine—I conceive to be quite unfitted for the purpose of sculpture. *Danton's* attempt degenerates into grim caricature. *Milton's Satan*—'The archangel ruined,'—is however a strictly poetical creation, and capable of the most poetical statuesque treatment. But we must remember that, if it be a gross mistake, religious and artistic, to conceive the Messiah under the form of a larger, stronger humanity, with a *physique* like that of a wrestler, it is equally a mistake to conceive the lost angel, our spiritual adversary, under any such coarse Herculean lineaments. There can be no image of the Miltonic Satan without the elements of beauty, 'though changed by pale ire, envy, and despair!' Colossal he may be, vast as Mount *Athos*; but it is not necessary to express this that he should be hewn out of Mount *Athos*, or look like the giant *Polypheme*! His proportions, his figure, his features—like his power—are angelic. As the Hero—for he is so—of the '*Paradise Lost*,' the subject is open to poetic

treatment; but I am not aware that as yet it has been poetically treated."

During her life, rendered celebrated by her genius, Mrs. Jameson has been the associate and friend of many famous in literature, in art, and upon the stage. Amongst the most pleasing portions of her book are those recording her opinions of actors and actresses, and their opinions on subjects connected with their profession. The following passages are interesting, and contain matter worthy of consideration:—

"Talking once with Adelaide Kemble, after she had been singing in the 'Figaro,' she compared the music to the bosom of a full-blown rose in its voluptuous, intoxicating richness. I said that some of Mozart's melodies seemed to me not so much composed, but found—found on some sunshiny day in Arcadia, among nymphs and flowers. 'Yes,' she replied, with ready and felicitous expression, '*not inventions but existences.*'"

Old George the Third, in his blindness and madness, once insisted on making the selection of pieces for the concert of ancient music (May, 1811),—it was soon after the death of the Princess Amelia. The programme included some of the finest passages in Handel's 'Samson,' descriptive of blindness; the 'Lamentation of Jephthah,' for his daughter; Purcel's 'Mad Tom,' and closed with 'God save the King,' to make sure the application of all that went before.

Every one who remembers what Madlle Rachel was seven or eight years ago, and who sees her now (1853), will allow that she has made no progress in any of the essential excellences of her art. A certain proof that she is not a great artist in the true sense of the word. She is a finished actress, but she is nothing more, and nothing better; not enough the artist ever to forget or conceal her art, consequently there is a want somewhere, which a mind highly toned and of quick perceptions feels from beginning to end. The parts in which she once excelled—the *Phédre* and the *Hermione*, for instance—have become formalised and hard, like studies cast in bronze; and when she plays a new part it has no freshness. I always go to see her whenever I can. I admire her as what she is—the Parisian actress, practised in every trick of her *métier*. I admire what she does, I think how well it is all *done*, and am inclined to clap and applaud her drapery, perfect and ostentatiously studied in every fold, just with the same feeling that I applaud herself.

As to the last scene of *Adrienne Lecouvreur*, (which those who are *avides de sensation*, athirst for painful emotion, go to see as they would drink a dram, and critics laud as a miracle of art; it is altogether a mistake and a failure,) it is beyond the just limits of terror and pity—beyond the legitimate sphere of art. It reminds us of the

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\* In the Fifth Book of Pollok's "Course of Time," there is a very fine subject for sculpture—the maiden praying for her lover's return. Why does not somebody paint the scene in Tennyson's *The Talking Oak*, from the 32nd to the 37th stanzas.



story of Gentil Bellini and the Sultan. The Sultan much admired his picture of the decollation of John the Baptist, but informed him that it was inaccurate—surgically—for the tendons and muscles ought to shrink where divided; and then calling for one of his slaves, he drew his scimitar, and striking off the head of the wretch, gave the horror-struck artist a lesson in practical anatomy. So we might possibly learn from Rachel's imitative representation, (studied in an hospital as they say,) how poison acts on the frame, and how the limbs and features writhe into death; but if she were a great moral artist she would feel that what is allowed to be true in painting, is true in art generally; that mere imitation, such as the vulgar delight in, and hold up their hands to see, is the vilest and easiest aim of the imitative arts, and that between the true interpretation of poetry in art and such base mechanical means to the lowest ends, there lies an immeasurable distance.

I am disposed to think that Rachel has not genius but talent, and that her talent, from what I see year after year, has a downward tendency,—there is not sufficient moral seasoning to save it from corruption. I remember that when I first saw her in Hermione she reminded me of a serpent, and the same impression continues. The long meagre form with its graceful undulating movements, the long narrow face and features, the contracted jaw, the high brow, the brilliant supernatural eyes which seem to glance every way at once; the sinister smile; the painted red lips, which look as though they had lapped, or could lap, blood; all these bring before me, the idea of a Lamia, the serpent nature in the woman's form. In Lydia, and in Athalie, she touches the extremes of vice and wickedness with such a masterly lightness and precision, that I am full of wondering admiration for the actress. There is not a turn of her figure, not an expression in her face, not a fold in her gorgeous drapery, that is not a study; but withal such a consciousness of her art, and such an ostentation of the means she employs, that the power remains always *extraneous*, as it were, and exciting only to the senses and the intellect.

Latterly she has become a hard mannerist. Her face, once so flexible, has lost the power of expressing the nicer shades and softer gradations of feeling; so much so, that they write dramas for her with supernaturally wicked and depraved heroines to suit her especial powers. I conceive that an artist could not sink lower in degradation. Yet, to satisfy the taste of a Parisian audience and the ambition of a Parisian actress this was not enough, and wickedness required the piquancy of immediate approximation with innocence. In the Valeria she played two characters, and appeared on the stage alternately as a miracle of vice and a miracle of virtue: an abandoned prostitute and a chaste matron. There was something in this contrasted impersonation, considered simply in relation to the aims and objects of art, so revolting, that I sat in silent and deep disgust, which was partly deserved by the audience which could endure the exhibition.

It is the entire absence of the high poetic element which distinguishes Rachel as an actress, and places her at such an immeasurable

distance from Mrs. Siddons, that it shocks me to hear them named together.

It is no reproach to a capital actress to play effectively a very wicked character. Mrs. Siddons played the abandoned Millwood as carefully, as completely as she played Hermione and Constance; but if it had required a perpetual succession of Calistas and Millwoods to call forth her highest powers, what should we think of the woman and the artist?

A celebrated German actress (who has quitted the stage for many years) speaking of Rachel, said that the reason she must always stop short of the highest place in art, is because she is nothing but an actress—that only; and has no aims in life, has no duties, feelings, employments, sympathies, but those which centre in herself in the interests of her art;—which thus ceases to be *art* and becomes a *métier*.

This reminded me of what Pauline Viardot once said to me:—*‘D’abord je suis femme, avec les devoirs, les affections, les sentiments d’une femme; et puis je suis artiste.’*”

“I once asked Mrs. Siddons, which of her great characters she preferred to play? She replied after a moment’s consideration, and in her rich deliberative emphatic tones:—‘Lady Macbeth is the character I have most *studied*.’ She afterwards said that she had played the character during thirty years, and scarcely acted it once, without carefully reading over the part and generally the whole play in the morning; and that she never read over the play without finding something new in it; ‘something,’ she said, ‘which had not struck me so much as it *ought* to have struck me.’

Of Mrs. Pritchard, who preceded Mrs. Siddons in the part of Lady Macbeth, it was well known that she had never read the play, she merely studied her own part as written out by the stage-copyist; of the other parts she knew nothing but the *cues*.

When I asked Mrs. Henry Siddons, which of her characters she preferred playing? she said at once, ‘Imogen, in *Cymbeline*, was the character I played with most ease to myself, and most success as regarded the public; it cost no effort.’

Madame Schrœder Devrient told me that she sung with most pleasure to herself in the ‘*Fidelio*;

 and in this part I have never seen her equalled.

Fanny Kemble told me the part she had played with most pleasure to herself, was *Camilla*, in Massinger’s ‘*Maid of Honour*.’ It was an exquisite impersonation, but the play itself ineffective and not successful, because of the weak and worthless character of the hero.

Mrs. Charles Kean told me that she had played with great ease and pleasure to herself, the part of *Ginevra*, in Leigh Hunt’s ‘*Legend of Florence*.’ She *made* the part (as it is technically termed), and it was a very complete and beautiful impersonation.

These answers appear to me psychologically, as well as artistically, interesting, and worth preserving.

Mrs. Siddons, when looking over the statues in Lord Lansdowne’s gallery, told him that one mode of expressing intensity of feeling was suggested to her by the position of some of the Egyptian statues

with the arms close down at the sides and the hands clenched. This is curious, for the attitude in the Egyptian gods is intended to express repose. As the expression of intense passion self-controlled, it might be appropriate to some characters and not to others. Rachel, as I recollect, uses it in the *Phœdre*—Madame Rettich uses it in the *Medea*. It would not be characteristic in Constance.

On a certain occasion when Fanny Kemble was reading *Cymbeline*, a lady next to me remarked that Imogen ought not to utter the words 'Senseless linen!—happier therein than I!' aloud, and to Pisanio,—that it detracted from the strength of the feeling, and that they should have been uttered aside, and in a low, intense whisper. 'Iachimo,' she added, 'might easily have won a woman who could lay her heart so bare to a mere attendant!'

On my repeating this criticism to Fanny Kemble, she replied just as I had anticipated: 'Such criticism is the mere expression of the natural emotions or character of the critic. *She* would have spoken the words in a whisper, I should have made the exclamation aloud. If there had been a thousand people by, I should not have cared for them—I should not have been conscious of their presence. I should have exclaimed before them all, 'Senseless linen!—happier therein than I!'

And thus the artist fell into the same mistake of which she accused her critic—she made Imogen utter the words aloud, because *she* would have done so herself. This sort of subjective criticism in both was quite feminine; but the question was not how either A. B. or F. K. would have spoken the words, but what would have been most natural in such a woman as Imogen?

And most undoubtedly the first criticism was as exquisitely true and just as it was delicate. Such a woman as Imogen would *not* have uttered those words aloud. She would have uttered them in a whisper, and turning her face from her attendant. With such a woman, the more intense the passion, the more conscious and the more veiled the expression."

It must not be supposed that this *Commonplace Book* is but a record of opinions and fancies on such subjects as these last quoted; we know few books more grave, in the sections where gravity is in place, and where thoughtfulness is appropriate, than this before us. A pure spirit of faith in God; a kindly, christian love of all who bear his image, are patent in those portions relating to religion.

In the division in which the authoress notes her judgment of books, many admirable, and many wise opinions are before the reader, and from her criticisms few will be found to dissent. The notice of Stanley's *Life of Arnold* is particularly worthy of careful perusal, and the same recommendation may be given to the notes on Niebuhr, and to that on Comte's Philosophy. The "Theological Fragments" too, are well selected, but we think the reader will feel more interest in the "Notes from Various Sermons." Some

of these notes disprove an assertion made by a very celebrated critic, who wrote that the characteristic of modern English Sermons was "decent debility."

If one were required to make a selection of the beautiful thoughts which, in this book, "all over the surface shine," he would find it a most difficult task, and would say to the requirer—read the entire book. We have selected a few **miscellaneous** passages, regardless of order or arrangement, and we assure the reader that, much as these thoughts and opinions may please him by their beauty, or truth, or novelty, others, many others, more true, more beautiful, and more novel can be found in every section of this *Commonplace Book*

"There are few things more striking, more interesting to a thoughtful mind, than to trace through all the poetry, literature, and art of the Middle Ages that broad ever-present distinction between the practical and the contemplative life. This was, no doubt, suggested and kept in view by the one grand division of the whole social community into those who were devoted to the religious profession (an immense proportion of both sexes) and those who were not. All through Dante, all through the productions of mediæval art, we find this pervading idea; and we must understand it well and keep it in mind, or we shall never be able to apprehend the entire beauty and meaning of certain religious groups in sculpture and painting, and the significance of the characters introduced. Thus, in subjects from the Old Testament, Leah always represents the practical, Rachel, the contemplative life. In the New Testament, Martha and Mary figure in the same allegorical sense; and among the saints we always find St. Catherine and St. Clara patronising the religious and contemplative life, while St. Barbara and St. Ursula preside over the military or secular existence. It was a part, and a very important part, of that beautiful and expressive symbolism through which art in all its forms spoke to the popular mind.

For myself, I have the strongest admiration for the *practical*, but the strongest sympathy with the *contemplative* life. I bow to Leah and to Martha, but my love is for Rachel and for Mary."

"Joanna Baillie had a great admiration of Macaulay's Roman Ballads. 'But,' said some one, 'do you really account them as poetry?' She replied, 'They *are* poetry if the sounds of the trumpet be music!'"

"A death-bed repentance has become proverbial for its fruitlessness, and a death-bed forgiveness is equally so. They who wait till their own death-bed to make reparation, or till their adversary's death-bed to grant absolution, seem to me much upon a par in regard to the moral, as well as the religious, failure."

"Avarice is to the *intellect* what *sensuality* is to the *morals*. It is an intellectual form of sensuality, inasmuch as it is the passion for the acquisition, the enjoyment in the possession, of a palpable, tangi-

ble, selfish pleasure ; and it would have the same tendency to unspiritualise, to degrade, and to harden the higher faculties, that a course of grosser sensualism would have to corrupt the lower faculties. Both dull the edge of all that is fine and tender within us."

"The bread of life is love ; the salt of life is work ; the sweetness of life, poetry ; the water of life, faith."

"I have seen triflers attempting to draw out a deep intellect ; and they reminded me of children throwing pebbles down the well at Carisbrook, that they might hear them sound."

"All love not responded to and accepted is a species of idolatry. It is like the worship of a dumb beautiful image we have ourselves set up and deified, but cannot inspire with life, nor warm with sympathy. No !—though we should consume our own hearts on the altar. Our love of God would be idolatry if we did not believe in his love for us—his responsive love."

"In the same moment that we begin to speculate on the possibility of cessation or change in any strong affection that we feel, even from that moment we may date its death :—it has become the *fetch* of the living love."

"Blessed is the memory of those who have kept themselves unspotted from the world !—yet more blessed and more dear the memory of those who have kept themselves unspotted in the world !"

"Venus, or rather the Greek Aphrodite, in the sublime fragment of *Eschylus* (the *Danaides*) is a grand, severe, and pure conception ; the principle eternal of beauty, of love, and of fecundity—or the law of the continuation of being through beauty and through love. Such a conception is no more like the *Ovidian Roman Venus* than the *Venus of Milo* is like the *Venus de Medicis*."

"In the Greek tragedy, love figures as one of the laws of nature—not as a power, or a passion ; these are the aspects given to it by the Christian imagination."

Yet this higher idea of love *did* exist among the ancients—only we must not seek it in their poetry, but in their philosophy. Thus we find it in *Plato*, set forth as a beautiful philosophical theory ; not as passion, to influence life, nor as a poetic feeling, to adorn and exalt it. Nor do we moderns owe this idea of a mystic, elevated and elevating love to the Greek philosophy. I rather agree with those who trace it to the mingling of Christianity with the manners of the old Germans, and their (almost) superstitious reverence for womanhood. In the Middle Ages, where morals were most depraved, and women most helpless and oppressed, there still survived the theory formed out of the combination of the Christian spirit, and the Germanic customs ; and when in the 15th century *Plato* became the fashion, then the theory became a science, and what had been religion became again philosophy. This sort of speculative love became to real love what theology became to religion ; it was a thesis to be talked about and argued in Universities, sung in sonnets, set forth in art ; and so being kept as far as possible from all bearings on our moral life, it ceased to find consideration either as a primæval law of God, or as a moral motive influencing the duties and habits of our existence ; and thus we find the social code in regard to it diverging

into all the vagaries of celibacy on one hand, and all the vileness of profligacy on the other."

"At dinner to-day there was an attempt made by two very clever men to place Theodore Hook above Sydney Smith. I fought with all my might against both. It seems to me that a mind must be strangely warped that could ever place on a par two men with aspirations and purposes so different, whether we consider them merely as individuals, or called before the bar of the public as writers. I do not take to Sydney Smith personally, because my nature feels the want of the artistic and imaginative in *his* nature; but see what he has done for humanity, for society, for liberty, for truth,—for us women! What has Theodore Hook done that has not perished with him? Even as wits—and I have been in company with both—I could not compare them; but they say the wit of Theodore Hook was only fitted for the company of men—the strongest proof that it was not genuine of its kind, that when most bearable, it was most superficial. I set aside the other obvious inference, that it required to be excited by stimulants and those of the coarsest, grossest kind. The wit of Sydney Smith almost always involved a thought worth remembering for its own sake, as well as worth remembering for its brilliant vehicle: the value of ten thousand pounds sterling of sense concentrated into a cut and polished diamond.

It is not true, as I have heard it said, that after leaving the society of Sydney Smith you only remembered how much you had laughed, not the good things at which you had laughed. Few men—wits by profession—ever said so many memorable things as those recorded of Sydney Smith."

It will have been observed that we have written of this book rather than upon it; and in all honesty we must state that to do justice to it in any other way than that which we have adopted would be impossible. Mrs. Jameson makes no pretensions, and her epigraph, from brave old Montaigne—"Un peu de chaque chose, et rien du tout,—à la française," disarms criticism, (if criticism were needed)—who would hurl thunderbolts upon a butterfly?

Since the publication of Lockhart's *Spanish Ballads* we have not seen any work issued in so beautiful a style as this *Commonplace Book*. It contains numerous wood cuts, separating the different subjects noted; and has, in addition, eleven etchings, done in the same style, or in one more finished, as that of the larger illustrations to Mrs. Jameson's volumes on Sacred and Legendary Art.

THE

# IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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## ART. I.—THE POETS OF AMERICA.

### FIRST PAPER.

1. *Poems by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. New Edition.* London: David Bogue. 1854.
2. *The Poetical Works of William Cullen Bryant, with Griswold's Memoir. Edited (with an introduction) by F. W. N. Bayley, Esq.* London: George Routledge and Co. 1852.
3. *The Poetical Works of Mrs. L. H. Sigourney. Edited by F. W. N. Bayley.* London: George Routledge and Co. 1852.
4. *The Poetical Works of Oliver Wendell Holmes. First English Edition.* London: George Routledge and Co. 1852.

It is not altogether four hundred years since Columbus was quoting, in Lisbon, such authorities as Strabo, Ptolemy, Aristotle, Seneca, and Pliny, in support of that meditated voyage which has resulted not only in the discovery, but also in the civilization of the noblest of earth's continents, and in the foundation, if permanently united, of a people destined to be the mightiest the earth has ever beheld. Yet, still more extraordinary, it is little over seventy years since that people sprung into existence, and already they have accomplished the work of ages in the growth of their civil constitution, and in the development of every leading characteristic which marks the progress of a nation. The impulse which the Poets of America may have already given to the great work of organization which has been so rapidly effected in their country, cannot with any accuracy be determined, and though it would be equally as difficult to hazard an opinion on the amount of their

future influence on Transatlantic society, it is wonderfully evident that such influence will be immense. Greatness of capacity, apparently justifiable as such a basis would be, does not form the groundwork of this belief, which, on the contrary, has naturally grown from observing the adaptation of that capacity, to the wants and aspirations of the people, and from the unceasing vigilance with which it cherishes the bulwarks of the country's freedom. We search in vain through the records of European Literature, for instances such as the majority of these Poets afford us, where each inspiration of the Bard, seems consecrated at the shrine of public utility, and transferred into an oracle for the dispensation of the most invaluable truth. In like manner we are completely unsuccessful in discovering any other generation of Poets, who have been so generally distinguished for the vestal purity of their patriotism, or their manly advocacy in its behalf. The care with which those subjects are selected, most calculated to improve the intellect, and the heart, the paternal solicitude which is evinced in their treatment, and the practical ameliorations they suggest, have rendered the Poetry of America sacred, and have embued its people with a reverence for their Poets totally distinct from the admiration which their genius has elicited.

Inasmuch as the predominance of these shining virtues has not received due appreciation in this country, and as the works of the authors themselves, from Longfellow to Read, have not been collectively reviewed, so as to give the reading public an opportunity of glancing at their many various peculiarities, and thus deducing the characteristics which stamp the whole, we are induced to give our aid in sketching their literary portraits, and illustrating their solid beauties. The time will inevitably come when the greatest of our critics will enter the lists as rivals in their praise, and in the meantime let us be content if in bringing them forward in "serried rank," we are, at least, the first who have introduced them to the world as a literary class.\* This in itself will form sufficient matter for self-complacency, for assuredly the introduction to the reading world of the leading Poets of a country, in a collective form, unchequered by any invidious distinctions, unworthy partiality, or unpardonable omissions,

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\* Our readers will therefore be easily enabled to solve the otherwise difficult problem, why the works of a Poet so well known as Longfellow should be included in this paper.



is a task entitled to indulgence and calculated to fill the mind of him who undertakes it with the most pleasurable and consoling reflections.

The cause of philanthropy is assisted by inducing contemplation on novel principles of a salutary kind, and the interests of civilization are observed in opening the sluice gates for a grateful current of ideas, which are about to re-animate the weary laborers in the vineyards of art, and to revive the drooping leaves and tendrils they contain,

"From the moist meadow to the wither'd hill,  
Led by the breeze, the vivid verdure runs,  
And swells, and deepens to the cherished eye."

It is like Elysian happiness after tasting the rank and uninviting food of the transcendentalists with their starry nothings, and impossible essences, to inhale the revivifying sweetness which proceeds from those "Fresh fields, and pastures new;" to exchange the glittering inanities of the one, for the unfading splendors of the other, to barter those simulated gems which resemble the

"Dead Sea fruits, that tempt the eye,  
But turn to ashes on the lips,"

for those real treasures which will shine with steady and un-failing lustre, while virtue commands respect, and genius veneration.

But while we eulogise their merits, let us not shut our eyes to their imperfections. In common with the whole race, a peculiar species of emphatic egotism which decidedly does not tend to impart elevation to the subject, is strongly apparent in a great number of the productions of American Poets. This injurious weakness it is to be hoped, and, indeed, expected, will gradually wear itself away: while it lasts it must act as a weighty drag chain on even the most splendid efforts, and cannot but deteriorate their merit. Another disadvantage under which these Poets labor, is the want of a native style, sufficiently robust and dignified: their deficiency in this respect obliges them to fall back on the idioms, and rythmical peculiarities of the mother country, which consequently lessens the compass of their originality, and the raciness of their expression. Time, however, the great teacher, will rectify this defect, for, as their ideas become more settled, and their character more developed, the increased improvement will necessarily be reflected in their literature.

One of the mighty elements which compose the Poetic system of our American brethren, and which can be evidenced in almost every individual member of their tuneful band, is the acknowledgment and practical pursuance of that valuable aphorism of Pope, "The noblest study of mankind is man." This great principle establishes in a moment the exalted tendency of such Poetry, and is big with the presage of its future universality; in the hands of such Poets as we are now proceeding to review, whose heroism of purpose, buoyant hope, and unflagging zeal, are as remarkable as the beneficent fecundity of their genius, the realization of this great predominating idea will probably include the colossal inauguration of a great social frame work, furnished with all the connecting and ramifying principles which characterize the establishment of polite society, and endued with that unconquerable vitality, and ameliorative capacity, which would ensure its gradual growth, and triumphant generalization. "Finis coronat opus," should be stamped in the title-page of every American Poetical publication, for it is this consistent development of the study of mankind which all profess to love, which will ensure its success. What chivalry was to Europe, this philosophy will be to America; and as the former with "its generous loyalty to rank and sex, its dignified obedience, its subordination of the heart which kept alive even in servitude itself the spirit of an exalted freedom," erected the platform upon which European civilization arose into existence, and gradually sprung the arches, and shot up the columns which gave permanence and finish to the building, so the latter, on still more stable foundations, and impelled by a more spiritual enthusiasm, will ultimately construct an edifice, which, free from the imperfections of the old architectural design, will engraft its ennobling reverential suggestiveness, on the intellectual grandeur which will typify its own. Yet more, it would be irrational to suppose that with America for an object, a country young, and vigorous, and abounding in the elements of mental organization, the practicability of such a theory would not include the pouring forth of enriching materials, destined by their priceless value, heretofore unknown, to benefit general society throughout the world. What food have we not here for reflection? The mind prone to anticipation soon arrives at that period when the influence of this benignant teaching will have produced a plenteous harvest, already grown ripe beneath its

fructifying rays ; and unlike the cynic who asseverated that man never advances, but is constantly moving around a cycle of instincts, to whose grovelling propensities, Prometheus like, he is chained, it will behold in the open womb of the future, the transfiguration of humanity, comparatively redeemed, as it will then have been, from the degrading stigma of its present vices, such as war, lust, fraud, intemperance, assisted in its heavenward course by the spirit of wisdom, and the intensity of brotherly love, its symbols the horn of plenty, and the olive wreaths of the Minerva of peace.

*"Ultima cumaei venit jam carminis aetas :  
Magnus at integro Saeculorum jam nascitur ordo,  
Jam redit et virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna ;  
Jam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto."*

Longfellow, as all our readers are aware, for this reason, that he is almost the only American Poet who has received much justice at the hands of British critics, figures in the foremost rank, if indeed he does not occupy the very highest place among the Poets of America ; of him it may be as truly said as of any gifted creature, "*nihil tetigit quod non ornavit*," and proud ought his country be of one, whose genius has furnished her with such an irresistible refutation of those countless slanders, and insidious sarcasms, which have been showered upon her in every direction, and whose aim has been to create an universal disbelief in the existence of American taste, or even in the crude formation of a relish for refinement among that people. In golden harmony, mellifluous diction, and erudite polish, Longfellow can successfully compete with our most fastidious Poets, and few can surpass him in richness of fancy, imaginative capacity, and elevation of thought.—The admiration which his Poetry must necessarily elicit from us, will be heightened considerably when we reflect that this elegance, and unalterable deference to the laws of beauty, is altogether unattended by any poverty of substance, contracted range of thought, tameness in origination of idea, or its embodiment. Like some noble panorama which the American, emerging from the recesses of his own beetling forests may behold, no less remarkable for the sublime extensiveness of the landscape, and its marvellous commingling of shades, and tints, whose united properties produce universal concord, than for the unexampled novelty of the scene, and the hitherto unimagined peculiarity of its principal features ; so, the Poetry of Longfellow startles

the reader, by its perfect and unprecedented idiosyncrasies, and by the refreshing veins of individuality which so thickly intersperse it. Exquisite refinement, severely classical in its nature, may be taken as the leading characteristic of the rythmical productions of this Poet; and his universal success may have been chiefly owing to the two following causes:—

First, to that pure simplicity which belongs only to those who live in a comparatively primitive state of society; and secondly, to the felicitous junction of the former, with all the grace and wealth of a language, which has been moulded into such solid and perennial beauty, by the genius of our illustrious Poets. With what elaborate care, and surprising success, he has worked his deep shafts in the mines of the ancient classics, the most superficial reader may observe: in the skilful hands of this western magician, the sweetness of Anacreon, becomes incorporated with the indomitable Homeric fire, the pathos of Ovid, the felicitous allusion, and lyric fervor of Horace, acquire solemn strength from the moral contemplativeness of Juvenal, softness from Catullus, brilliance from Lucretius, dramatic interest from Sophocles, and enduring elegance from Virgil. He is an author withal who has added new territories to the realms of thought, and he has made the journeying thereto, so easy and pleasant, that all are induced to explore its confines. They indeed amply repay the wanderer in the shape of invaluable lessons, whose unexpected excellence he may well esteem, and from whose moral worth he may derive incalculable advantage. His faults are few, and even these are of an inconsiderable kind, evidently proceeding from an overweening sense of refinement, which checks in some instances, though not in all, the demonstration of masculine vigor, and uncompromising candor. With these, we are unwilling, but still obliged to mention, the indulgence of bigoted feeling, against the Roman Catholic faith, as evidenced but too strongly, in *The Golden Legend*, a Poem, which, though it contains many fine passages, is not likely to add much to the author's fame. It is but justice, however, to Longfellow, to admit, that all his other poetical works are free from the taint of prejudice.

Philosophy, and that generally of the purest, and the most hopeful kind, enhances the value of his Poetry; his metaphysical ratiocinations are no less remarkable for their soundness, and subtlety, than for the buoyant spirit which pervades them,

and wisdom holds her throne supreme over all his imaginings. In the *Psalm of Life*, to which we now invite the particular attention of the reader, as in all probability he is already superficially acquainted with its beauties, we are afforded a most convincing example of that active philosophy, which will be found to characterize the Poems of Longfellow. What health, freshness, and profundity, are united in these beautiful lines! What quiet dignity, and calm conscious wisdom, repose in their suggestive ideas, and sublime principles! How like unto a broad, deep river, in some still evening in July, their chaste, yet full-toned word music, rolls peacefully on, soothing the soul, and rendering it fit to participate in the serenity of thought, in which it indulges, and which floats upon it, like incense round the columns of a cathedral! The idea contained in the stanza, commencing, "Lives of great men all remind us," is in itself intensely sublime, what can be more so than the sentiment it recommends!

## A PSALM OF LIFE.

Tell me not, in mournful numbers  
Life is but an empty dream!  
For the soul is dead that slumbers,  
And things are not what they seem.  
Life is real! Life is earnest!  
And the grave is not its goal;  
Dust thou art, to dust returnest,  
Was not spoken of the soul.  
Not enjoyment, and not sorrow,  
Is our destined end or way;  
But to act, that each to-morrow  
Finds us farther than to-day.  
Art is long, and time is fleeting,  
And our hearts, though stout and brave,  
Still, like muffled drums are beating  
Funeral marches to the grave.  
In the world's broad field of battle,  
In the bivouac of Life,

Be not like dumb, driven cattle!  
Be a hero in the strife!

Trust no Future, how'er pleasant!  
Let the dead Past bury its dead!  
Act,—act in the living Present!  
Heart within, and God o'erhead!

Lives of great men all remind us  
We can make our lives sublime,  
And, departing, leave behind us  
Foot-prints on the sand of time;

Foot-prints, that perhaps another,  
Sailing o'er Life's solemn main,  
A forlorn and shipwrecked brother,  
Seeing, shall take heart again.

Let us, then, be up and doing,  
With a heart for any fate;  
Still achieving, still pursuing,  
Learn to labor and to wait.

Like all his other compositions, *The Village Blacksmith* is remarkable for the conveyance of sound moral principle, and deep religious truth, rendered doubly fascinating by the stateliness of the language, and the marvellous grace, and harmonious constructiveness, in which the author delights to embody his thoughts. There is a life-like fidelity, and appropriate sternness of tone about this Poem, which is not the least of its attractions. There is the smithy before your eyes, beheld through the low portal begrimed with soot, and studded with horse shoes! Behold the glowing anvil, and the asthmatic bellows in the foreground! and there he is himself the

modern Titan ! see his broad swart face, off which the hair is tossed, his countenance well realizing the mythological idea of unearthly power, as it glares and nods behind a cloud of flying sparks, which occasionally conceal the mysterious vision altogether from our eyes.

#### THE VILLAGE BLACKSMITH.

Under a spreading chestnut tree  
The village smithy stands;  
The smith, a mighty man is he,  
With large and sinewy hands;  
And the muscles of his brawny arms  
Are strong as iron bands.  
  
His hair is crisp, and black, and long,  
His face is like the tan;  
His brow is wet with honest sweat,  
He earns what'er he can,  
And looks the whole world in the face,  
For he owes not any man.  
  
Week in, week out, from morn till night,  
You can hear his bellows blow;  
You can hear him swing his heavy sledge,  
With measured beat, and slow,  
Like a sexton ringing the village bell,  
When the evening sun is low.  
  
And children coming home from school  
Look in at the open door;  
They love to see the flaming forge,  
And hear the bellows roar,  
And catch the burning sparks that fly  
Like chaff from a threshing floor.

He goes on Sunday to the church,  
And sits among his boys;  
He hears the parson pray and preach,  
He hears his daughter's voice  
Singing in the village choir,  
And it makes his heart rejoice.

It sounds to him like her mother's voice,  
Singing in Paradise !  
He needs must think of her once more,  
How in the grave she lies;  
And with his hard, rough hand he wipes  
A tear out of his eyes.

Tolling, rejoicing, sorrowing,  
Onward through life he goes;  
Each morning sees some task begun,  
Each evening sees it close;  
Something attempted, something done,  
Has earned a night's repose.

Thanks, thanks to thee, my worthy friend,  
For the lesson thou hast taught !  
Thus at the flaming forge of life  
Our fortunes must be wrought;  
Thus on its sounding anvil shaped  
Each burning deed and thought !

Longfellow's beautiful lines on the River Charles, flow on with as much stately splendor as the Mississippi, or the Amazon. We are wrapt in astonishment as we behold the deep sincerity, and unaffected grace in which he addresses his native River. His thoughts "Bathed in the purple light of love," are inspired by devotion of the most elevated and passionate kind.

There is a sublime simplicity about *Excelsior*, which all must observe; not a word too much, not an idea irrelevant, it is to this species of Poetry, what Goldsmith's *Hermit* is to the ballad; in addition to the excellencies, the subject is remarkably fine, and breathes nothing but true nobility of purpose, and virtuous aspirations.

*The Day is Done*, resembles in beauty of idea, his own charming comparison to "the benediction that follows after prayer," but in nowise realizes his no less happy allusion to "The tents of the Arabs," inasmuch as it is too exquisitely impressive to be ever absent from the memory of him, who thoroughly appreciates its worth. Who can gainsay the naturalness of the wishes breathed through these graceful lines ?

Who can deny to the Poet, that vivid power of condensation, and felicitous command of expressive materials, which can convey in the compass of a line, a thought which sends us wandering from the present day through all the epochs of the world, and all the eventful records which individualize them, to that moment when, "God said, let there be light, and there was light?" Yes, they are the incarnation of suggestiveness, those "corridors of time."

In the passionate love of nature which it manifests, and also in the high religious tendency of its reflections, and aspirations, *Autumn*, reminds us of Thompson; indeed, Thompson could not have written anything more graceful, or more earnest. We experience a thrill of admiration passing through us, when we contemplate the beauty of that inimitable image, "Morn on the Mountain," &c., and again, when we arrive at that most appropriate, and poetical personification, "Where Autumn," &c.

## AUTUMN.

With what a glory comes and goes the year;  
The buds of Spring, those beautiful har-  
bingers  
Of sunny skies and cloudless times, enjoy  
Life's sowness, and earth's garniture spread  
out;  
And when the silver habit of the clouds  
Comes down upon the Autumn sun, and with  
A sober gladness the old year takes up  
His bright inheritance of golden fruits,  
A pomp and pageant fill the splendid scene.  
There is a beautiful spirit breathing now  
In mellow richness on the clustered trees,  
And, from a beaker full of richest dyes,  
Fours new glory on the Autumn woods,  
And dipping in warm light the pillared  
clouds.  
Morn on the mountain, like a Summer bird,  
Lifts up her purple wing; and in the vales  
The gentle wind, a sweet and passionate  
wooer,  
Kisses the blushing leaf, and stirs up life.  
Within the solemn woods of ash deep  
crimsoned,  
And silver beech, and maple yellow-leaved,

Where Autumn, like a faint old man, sits  
down  
By the way aside-a-weary. Through the trees  
The golden robin moves. The purple finch,  
That on wild cherry and red cedar feeds,  
A winter bird, comes with its plaintive  
whistle,  
And pecks by the witch-hazel; whilst aloud  
From cottage roofs the warbling blue-bird  
sings;  
And merrily, with oft-repeated stroke,  
Sounds from the threshing-floor the busy  
flail.  
O, what a glory doth this world put on  
For him who, with a fervent heart, goes  
forth  
Under the bright and glorious sky, and  
looks  
On duties well performed, and days well  
spent!  
For him the wind, ay, and the yellow leaves,  
Shall have a voice, and give him eloquent  
teachings,  
He shall so hear the solemn hymn, that  
Death  
Has lifted up for all, that he shall go  
To his long resting place without a tear.

We cannot award too much praise, or conceive too great admiration for *The Slave's Dream*; the noble independence which it breathes, the magnificence of the language, the appropriateness of the individualities, and the sublime abruptness of the conclusion, mark it out as an inspiring lyric, fit to vie with the *Scots wha hae* of Burns, the address to Caledonia of Sir Walter Scott, or "the Isles of Greece" of Lord Byron. Could they but appreciate the beauty of its import, it would be

sufficient to arouse the whole brotherhood to arms, and to nerve them with power to snap their chains asunder like withes of straw.

*The Spanish Student* is a spirited composition, well conceived and abounding in pretty passages; the first part of the first scene embodies an excellent satire on many of the insipid comedies of the present time; and the frequent erudite allusion to Spanish songs, fables, and authors, which are made throughout its pages, furnish abundant evidence of the author's great familiarity with Spanish literature. The plot is interesting, and many of the incidents shew much ingenuity, but it is not adapted to the stage, being deficient in many of the essential requisites necessary to make it palatable as an acting drama. Longfellow's translations from the German, Swedish, Spanish, French, Danish, Italian and Anglo Saxon, possess in a very high degree, that elegance of diction, and thoroughly classical coloring, for which all his other poems are remarkable. *King Christian* and *The Elected Knight* from the Danish, the *Children of the Lord's Supper* from the Swedish, *Coplas de Manrique* from the Spanish, which is in truth a lovely poem, and *The Blind Girl of Castel-cuille* by Jasmin, the bard of the South of France, which is effected in a most masterly manner, as the great impression made upon the mind of the reader attests, are sufficient to illustrate the spirit and grace of the translations, and the great research of the author, united to his wonderful power of adapting metres, and also to his harmonious versification. To say that they do not resemble translations so much as originals is to pay an high, but by no means an unmerited compliment to Longfellow.

Among the poems included in the *Sea Side Collection* appears *The Building of the Ship*. It is a specimen, and an exceedingly brilliant specimen, of rapid descriptive narration. The quick and spirited fluency of the metre is not more calculated to win our praise than the Homeric minuteness with which each spar of the new ship is traced—the country which produced it, the hands that felled it, and the oxen that bore it from its native forest.

There is another beautiful composition in this collection called *Resignation*, distinguished by true pathos, lofty faith and incomparable elegance. *Evangeline*, as almost all our readers are aware, is one of the most pathetic and beautiful poetical narrations which has ever enriched our language.



The pastoral scenes are life-like daguerreotypes ; there is an originality about the story of the lovers, and an appropriate solemnity of language throughout the whole piece, which added to the beautiful descriptions which lie scattered among its pages, and the apposite comparisons which stud them, render it a truly fascinating if not enchanting poem. The most remarkable tale of passionate and constant love must "pale its ineffectual fires" at the recital of the devotion of *Evangeline*, and the heroic constancy of her lover ; Sir Edwin Landseer may well envy the ensuing pastoral sketch.

"Under the sycamore tree were hives overhung by a penthouse,  
Such as the traveller sees in regions remote by the road side,  
Built o'er a box for the poor, or the blessed image of Mary.  
Further down, on the slope of the hill, was the well with its moss-grown  
Bucket, fastened with iron, and near it a trough for the horses.  
Shielding the house from storms, on the north, were the barns and the farm yard.  
There stood the broad-wheeled wains, and the antique ploughs, and the harrows ;  
There were the folds for the sheep ; and there, in his feathered seraglio,  
Strutted the lordly turkey, and crowed the cock with the self-same  
Voice that in ages of old had startled the penitent Peter.  
Bursting with hay were the barns, themselves a village. In each one  
Far o'er the gable projected a roof of thatch ; and a staircase  
Under the sheltering eaves, led up to the odorous corn loft.  
There, too, the dove-cot stood, with its meek and innocent inmates  
Murmuring ever of love ; while above in the variant breezes,  
Kumbarous noisy weathercocks rattled and sang of mutation."

In search of her exiled lover *Evangeline*, herself an exile, explores the pathless woods and boundless forests, through the long vigils of the night, "over her head the stars, the thoughts of God in the heavens." After years of unavailing grief and untiring search she finds him, but alas ! upon his death-bed, and life leaves him almost ere she has time to address him.

"On the pallet before her was stretched the form of an old man.  
Long, and thin, and gray were the locks that shaded his temples ;  
But, as he lay in the morning light, his face for a moment  
Seemed to assume once more the forms of its earlier manhood ;  
So are wont to be changed the faces of those who are dying.  
Hot and red on his lips still burned the flush of the fever,  
As if life, like the Hebrew, with blood had besprinkled its portals,  
That the Angel of death might see the sign, and pass over.  
Motionless, senseless, dying he lay, and his spirit exhausted  
Seemed to be sinking down through infinite depths in the darkness,  
Darkness of slumber and death, for ever sinking and sinking.  
Then through those realms of shade, in multiplied reverberations,  
Heard he that cry of pain, and through the hush that succeeded  
Whispered a gentle voice, in accents tender and saint-like,  
"Gabriel ! O my beloved !" and died away into silence.  
Then he beheld, in a dream, once more the home of his childhood ;  
Green Acadian meadows, with sylvan rivers among them,  
Village, and mountain, and woodlands ; and, walking under the shadow,  
As in the days of her youth, *Evangeline* rose in his vision.  
Tears came into his eyes ; and as slowly he lifted his eyelids,  
Vanished the vision away, but *Evangeline* knelt by his bedside.  
Vainly he strove to whisper her name, for the accents unuttered  
Died on his lips, and their motion revealed what his tongue would have spoken.  
Vainly he strove to rise ; and *Evangeline*, kneeling beside him,

Kissed his dying lips, and laid his head on her bosom.  
Sweet was the light of his eyes; but it suddenly sank into darkness,  
As when a lamp is blown out by a gust of wind at a casement."

Her divine resignation is as divinely drawn:—

"All was ended now, the hope, and the fear, and the sorrow.  
All the aching of heart, the restless, unsatisfied longing,  
All the dull, deep pain, and constant anguish of patience!  
And, as she pressed once more the lifeless head to her bosom,  
Meekly she bowed her own, and murmured, 'Father, I thank thee!'"

We should be inclined to consider Bryant, the most philosophical of the American Poets; his writings are all distinguished by much refinement of thought, richness of fancy, and beautiful contemplative imaginings. His command of language is surprisingly great, and he neither allows his subjects to master him, nor does he on the other hand veil his subjects from our eyes by the impertinence of egotism, or the mystifications of supersubtlety. To do good, is the noble object which seems to have established its throne in the bosom of this beautiful Poet, and though he seldom wields the thunderbolts of passion, or kindles the luminous lightnings of the intellect, which almost scorch us with their brilliancy, the kindly nature of his genius, ever pouring forth its treasures in a calm transparent tide of true expression, leaves a longer and more satisfactory impression on the mind, by reason of the delicate medium in which their wisdom is conveyed; thus resembling "the sun in its evening declination," which, "retains all its splendor, though it has lost its intensity, and pleases more because it dazzles less."—Eminently philosophical, it is cheering to learn that Bryant has not identified himself with the ridiculous doctrines of the transcendental school, which is extending its poisonous ramifications through so many walks of Art and Science in America. Full of the most profound reverence for Omnipotence, possessing a peaceful spirit, and having a heart alive to every sympathy and generous impulse, he beholds the wisdom of God in all the works of his hands, and his mind labors to extract wholesome knowledge, and useful lessons, from "every flower that blows."

There are many British Poets whom he may be said to resemble, but perhaps none more than Wordsworth, in his great love of nature, his minute observation, and the charming beauty of his reflections, which the meanest productions of nature can elicit. It is evident that the works of such a Poet are calculated to improve the minds of a people whose national tastes are so positively opposed to the cultivation of any species

of contemplative habit, which is purely and abstractedly intellectual; and they must necessarily encourage and ultimately succeed in perfecting a school, characterized by the supremacy of objective meditateness, from out the numerous gifted intellects who have been prevented by infirmity of purpose, not incongeniality of taste, from exercising the powers of their genius in such a desirable manner.

Another very valuable qualification which Bryant possesses, is his appropriate adaptation of language and images. All his subjects are treated according to their nature, and are represented in garbs befitting their peculiar characteristics. It has often been said and written, that we can always know a true poet by the fidelity of his images, and the truthfulness of his epithets, and assuredly it is reasonable to suppose that the poet's superior apprehension of the sublime and beautiful, will not be unattended with a power to convey his thoughts, in words which are to constitute them "a joy for ever." We all, gentle and simple, gifted and dull, have our failings, and Bryant does not form any exception to that universal rule. As a native of America, he is not so professedly its devoted champion as are his cotemporaries: he is tame and subdued, when he should be bold and enthusiastic; and though his subjects have afforded him frequent opportunities of exhibiting love of country, we seldom, if ever, are favored with a manly burst of genuine patriotic fire. *The Ages*, the first Poem in the edition now before us, is a classical, and elegant review, of the great epochs which form the landmarks of history, comprehending in its survey, the gradual growth of freedom, and the advancement of those moral laws which have tended to the improvement of the state of man: it is remarkable for its sanguine belief in the ultimate triumphs of philanthropy. The versification is exquisite, and the tone of thought of the most elevated, and comprehensive kind. This comprehensiveness of thought, is another quality in the acquisition of which, Bryant may justly indulge his self-complacency. *The Yellow Violet* as an instance of his quiet observation, and valuable moral deductive power, is worthy of insertion.

#### THE YELLOW VIOLET.

When beechen buds begin to swell,  
And woods the blue bird's warble know,  
The yellow violet's modest bell  
Peeps from the last year's leaves below.  
Ere russet fields their green resume,  
Sweet flower, I love, in forest bare,

To meet thee, when thy faint perfume  
Alone is in the virgin air.

Of all her train, the hands of Spring  
First plant thee in the watery mould,  
And I have seen thee blossoming  
Beside the snow-bank's edges cold.

Thy parent sun who bade thee view  
Pale skies, and chilling moisture sip,  
Has bathed thee in his own bright hue,  
And streaked with jet thy glowing lip.  
Yet alight thy form, and low thy seat,  
And earthward bent thy gentle eye,  
Unapt the passing view to meet,  
When loftier flowers are flaunting high.  
In the sunless April day,  
Thy early smile has stayed my walk ;

But midst the gorgeous blooms of May,  
I passed thee on thy humble stalk.  
So they who climb to wealth, forget  
The friends in darker fortunes tried,  
I copied them—but I regret  
That I should ape the ways of pride.  
And when again the genial hour  
Awakes the painted tribes of light,  
I'll not overlook the modest flower  
That made the woods of April bright.

*An Indian Story* is a beautiful ballad, written in the very best manner, and fully equalling any thing of the kind ever composed by Southey, that king of ballad writers. Delicate allusion to the incidents, the interest so well preserved throughout, and the appropriate expressiveness of the diction, entitle it to the highest commendation.

#### AN INDIAN STORY.

"I know where the timid fawn abides  
In the depths of the shaded dell,  
Where the leaves are broad and the thick-  
et hidden,  
With its many stems and its tangled sides,  
From the eye of the hunter well.

"I know where the young May violet grows,  
In its lone and lowly nook,  
On the mossy bank, where the larch tree  
throws  
Its broad dark boughs, in solemn repose,  
Far over the silent brook.

"And that timid fawn starts not with fear,  
When I steal to her secret bower ;  
And that young May violet to me is dear,  
And I visit the silent streamlet near,  
To look on the lovely flower."

Thus Maquon sings as he lightly walks  
To the hunting ground on the hills ;  
'Tis a song of his maid of the woods and  
rocks,  
With her bright black eyes and long black  
locks,  
And voice like the music of rills.

He goes to the chase—but evil eyes  
Are at watch in the thicker shades ;  
For she was lovely that smiled on his sighs ;  
And he bore, from a hundred lovers, his  
prize,  
The flower of the forest maids.

The boughs in the morning wind are stirred,  
And the woods their song renew,  
With the early carol of many a bird,  
And the quickened tune of the streamlet  
heard  
Where the hazels trickle with dew.

And Maquon has promised his dark-haired  
maid,  
Ere eve shall redden the sky,  
A good red deer from the forest shade,  
That bounds with the herd through grove  
and glade,  
At her cabin door shall lie.

The hollow woods, in the setting sun,  
Ring shrill with the fire-bird's lay ;  
And Maquon's sylvan labours are done,  
And his shafts are spent, but the spoil  
they won  
He bears on his homeward way.

He stoops near his bower—his eye perceives  
Strange traces along the ground—  
At once to the earth his burden he heaves,  
He breaks through the veil of boughs and  
leaves,  
And gains its door with a bound.

But the vines are torn on its walls that  
lean,  
And all from the young shrubs there  
By struggling hands have the leaves been  
rent,  
And there hangs on the sassafras, broken  
and bent,  
One tress of the well-known hair.

But where is she who, at this calm hour  
Ever watched his coming to see ?  
She is not at the door, nor yet in the bower ;  
He calls—but he only hears on the flower  
The hum of the laden bee.

It is not a time for idle grief,  
Nor a time for tears to flow ;  
The horror that freezes his limbs is brief,  
He grasps his war-axe and bow, and a sheaf  
Of darts made sharp for the foe.

And he looks for the print of the ruffian  
feet,  
Where he bore the maiden away ;  
And he darts on the fatal path more fleet  
Than the blast that hurries the vapour  
sweet  
O'er the wild November day.

'Twas early summer when Maquon's bride  
Was stolen away from his door ;  
But at length the maples in crimson  
died,  
And the grape is black on the cabin side  
And she smiles at his hearth once more

But far in the pine grove, dark and cold,  
Where the yellow leaf falls not,  
Nor the autumn shines in scarlet and gold,  
There lies a hillock of fresh, dark mould,  
In the deepest gloom of the spot.

And the Indian girls that pass that way,  
Point out the ravisher's grave;  
"And how soon to the bower she loved,"  
they say,  
"Returned the maid that was borne away  
From Maquon the fond and the brave."

The most choice and beautiful images which it is possible for a poet to conceive, are contained in *Summer Wind*. What a suggestiveness in the line "He comes! Lo where the grassy meadow runs in waves?"

## SUMMER WIND.

It is a sultry day; the sun has drunk  
The dew that lay upon the morning grass;  
There is rustling in the lofty elm  
That canopies my dwelling, and its shade  
Scarcely cools me. All is silent, save the faint  
And interrupted murmur of the bee,  
Seeking on the sick flowers, and then again  
Instantly on the wing. The plants around  
Feel the too potent fervours: the tall maize  
Rolls up its long green leaves; the clover  
droops  
In tender foliage, and declines its blooms.  
But far in the fierce sunshine tower the hills,  
With all their growths of woods, silent and  
secre,  
As if the scorching heat and dazzling light  
Were but an element they loved. Bright  
clouds,  
Motionless pillars of the brazen heaven,—  
Their bases on the mountains—their white  
tops  
Shining in the far ether—fire the air  
With a reflected radiance, and make turn  
The gazer's eye away. For me, I lie  
Languidly in the shade, where the thick  
 turf,  
Yet virgin from the kisses of the sun,  
Retains some freshness, and I woo the wind  
That still delays its coming. Why so slow,

Gentle and voluble spirit of the air?  
Oh, come and breathe upon the fainting  
earth  
Coolness and life. Is it that in his caves  
He hears me? See, on yonder woody ridge,  
The pine is bending his proud top, and now  
Among the nearer groves, chestnut and oak  
Are tossing their green boughs about. He  
comes!  
Lo, where the grassy meadow runs in waves!  
The deep distressful silence of the scene  
Breaks up with mingling of unnumbered  
sounds  
And universal motion. He is come,  
Shaking a shower of blossoms from the  
shrubs,  
And bearing on their fragrance; and he  
brings  
Music of birds, and rustling of young  
boughs,  
And sound of swaying branches, and the  
voice  
Of distant waterfalls. All the green herbs  
Are stirring in his breath; a thousand  
flowers,  
By the road side and the borders of the  
brook,  
Nod gayly to each other; glossy leaves  
Are twinkling in the sun, as if the dew  
Were on them yet, and silver waters break  
Into small waves and sparkle as he comes.

*The Prairies* is perhaps the finest poem in the book; it combines in the most felicitous manner, beauty of language with deep thoughtfulness and sublimity of conception. How glorious the images, how noble the conception, how vast the reflective spirit! What can be finer than the comparison these lines embody?

## Lo! they

In airy undulations, far away,  
As if the ocean, in his gentlest swell,  
Stood still, with all his rounded billows fixed,  
And motionless for ever. Motionless?  
No, they are all unchained again. The clouds  
Sweep over with their shadows, and, beneath,  
The surface rolls and fluctuates to the eye;  
Dark hollows open to glide along and chase  
The sunny ridges. Breezes of the South!  
Who toss the golden and the flame-like flowers,  
And pass the prairie-hawk that, poised on high,  
Flaps his broad wings, yet moves not—ye have  
Among the palms of Mexico and vines  
Of Texas, and have crisped the limpid brooks  
That from the fountains of Sonora glide

Into the calm Pacific—have ye fanned  
A nobler or a lovelier scene than this?

The hand that built the firmament hath heaved  
And smoothed these verdant swells, and sown their slopes  
With herbage, planted them with island groves,  
And hedged them round with forests. Fitting floor  
For this magnificent temple of the sky—  
With flowers whose glory and whose multitude  
Rival the Constellations!

Thoughts of those who may have peopled those wastes in  
former times crowd upon the poet, and give rise to many  
beautiful reflections.

As o'er the verdant waste I guide my steed,  
Among the high rank grass that sweeps his sides,  
The hollow beating of his footstep seems  
A sacrilegious sound. I think of those  
Upon whose rest he tramples. Are they here—  
The dead of other days? and did the dust  
Of these fair solitudes once stir with life,  
And burn with passion? Let the mighty mounds  
That overlook the river, or that rise  
In the dim forest crowded with old oaks,  
Answer. A race, that long has passed away,  
Built them, a disciplined and populous race  
Heaped, with long toil, the earth, while yet the Greek  
Was hewing the Pentellicus to forms  
Of symmetry, and rearing on its rock  
The glittering Parthenon. These ample fields  
Nourished their harvests, here their herds were fed  
When haply by their stalls the bison lowed,  
And bowed his maned shoulder to the yoke.  
All day this desert murmured with their toils;  
'Till twilight blushed, and lovers walked, and wooed  
In a forgotten language, and old tunes,  
From instruments of unremembered form,  
Gave the soft winds a voice. The red man came—  
The roaming hunter tribes, warlike and fierce,  
And the mound-builders vanished from the earth.  
The solitude of centuries untold  
Has settled where they dwelt. The prairie-wolf  
Hunts in their meadows, and his fresh-dug den  
Yawns by my path. The gopher mines the ground  
Where stood their swarming cities. All is gone—  
All—save the piles of earth that hold their bones—  
The platforms where they worshipped unknown gods—  
The barriers which they builded from the soil  
To keep the foe at bay—'till o'er the walls  
The wild beleaguers broke, and, one by one,  
The strongholds of the plain were forced, and heaped  
With corpses. The brown vultures of the wood  
Flocked to those vast uncovered sepulchres,  
And sat, unscared and silent, at their feast,  
Haply some solitary fugitive,  
Lurking in marsh and forest, 'till the sense  
Of desolation and of fear became  
Bitterer than death, yielded himself to die.  
Man's better nature triumphed then.

The translations of this poet are effected with much grace  
and spirit. *Love and Folly* from La Fontaine, may be cited  
as an instance of the author's power in this department of  
poetic art. A *Hymn to Death* is written in a truly philosophic  
and contented tone; instead of investing death with all those  
horrors in which poets generally disfigure it, the poet merely

considers its inevitable approach in the light of a blessing, acting as a check on the evil passions of men, preventing the commission of crime, and bringing repose and consolation to the sufferer. Truly does he say, "The wicked but for thee had been too strong for the good; the great of earth had crushed the weak for ever."

The most perfect ballad in the book is *The White-footed Deer*. The chastity of the language, the simplicity of the narrative, and its exquisite pathos, would almost be sufficient, in themselves, to establish the author's fame.

#### THE WHITE-FOOTED DEER.

It was a hundred years ago,  
When, by the woodland ways,  
The traveller saw the wild deer drink,  
Or crop the birchen sprays.

Beneath a hill, whose rocky side  
O'erbrowed a grassy mead,  
And fenced a cottage from the wind,  
A deer was wont to feed.

She only came when on the cliffs  
The evening moonlight lay,  
And no man knew the secret haunts  
In which she walked by day.

White were her feet, her forehead showed  
A spot of silvery white,  
That seemed to glimmer like a star  
In autumn's hazy night.

And here, when sang the whippoorwill,  
She cropped the sprouting leaves,  
And here her rustling steps were heard  
On still October eves.

But when the broad midsummer moon  
Rose o'er that grassy lawn,  
Beside the silver-footed deer  
There grazed a spotted fawn.

The cottage dame forbade her son  
To aim the rifle here;

"It were a sin," she said, "to harm  
Or fright that friendly deer.

"This spot has been my pleasant home  
Ten peaceful years and more;  
And ever when the moonlight shines,  
She feeds before our door.

"The red men say that here she walked  
A thousand moons ago;  
They never raise the war-whoop here,  
And never twang the bow.

"I love to watch her as she feeds,  
And think that all is well,  
While such a gentle creature haunts  
The place in which we dwell."

The youth obeyed, and sought for game  
In forests far away,  
Where, deep in silence and in moss,  
The ancient woodland lay.

But once, in autumn's golden time,  
He ranged the wild in vain,  
Nor roused the pheasant nor the deer,  
And wandered home again.

The crescent moon and crimson eve  
Shone with a mingling light;  
The deer, upon the grassy mead,  
Was feeding full in sight.

He raised the rifle to his eye,  
And from the cliffs around  
A sudden echo, shrill and sharp,  
Gave back its deadly sound.

Away into the neighbouring wood  
The startled creature flew,  
And crimson drops at morning lay  
Amid the glimmering dew.

Next evening shone the waxing moon  
As sweetly as before;  
The deer upon the grassy mead  
Was seen again no more.

But ere that crescent moon was old,  
By night the red men came,  
And burnt the cottage to the ground,  
And slew the youth and dame.

Now woods have overgrown the mead,  
And hid the cliffs from sight;  
There shrieks the hovering hawk at noon,  
And prowls the fox at night.

Mrs. Sigourney is a poetess possessing, in a remarkable degree, those qualities which entitle the possessor to the rank of a first class writer. Her vigorous comprehensiveness, lofty aspirings, brilliant fancy, philosophy, and philanthropic zeal, coupled with her sublime references to Almighty perfection, and the grand moral tendency of her poetry, unite in claiming

for her an amount of admiration which enables her to hold one of the highest places among the poets of her country.

In like manner the patriotism which she has always evinced, her Spartan veneration for virtue, and scathing denunciations of crime; her deep-rooted love of nature, and the elegance, compass, and power of her language, have all had their share in accomplishing that universal success which her writings have obtained. The class of subjects she has chosen to act as the interpreters of her thoughts, are, most fortunately, the very best she could have selected, not merely for the perpetuation of her fame, but for that which is of far greater import, the extension of virtuous principles, and creation of the best incentives to every triumph of virtue. If that peculiar and most enviable capacity were more general, by whose plastic touch what has for ages appeared repulsive and difficult of accomplishment, instantaneously becomes transformed into a seductive and desiderated treasure; and what has hitherto been invested with seeming charms, and the almost irresistible delectations which luxury supposes, not alone "wITHERS AND GROWS DIM,"—but becomes more terrible than Erinny's with her cincture of snakes; if such a gift was common even to the majority of intellectual minds, Sigourney's talents might not demand such emphatic appreciation. It is her almost total isolation in this respect, which brings her more prominently into notice, and it is only necessary to form a superficial acquaintance with her poetry to become convinced of her fearless power in advocating the cause of virtue. Truly her brilliant talents not only elevate the standard of intellectuality which dignifies her sex, but must naturally inspire its members with expectations, in which their widened influence, and far extended importance as a class, are conspicuously distinguished.

It is exceedingly questionable whether Sigourney would not gain from a comparison with her poetic sister, Felicia Hemans. Many would esteem her an equal in fancy, grace, and rhythmic beauty, while in vigor and range of comprehension she is most undoubtedly superior. *Oriska*, as a narrative is perfect; the beauty of the language which indeed is exquisite, the faithful embodiment of the artlessness of the heroine, the strain of wild, plaintive melody pervading the poem, which is so thoroughly in consonance with the subject, and the melancholy catastrophe it contains; the imprecation uttered by the dying mother of the heroine on her faithless husband, so figura-



tively beautiful! the curse of him "who knoweth where the lightnings hide," the lofty sublimity of *Oriska* in scorning death, and the abrupt grandeur of the conclusion, unite in constituting it a most lovely poem. How gently falls upon the ear, and enters the very heart, this beautiful description!

Their sweet bower  
Rose like a gem amid the rural scene,  
O'er-canopied with trees, where countless  
birds  
Carol'd unwearied, the gay squirrel leaped,  
And the wild bee went singing to his work,  
Satiated with luxury. Through matted grass,

With silver foot, a frolic fountain stole,  
Still track'd by deep'ning greenness, while  
afar  
The mighty prairie met the bending skies,  
A sea at rest, whose sleeping waves were  
flowers.

The note which precedes the poem, proves the *Bell of the Wreck* to have been founded on fact: it is written, as the reader will now observe, with much feeling and beauty.

#### BELL OF THE WRECK.

Toll, toll, toll,  
Then bell by billows swung,  
And night and day thy warning words  
Repeat with mournful tongue!  
Toll for the queenly boat,  
Wreck'd on yon rocky shore;  
Sea weed is in her palace halls,  
She rides the surge no more!

Toll for the master bold,  
The high-sou'd and the brave,  
Who ruled her like a thing of life  
Amid the crested wave!  
Toll for the hardy crew,  
Sons of the storm and blast,  
Who long the tyrant ocean dared,  
But it vanquished them at last!

Toll for the man of God,  
Whose hallowed voice of prayer  
Rose calm above the stifled groan  
Of that intense despair!  
How precious were those tones  
On that sad verge of life,  
Amid the fierce and freezing storm,  
And the mountain-billow's strife!

Toll for the lover lost  
To the summon'd bridal train!  
Bright glows a picture on his breast,  
Beneath the unfathom'd main.  
One from her casement gazeth  
Long o'er the misty sea;  
He cometh not, pale maiden,  
His heart is cold to thee!

Toll for the absent sire,  
Who to his home drew near,  
To bless a glad expecting group,  
Fond wife, and children dear!  
They heap the blazing hearth  
The festal board is spread,  
But a fearful guest is at the gate,  
Room for the sheeted dead!

Toll for the loved and fair,  
The whelm'd beneath the tide,  
The broken harps around whose strings  
The dull sea monsters glide!  
Mother and nursing sweet,  
Left from the household throng;  
There's bitter weeping in the nest  
Where breath'd their soul of song.

Toll for the hearts that bleed  
'Neath misery's furrowing trace!  
Toll for the hapless orphan left  
The last of all his race!  
Yea, with thy heaviest knell  
From surge to rocky shore,  
Toll for the living, not the dead,  
Whose mortal woes are o'er!

Toll, toll, toll,  
O'er breeze and billow free,  
And with thy starting lore instruct  
Each rover of the sea;  
Tell how o'er proudest joys  
May swift destruction sweep,  
And bid him build his hopes on high,  
Lone Teacher of the deep!

The *Advertisement of a Lost Day*, is written in a moral, contemplative, and eminently religious vein, and so as to attract the attention of the most giddy; they must be truly abandoned, and incapable of reflection, who can read the following lines without deriving benefit from their suggestions.

#### ADVERTISEMENT OF A LOST DAY

Lost! lost! lost!  
A gem of countless price,  
Cut from the living rock,  
And graven in Paradise;

Set round with three times eight  
Large diamonds, clear and bright,  
And each with sixty smaller ones,  
All changeeful as the light.

Lost—where the thoughtless throng  
 In Fashion's mazes wind,  
 Where trilleth Folly's song,  
 Leaving a sting behind;  
 Yet to my hand twas given  
 A golden harp to buy,  
 Such as the white-robed choir attune  
 To deathless minstrelsy.  
 Lost! lost! lost!  
 I feel all search is vain;  
 That gem of countless cost  
 Can ne'er be mine again;

I offer no reward,  
 For till these heart-strings sever,  
 I know that Heaven-entrusted gift  
 Is reft away for ever.  
 But when the sea and land  
 Like burning scroll have fled,  
 I'll see it in His hand  
 Who judgeth quick and dead;  
 And when of scath and loss  
 That man can ne'er repair,  
 The dread inquiry meets my soul,  
 What shall it answer there?

Mrs. Sigourney has given evidence in *Niagara*, as well as in many other of her poems, of the possession of masculine power, and grasp of thought. How full of vigor, and lofty imagination, this line!

“God hath set his rainbow on thy forehead.”

As an evidence of the power of genius in investing any subject with interest, and also as an example of a well organized mind drawing sublime inferences from apparently the most trivial objects, *The Shred of Linen* deserves perusal. *The Mourning Daughter* is another instance of the forcible imagination, original conception, and exalted mind of the authoress. The tale is told with a matchless dignity, and calm simplicity, which bears us along like a majestic stream, mirroring its truth in its transparent beauty.

*Napoleon at Helena*, is written in a nervous strain of lyric grandeur, evidencing great classic taste, sound judgment, and the same depth of thought, and masculine vigor, which have been already adverted to. As an exhibition of great spirit and national pride, which render it highly interesting, we shall instance *Columbia's Ships*—a narrative of much interest, and wearing a romantic dress. *The Trial of the Dead*, can hardly be read without communicating to the reader a portion of the weird and mysterious feeling, which influences its incident and language. For its length, perhaps the prettiest thing that ever was written is, *The Death of an Infant*; the ideas are beautiful in the extreme, and follow each other in a most natural way, which leaves an impression on the mind, of excellence not to be surpassed: it is enough to convert an Infidel, and to bring tears into the eyes of the veriest misanthrope that ever lived.

*The Rainbow* pours forth a fresh flood of her thoughtful, yet energetic, and glowing poetry: how beautifully the poet insinuates that the junction of the smile and the tear-drop, have resulted in the creation of the rainbow. It is an idea

worthy of Homer, and heathen mythology has not produced any thing to surpass it. Another talisman, with power to "Ope the sympathetic source of tears," is *The Infant's Prayer*. *Harold and Tosti*, shew the authoress to be in no wise deficient in that simple grace, dramatic power, and spirited method, so essential for the perfection of the ballad. If any other instance of the psychological beauties of Mrs. Sigourney were required, we should find one in her beautiful poem, called *Dreams*. It is full of superb images, woven in the light of the brightest fancy, yet formed of the essence of the soundest truth : there is a most charming moral conclusion evolved from the consideration of the subject.

*Man's Three Guests*, is an exquisite ballad, remarkable for its beauty, and appropriateness; it is written in an interesting, yet easily comprehended strain, which might effect more good by leading the mind to the contemplation of its more essential objects, than a thousand homilies, and all the tracts which ever yet issued from Exeter Hall.

An excellent instance of the deep reflection, analytical power, and graphic mode of treatment of the writer, is afforded us, in *The Unruffled Cabinet*—We present the reader with its contents.

## THE UNRIELED CABINET.

When shall that time be? When?  
 So many buds  
 We shelter'd in the garden of our heart,  
 Yet are their young sheaths open'd to the  
 sun,  
 They cur'd their leaves and died, we shrink  
 to fill  
 Their vacant places, lest the same sharp  
 grief  
 And trouble come upon us. Life doth seem,  
 With all its banners of felicity,  
 Like the fair alcove of the bard, and seat  
 illusory on which we find no rest.

In the mind's storehouse, gold we had,  
 and gems  
 Gather'd from many a tome. The key we  
 gave  
 To memory, and she hath betray'd her trust,  
 For when we ask of her, she saith that years  
 And sleepless cares disturbed her, till she  
 lost

Our stewardship of thought. When shall  
it be  
That we may hoard for intellect, nor find  
The work-day World, or stealthy Time, a  
thief?

Leases of tenements amid the sands  
And on the cloud, papers and bonds we had,  
In Earth's handwriting, well endorsed and  
    seal'd  
By smooth-tongued Hope.

They're lost! The lock is forced!  
The casket rifled! All our treasures gone!  
And only a brown cobweb in their place,  
Spun by some mocking spider.

Still, ye say  
We may obtain a cabinet, whose hoard  
Robber, nor faithless friend, nor rust of  
years,  
Shall e'er invade.

When shall that time be? When?  
When Heaven's pure gate unfoldeth, and  
thy soul  
Glides like a sunbeam through.  
Then shall it be.

With the following poem, entitled *Alice, in Heaven, to her Family, left on Earth*, and but little known in this country, we close our notice of the American Hemans. It is necessary to mention that this poem was composed on

the occasion of the death of a highly interesting deaf and dumb young lady; she is here represented as having arrived at the mansions of bliss, and, meeting her father, thus apostrophises those fond objects of her affection, whom she had left on earth:—

## I.

SISTERS! there's music here!  
 From countless harps it flows,  
 Throughout this bright celestial sphere,  
 Nor pause nor discord knows:  
 The seal is melted from my ear  
 By love divine,  
 And what thro' life I pin'd to hear,  
 Is mine! is mine!  
 The warbling of an ever-tuneful choir,  
 And the full deep response of David's sacred lyre.  
 Did kind earth hide from me  
 Her broken harmony,  
 That thus the melodies of Heaven might roll,  
 And whelm in deeper tides of bliss, my rapt, my wondering soul?

## II.

Joy! I am mute no more;  
 My sad and silent years,  
 With all their loneliness, are o'er;  
 Sweet Sisters! dry your tears.  
 Listen, at hush of eve—listen at dawn of day—  
 List at the hour of prayer, *Can you not hear my lay?*  
 Untaught, uncheck'd it came,  
 As light from chaos beamed,  
 Praising his everlasting name,  
 Whose blood from Calvary stream'd,  
 And still it swells that highest strain, the song of the redeem'd.

## III.

Brother!—my only one!  
 Belov'd from childhood's hours,  
 With whom, beneath the vernal sun,  
 I wander'd, when our task was done,  
 To gather early flow'rs,—  
 I cannot come to thee,  
 Though 'twas so sweet to rest  
 Upon thy gently guiding arm,  
 Thy sympathising breast,—  
 'Tis better here to be.

## IV.

No disappointments shroud  
 The angel bow'rs of joy;  
 Our knowledge hath no cloud,  
 Our pleasures no alloy;  
 The fearful words—*to part*,  
 Are never breath'd above;  
 Heaven hath no broken heart—  
 Call me not hence—my love.

## V.

Oh Mother! He is here,  
 To whom my soul so grew,  
 That when Death's fatal spear,  
 Stretched him upon his bier,  
 I fain must follow too.  
 His smile my infant griefs restrain'd;  
 His image in my childish dream,  
 And o'er my young affections reign'd,  
 With gratitude unutter'd and supreme;  
 But yet, till these refulgent skies burst forth in radiant glow,  
 I knew not half th' unmeasured debt a daughter's heart doth owe.

## VI.

Ask ye, if still his heart returns its ardent glow ?  
 Ask ye, if allal love  
 Embodied spirits prove ?  
 Look ! 'tis a little space, ere thou shalt rise to know :  
 I bend to soothe thy woes,  
 "How near," thou canst not see ;  
 I watch thy lone repose—  
 ALICE doth comfort thee ;  
 To welcome thee I wait—blest Mother, come to me !

The greatest humorist among his poetical brethren is Oliver Wendell Holmes. His humor is of the most quaint and peculiar order, and like all humorous poets of a high rank, he is capable of affecting the most melting pathos. Satire is another vein into which his humor frequently runs, and even in didactic themes he pours forth a rich ingredient of this acceptable spirit. In all his humorous compositions, the most excellent sense and worthy purpose are clearly manifest. Holmes is not merely a humorist, he has given more than sufficient evidence of his capability in treating contemplative subjects, and when his muse aspires to that species of composition, his language is always the most elegant, and his ideas the most elevated of their kind. He is also, it must be considered, a poet of greater promise than performance, and it would be exceedingly hazardous to venture an opinion as to the degree of fame which he may hereafter reach. That humor is his most congenial theme, and the one whose cultivation will obtain for him the greatest amount of success, there is no reason to doubt. He is perhaps the only humorist his country has produced, and this in itself might be sufficient to magnify his celebrity ; but the great depth of his humorous talent, its variety, and its happy co-existence with the most thrilling pathos, the "*Seria mista Iocis*" are the solid title-deeds which establish the author's fame. To these it is true one more might be added, which is simply this ; that having principally made use of this distinguished talent for the laudable purpose of instructing the poor, and of elevating their tastes, eradicating their vices, and improving their general condition, both moral and physical, as well as for the benefit of deserted youth, in inculcating generous and honorable principles, and in developing their growing tastes, the motive which sanctifies such compositions, independent of their inimitable adaptation to the task, by reason of their attractive nature, must necessarily insure no inconsiderable amount of respect and admiration to the benefit of him who has given

them to the world. There are many things in Holmes' humorous pieces which bear strong resemblance to the similar productions of our English satirists, Swift, Pope, and Thomas Hood. He possesses Swift's quaintness and motley merriment, Pope's polish and graceful point, and the solemn pathos and allied excruciating mirth of Hood. In addition to these he has a certain originality of his own, which would be difficult to define, but which would seem to consist in freedom and facility, engrafted on the broad, hearty nature of Brother Jonathan. No matter how earnestly the mock philanthropist may deprecate his irony, or how gravely the sanctimonious sophist may censure his light-hearted and innocuous mirth, Holmes may reasonably console himself with the reflection, that his objects have been for the promotion of good, and that the results of his labors have been duly and generously appreciated by his countrymen at home, and by all his benevolent readers in the mother country.

*Poetry* contains many fine passages : taking a retrospective glance, the author alludes to the universality of the object of his panegyric ; he points out how all human beings are either more or less imbued with poetic feelings :—

There breathes no being but has some  
pretence  
To that fine instinct called poetic sense ;  
The rudest savage roaming through the wild,  
The simplest rustic, bending o'er his child,  
The infant listening to the warbling bird,  
The mother smiling at its half-formed  
word ;  
The boy uncaged, who tracks the fields at  
large,  
The girl, turned matron to her babe-like  
charge ;  
The freeman, casting with unpurchased  
hand  
The vote that shakes the turrets of the land ;  
The slave, who, slumbering on his rusted  
chain,  
Dreams of the palm trees on his burning  
plain ;

The hot-cheeked reveller, tossing down the  
wine,  
To join the chorus peeling "Auld lang  
syne ;"  
The gentle maid, whose azure eye grows dim,  
While Heaven is listening to her evening  
hymn ;  
The jewelled beauty, when her steps draw  
near  
The circling dance and dazzling chandelier ;  
E'en trembling age, when Spring's renewing  
air  
Waves the thin ringlets of his silvered  
hair ;—  
All, all are glowing with the inward flame,  
Whose wilder halo wreaths the poet's name,  
While, unembalmed, the allent dreamer dies,  
His memory passing with his smiles and  
sighs !

The poem contains two excellent lyrics, a fine eulogium on Shakspeare, and a scathing denunciation of the poetry of Despair. The poet most beautifully shews us how all things afford us subjects for poetry. The warrior is incited to battle by song, and the sweets of peace are chaunted by the muse. He evidently cherishes the theory regarding Homer and the old poets, namely, that they have conceived all the poetical ideas which it was possible for man to originate, and concludes by shewing

that although States rise and fall, temples are upreared, and topple to their bases, an earthquake may render useless a "century's toil," Poetry can make a name reverberate through the world during its existence. *Terpsichore*, contains much wit, humour, and sound judgment. It is written in a strictly classical spirit. *A Rhymed Lesson*, commences in a humorous vein, and goes on to show that God brought us into the world, not that he might tyrannize over us, but that we might possess the world for our enjoyment, having evinced our gratitude to him by our obedience to his laws, thus giving us an opportunity of working out our welfare.

The poem is especially intended for the uneducated poor, whom it instructs in those essential moral principles, and social virtues, with which, from their utter ignorance, they are necessarily unacquainted; it points out the necessity of holding our passions in check, inculcates christian toleration, and recommends dispassionate judgment: it winds up with a patriotic eulogium on America, well adapted to the poor and uneducated youth. The instruction is given in a vein, semi serious and semi comic, and is consequently most likely to be generally read.

How beautifully Holmes can indite a ballad, may be judged from,

#### THE STAR AND THE WATER-LILY.

The sun stepped down from his golden throne,  
And lay in the silent sea,  
And the Lily had folded her satin leaves,  
For a sleepy thing was she;  
What is the Lily dreaming of?  
Why crisp the waters blue?  
See, see, she is lifting her varnished lid!  
Her white leaves are glistening through!  
The Rose is cooling his burning cheek  
In the lap of the breathless tide;—  
The Lily bath sisters fresh and fair,  
That would lie by the Rose's side;  
He would love her better than all the rest,  
And he would be fond and true;—  
But the Lily unfolded her weary lids,  
And looked at the sky so blue.  
Remember, remember, thou silly one,  
How fast will thy summer glide,  
And wilt thou wither a virgin pale,  
Or flourish a blooming bride?  
"Oh the Rose is old, and thorny, and cold,  
And he lives on earth," said she;  
"But the Star is fair and he lives in the air,  
And he shall my bridegroom be."

But what if the stormy cloud should come,  
And ruffle the silver sea?  
Would he turn his eye from the distant sky,  
To smile on a thing like thee?  
O no, fair Lily, he will not send  
One ray from his far-off throne;  
The winds shall blow and the waves shall  
flow,  
And thou wilt be left alone.

There is not a leaf on the mountain top,  
Nor a drop of evening dew,  
Nor a golden sand on the sparkling shore,  
Nor a pearl in the waters blue,  
That he has not cheered with his fickle smile  
And warmed with his faithless beam,—  
And will he be true to a pallid flower,  
That floats on the quiet stream?

Alas for the Lily! she would not heed,  
But turned to the skies afar,  
And bared her breast to the trembling ray  
That shot from the rising Star;  
The cloud came over the darkened sky,  
And over the waters wide:  
She looked in vain through the beating rain,  
And sank in the stormy tide.

*The Last Leaf*, is decidedly the oddest of his productions,

and the one perhaps which is most calculated to display his idiosyncrasies : we here insert it :—

#### THE LAST LEAF.

I saw him once before,  
As he passed by the door,  
And again  
The pavement stones resound,  
As he totters o'er the ground  
With his cane.  
They say that in his prime,  
Ere the pruning knife of Time  
Cut him down,  
Not a better man was found  
By the crier on his round  
Through the town.  
But now he walks the streets,  
And he looks at all he meets  
Sad and wan,  
And he shakes his feeble head,  
That it seems as if he said  
"They are gone."  
The mossy marbles rest  
On the lips that he had pressed  
In their bloom,  
And the names he loved to hear  
Have been carved for many a year  
On the tomb.

My grandmamma has said,—  
Poor old lady, she is dead  
Long ago,—  
That he had a Roman nose,  
And his cheek was like a rose  
In the snow.

But now his nose is thin,  
And it rests upon his chin  
Like a staff,  
And a crook is in his back,  
And a melancholy crack  
In his laugh.

I know it is a sin  
For me to sit and grin  
At him here;  
But the old three-cornered hat,  
And the breeches, and all that  
Are so queer!

And if I should live to be  
The last leaf upon the tree  
In the spring,—  
Let them smile, as I do now,  
At the old forsaken bough  
Where I cling.

Exquisite satire, and marvellous fidelity, are evidenced in the following :—

#### MY AUNT.

My aunt! my dear unmarried aunt!  
Long years have o'er her flown;  
Yet still she strains the aching clasp  
That binds her virgin zone;  
I know it hurts her,—though she looks  
As cheerful as she can;  
Her waist is ampler than her life,  
For life is but a span.  
My aunt! my poor deluded aunt!  
Her hair is almost grey;  
Why will she train that winter curl  
In such a spring-like way?  
How can she lay her glasses down,  
And say she reads as well,  
When through a double convex lens,  
She just makes out to spell?  
Her father;—grandpapa! forgive  
This erring lip its smiles,—  
Vowed she should make the finest girl  
Within a hundred miles;  
He sent her to a stylish school;  
'Twas in her thirteenth June;  
And with her, as the rules required,  
"Two towels and a spoon."

They braced my aunt against a board,  
To make her straight and tall;  
They laced her up, they starved her down,  
To make her light and small;  
They pinched her feet, they singed her hair,  
• They screwed it up with pins;  
O never mortal suffered more  
In penance for her sins.

So, when my precious aunt was done,  
My grandsire brought her back;  
(By daylight, lest some rabid youth  
Might follow on the track;)  
"Ah!" said my grandsire, as he shook  
Some powder in his pan,  
"What could this lovely creature do  
Against a desperate man!"

Alas! nor chariot, nor barouche,  
Nor bandit cavalcade,  
Tore from the trembling father's arms,  
His all accomplished maid.  
For her how happy had it been!  
And Heaven had spared to me  
To see one sad, ungathered rose  
On my ancestral tree.

In the next quotation, we are furnished with a most extraordinary instance of appropriate imagery : we are astonished at the happy manner in which every line bears reference to the Tailor's calling, and by the wonderful facility with which all external objects, be they great or small, are compared to the humble technicalities which characterize his profession.



## EVENING, BY A TAILOR.

Day hath put on his jacket, and around  
His burning bosom buttoned it with stars.  
Here will I lay me on the velvet grass,  
That is like padding to earth's meagre ribs,  
And hold communion with the things about  
me.

Ah me! how lovely is the golden braid,  
That binds the skirt of night's descending  
robe!

The thin leaves, quivering on their silken  
threads,

Do make a music like to rustling satin,  
As the light breezes smooth their downy nap,  
Ha! what is this that rises to my touch,  
So like a cushion? can it be a cabbage?  
Is it, it is that deeply injured flower  
Which boys do flout us with;—but yet I  
love thee,

Thou giant rose, wrapped in a green surtout,  
Doubtless in Eden thou didst blush as bright  
As these, thy puny brethren; and thy breath  
Sweetened the fragrance of her spicy air;  
But now thou seemest like a bankrupt beau,  
Stripped of his gaudy hues and essences,  
And growing portly in his sober garments.  
Is that a swan that rides upon the water?  
O no, it is that other gentle bird,  
Which is the patron of our noble calling.  
I well remember, in my early years,  
When these young hands first closed upon  
a goose;

I have a scar upon my thimble finger,  
Which chronicles the hour of young ambi-  
tion.

My father was a tailor, and his father,  
And my sire's grandsire, all of them were  
tailors;

They had an ancient goose,—it was an heir-  
loom

From some remoter tailor of our race.

It happened I did see it on a time  
When none was near, and I did deal with it,  
And it did burn me,—oh, most fearfully!

It is a joy to straighten out one's limbs,  
And leap elastic from the level counter,  
Leaving the petty grievances of earth,  
The breaking thread, the din of clashing  
shears,

And all the needles that do wound the spirit,  
For such a pensive hour of soothing silence.  
Kind Nature, shuffling in her loose undress,  
Lays bare her abody bosom;—I can feel  
With all around me;—I can hail the flowers  
That sprig earth's mantle,—and yon quiet  
bird,

That rides the stream, is to me as a brother.  
The vulgar know not all the hidden pockets,  
Where Nature stows away her loveliness.  
But this unnatural posture of the legs  
Cramps my extended calves, and I must go  
Where I can coil them in their wonted  
fashion.

The following is in Holmes' best style:—

## THE STETHOSCOPE SONG.

There was a young man in Boston town,  
He bought him a *Stethoscope* nice and  
new,

All mounted and finished and polished down,  
With an ivory cap and a stopper too.

It happened a spider within did crawl,

And spun him a web of ample size,

Wherein there chanced one day to fall

A couple of very imprudent flies.

The first was a bottle-fly, big and blue,

The second was smaller, and thin and long,

So there was a concert between the two,

Like an octave flute and a tavern gong.

Now being from Paris but recently,

This fine young man would show his skill;

And so they gave him, his hand to try,

A hospital patient extremely ill.

Some said that his liver was short of bile,

And some that his heart was over size,

While some kept arguing all the while,

He was crammed with *tubercles* up to  
his eyes.

This fine young man then up stepped he,

And all the doctors made a pause;

Said he,—The man must die, you see,

By the fifty-seventh of Louis's laws.

But, since the case is a desperate one,

To explore his chest it may be well;

For, if he should die and it were not done,

You know the *Autopsy* would not tell.

Then out his *Stethoscope* he took,

And on it placed his curious ear;

*Mon Dieu!* said he, with a knowing look,

Why here is a sound that's mighty queer!

The *bourdonnement* is very clear,

*Amphoric buzzing*, as I am alive!

Five Doctors took their turn to hear;

*Amphoric buzzing*, said all the five.

There's *emphysema* beyond a doubt;

We'll plunge a *trocár* in his side,—

The diagnosis was made out,

They tapped the patient: so he died.

Now such as hate new-fashioned toys

Began to look extremely glum;

They said that *rattles* were made for boys,

And vowed that his *buzzing* was all a  
hum.

There was an old lady had long been sick,

And what was the matter none did know;

Her pulse was slow, though her tongue was

quick;

To her this knowing youth must go.

So there the nice old lady sat,

With phials and boxes all in a row;

She asked the young Doctor what he was at,

To thump her and tumble her ruffles so.

Now, when the *Stethoscope* came out,

The flies began to buzz and whiz;

O ho! the matter is clear, no doubt,

An *aneurism* there plainly is.

The *bruit de rape* and the *bruit de scie*  
 And the *bruit de diable* all are combined ;  
 How happy Bouilland would be,  
 If he a case like this could find !

Now, when the neighbouring doctors found  
 A case so rare had been deseried,  
 They every day her ribs did pound  
 In squads of twenty ; so she died.

Then six young damsels, slight and frail,  
 Received this kind young Doctor's cares ;  
 They all were getting slim and pale,  
 And short of breath on mounting stairs.

They all made rhymes with " sighs " and  
 " skies,"

And loathed their puddings and buttered  
 rolls,  
 And dieted, much to their friends' surprise,  
 On pickles, and pencils, and chalk, and  
 coals.

So fast their little hearts did bound,  
 The frightened insects buzzed the more ;  
 So over all their chests he found  
 The *râle sifflant*, and *râle sonore*.

He shook his head ;—there's grave disease,  
 I greatly fear you all must die ;  
 A slight *post-mortem*, if you please,  
 Surviving friends would gratify.

The six young damsels wept aloud,  
 Which so prevailed on six young men,  
 That each his honest love avowed,  
 Whereat they all got well again.

This poor young man was all aghast ;  
 The price of Stethoscopes came down !  
 And so he was reduced at last  
 To practise in a country town.

The Doctors being very sore,  
 A Stethoscope they did devise,  
 That had a rammer to clear the bore,  
 With a knob at the end to kill the flies.

Now use your ears, all you that can,  
 But don't forget to mind your eyes,  
 Or you may be cheated like this young man,  
 By a couple of silly abnormal flies.

We close this first paper on American Poets, and our second, and concluding, portion, shall be devoted to a review of the works of Dana, Willis, Lowell, Poe, Whittier, and Read. We have not in this, our present division of the subject, written critically of the poets specially noticed, or of the probable effects which their productions may have upon the literature of America ; we consider that such a disquisition belongs to the concluding section of our paper.

## ART. II.—JOHN BANIM.

### PART V.

ANXIETY FOR FAME AS A DRAMATIC POET. COMPOSITION OF HIS TRAGEDY "SYLLA." HISTORY OF THE TRAGEDY. COMPARISON OF IT WITH THE SYLLA OF DEKKER AND JOUY. EXTRACTS FROM IT. LETTERS. PROPOSED VISIT TO THE SOUTH OF ENGLAND. RESTORED HEALTH. FRIENDSHIP OF JOHN STIRLING. VISIT TO CAMBRIDGE. RESTORED HEALTH OF MRS. BANIM. URGING MICHAEL BANIM TO CONTINUE JOINT AUTHORSHIP. LETTERS. BUOYANT SPIRITS AND NEW PROJECTS. REMOVAL TO EASTBOURNE. OPINION OF MICHAEL'S TALE, "THE CROPPY." ACCOUNT OF ITS COMPOSITION. A DAUGHTER BORN TO JOHN BANIM. CORRESPONDENCE WITH GERALD GRIFFIN. REMOVAL TO SEVEN OAKS. ADMIRABLE LETTER TO MICHAEL UPON THE COMPOSITION OF A NOVEL AND THE SELECTION OF CHARACTERS. INCIDENTS SUGGESTED AND OLD STORIES RECALLED. THE BEAUTIES AND ART OF GREAT NOVELISTS DISPLAYED. LETTER FROM MICHAEL SHOWING RESULT OF THIS ADVICE IN THE PRODUCTION OF "THE GHOST HUNTER." ILLNESS. LETTER TO MICHAEL. LITERARY OCCUPATIONS DESCRIBED. BEAUTIFUL ACCOUNT OF HIS HOME LIFE—HIS CONDITION, THE BODY RACKED BUT THE MIND GLOWING. DELIGHT AT RENEWED FRIENDSHIP OF GERALD GRIFFIN. THEIR LETTERS TO EACH OTHER. REMOVAL TO BLACKHEATH. ILLNESS AND PROSTRATION OF STRENGTH. REMOVAL TO THE FRENCH COAST ADVISED BY PHYSICIANS. ANOTHER SERIES OF "TALES BY THE O'HARA FAMILY" HURRIEDLY WRITTEN BY JOHN BANIM AND PUBLISHED UNDER THE TITLE OF "THE DENOUNCED." REMOVAL TO FRANCE.

It will have been remarked by the attentive student of Banim's mind, as exhibited in his letters, that the old love of poetry and of dramatic composition, recurs frequently in evident forms. It was indeed never entirely lost, and he seems to have cherished hopes of brilliant and steady success in that most difficult of all literary labors, the production of a really poetical, original drama.

He was ever, in his leisure hours, and these, truly, were few, engaged in poetic composition; he had no pleasures, save

those springing from literature. In this, he did not resemble Scott, or Byron, or Pope, or Moore; and he, more than any literary man of our time, could declare with the great Chancellor of France, D'Aguesseau, "le changement d'étude est toujours un delassment pour moi." The hero of his drama was always selected from those historic names, whose deeds, and crimes or virtues, have afforded the fullest scope for the display of the genius of the dramatist and the art of the actor. It is also worthy of remark, that in all his dramas, as in all his novels, Banim ever chooses the portrayal of the wildest and fiercest passions, or the most harrowing and striking situations.

Ancient history seems to have been the storehouse whence he selected his plots; *Damon and Pythias* was one of these subjects thus drawn, and of its treatment the reader has been already enabled to judge, but, in the latter months of 1826, Banim commenced the composition of his tragedy entitled *Sylla*, and it was completed in the last week of January, 1827. He appears to have supposed that his play was the first attempt to paint the character of Sylla in the English language, and, doubtless his was the first attempt worthy the theme. A drama in three acts, and entitled *Sylla*, was, however, written by Derrick, and printed, though never performed, in 1753; it grossly misconceives the character of the Dictator, and makes him, in addition, sing three songs.

By a strange co-incidence Derrick founded, and in part translated this drama from a French play of the early part of the seventeenth century, and Banim formed his tragedy upon, and in part translated it from the *Sylla* of M. Jouy: and thus it comes to pass that the only dramatic authors who have taken Sylla for their subject have had one common fountain of inspiration—a French original. Of his own design, and of his opinions of Sylla's character as conceived by M. Jouy, Banim thus wrote:—

"The present is, so far as the writer is aware, the first attempt in the English language to illustrate, by dramatic action, the character of Sylla, and to account plausibly for the motives for his last astounding act of power—namely, his laying down the dictatorship. That the man, and the events of his public life, particularly the one specified, are strikingly dramatic, will not be denied; and the previous want of an English tragedy built with such materials, is almost as striking. Perhaps it may have been caused by the apparent difficulty of the task. It is quite true that history supplies very little to make such a task easy. Sylla's heart and mind have been

less unveiled to us by old writers, than have those of any other celebrated personage of antiquity. His own reasons for some of his actions—actions, sometimes noble, sometimes atrocious, always startling, remain at best but as matters of guess work to us. The outline of his character is blurred to our eyes. We do not understand him. Cæsar, Antony, Brutus, Catiline, and a score other citizens of old Rome, occur to our thoughts like intimate, well-known acquaintances, while of Sylla our notions are vague and uninformed. As to what must have been truly his state of mind, when he laid down the palm and purple, and dismissed his lictors in the Forum, amid a crowd of people, from scarce one of whom he had not good reason to dread a stern and dangerous remonstrance regarding his reign as dictator—upon his reasons for this prodigious and sublime act of hardihood, history is silent. And hence, indeed, would seem to arise such a difficulty as had just been conjectured. If you make a man the hero of a play, you must necessarily make him speak in his own person; and just as necessarily, sooner or later, in the progress of your five acts, you must make him account, out of his own lips, *for what he does*. But how is this to be easily effected with a historical character, of whose *incentives to what he does*, ancient historians seem to decline all explanation?

In another country, however, a tragedy of Sylla has been produced, and its author, M. Jouy, of the French Academy, has, in his own apprehension, found no obstacle in the way. Upon the authority of Montesquieu, that gentleman refers to what can be nothing, or little less than patriotism, not only Sylla's abdication, but even his usurpation of the dictatorship, thus—(I quote from M. Jouy's preface to his tragedy):—

‘*Sous la plume de l’auteur de la grandeur et decadenec des Romains, Sylla devient le reformateur de Rome; et veut les ramener à l’amour de la liberté, par les horreurs de la tyrannie, et quand il a suffisamment abusé du pouvoir dans l’interet de la republique, qu’il ne separe pas de ses vengeancees personnelles, satisfait de la leçon sanglante qu’il a donné à ses compatriots, il brise lui meme la palme du dictateur qu’il a usurpé.*’

And therefore—

‘*Ce n’est point Sylla si imparfaitement esquisé par Plutarque, c’est ce Sylla si admirablement indiqué par Montesquieu, que je veuille reproduire sur la scene.*’

But there is no reason, notwithstanding M. Jouy's preference, why Montesquieu, who lived about seventeen hundred years after Sylla, should be authority for his patriotism, when Plutarch, who lived only about two hundred and twenty years after him, says nothing on the subject, nor Appian, who was a contemporary of Plutarch; nor Valerius Maximus, who lived very nearly a century still closer to Sylla. And since Montesquieu could not have derived his reading of Sylla's motives from these authorities, where did he get it?

There is a point still more perilous to M. Jouy, and a curious and rather astonishing one it is. What M. Jouy says for Montesquieu, that writer does not say for himself. Nay, he says the very contrary, as follows—‘*La fantasie qui lui fait quitter la dictature semble rendre*

la vie a la republique, mais dans la fureur de ses succes il avait fait des choses qui mirent la Rome dans l'impossibilité de conserver sa liberté.'—And Montesquieu supplies a frightful list of the things which Sylla did, tending to destroy the liberties of Rome. It will further be noticed, from this last quotation, that instead of ascribing to patriotism Sylla's abdication of the dictatorship, Montesquieu very conveniently for the exercise of his own penetration, absolutely calls his motive or impulse upon that occasion, 'whim,' and nothing else. But the fact is, M. Jouy, in presenting to a Paris audience a tragedy of Sylla, tried, in order to ensure success for his drama, to paint in its hero, the character of Napoleon; and as history stood in the way of such a project, he had very little hesitation in getting rid of it. He hit his mark, however, with indeed considerable assistance from Talma, who gave an imitation of the companion of his youth, even to the adjustment of his own stage wig; and the worthy Parisians flocked night after night to enjoy, under the name of the old Roman dictator, the political sentiments, allusions, and even personal peculiarities, of the great chief, then uppermost in their thoughts—I was going to say affections. M. Jouy could have written his tragedy in a fitter view than this.

Having said so much in admission of the difficulties of the present attempt, I hope I shall not incur the charge of temerity for having engaged in it at all. With very little assistance certainly, I have had to sit down, and, after careful study, venture a new solution of the enigma of Sylla's dark character, and above all, of the last grand act of his public existence. If I have failed, let me be judged only as severely as the reader's recollections of history will warrant. Nor shall I attempt to conciliate, in a preface, his good-natured dispositions towards my dramatic scenes, by a detailed account of why and wherefore I constructed them as they are, for if they do not tell their own story, so far at least, they tell nothing. It is useless trying to argue a man into a conviction of the plausible."

Banim did not, however, by the foregoing observations intend to depreciate the merit of M. Jouy's tragedy: Banim's drama was one of action rather than of narration; three years being substituted for the three hours of M. Jouy, and nearly the whole of the non-historical characters of the French tragedy being abandoned. The two first acts of the tragedy, as written by Banim, have no counterparts in that of Jouy: but the audience scene in the third act is taken from his play, whilst its first sixteen, and six concluding, lines are translated from it. All the intermediate passages are original in Banim's tragedy. The scene between *Julius* and *Sylla* in the fourth act is parallel to that between *Claudius* and *Sylla* in the French play. The historical situation in the fifth act was open to both, but the incident of *Julius* attempting to stab *Sylla* is probably suggested by the scene in the French play in which the imaginary heroism

*Faleria*, endeavours to accomplish the same deed ; the chief identity however, between the two plays is the adoption by Banim of Jouy's *Catiline*.

This tragedy, *Sylla*, is neither so poetic nor so well adapted for representation, as the earlier composition, *Damon and Pythias*. Indeed its chief interest is the situation in the fifth act in which *Sylla* abandons his dignity and power. He discovers that his daughter, *Phryne*, is secretly wedded to his enemy, young *Julius Marius*, and with this enemy, yet the husband of his child, in chains, powerless and his prisoner, *Sylla* is thus, at the conclusion of the fourth act, represented soliloquising in the hall of his palace :—

"Slaves, crawling slaves! what would they do, which they

Might not have left undone? Eradicate?

Why plant and nurture?—with their proper hands?

They wait a time! what time? on *Sylla*? no—

By Mars they dare not! and it shall be shown.

(*Sits, and writes in his tablets.*)

Nor is the thought new-born. Thro' days of surfeit,

And nights of haggard slumber, it hath risen—

The only promise of the only conquest,

Change, vengeance, yet to grasp: o'er hate, o'er treason,

A quashing, hushing vengeance—and enjoyment,

Because a change. A safety too—if, that,

I did not utterly scorn.

(*He rises.*)

Gods! ye do know the very wrestling with it.

Were a young life to me! The thought mounts up,

And *Sylla* feels he is their master still!

And thou, young *Marius*—revenge on thee,

Thou didst not meditate! *Phryne*? she is his wife.

(*Sits again.*)

I am very desolate. I knew, before,

The common mass of being cursed or hated,

Yet hoped there was one creature of my blood

Who trusted—loved. She said it was in ignorance.

Perhaps. I'll try her awfully—*Catiline*!

#### *Re-enter Catiline.*

Hearken. At the first hour of morning, summon

Unto the Forum, in my sovereign name,

The people and the senators. While all rest there,

*Metellus* shall surround them, with a force

Of soldiers. *Lepidus* and *Julius Marius*,

Guarded, lead thither, too. And let all wait

My presence, and my will. Leave me. It shall be! (*Exit Catiline*)

For every cause it shall. A new, last glory!

My last audacious triumph; certainty:

Vengeance; a mystery still! a blazing wonder,

And echo to all nations and all time! (*Exit.*)

#### ACT V.

SCENE I.—In *Sylla's Palace*. Enter hastily *Phryne*, followed by a female attendant.

*Phry.*—After my watchings all the live long night,

A hateful, leaden sleep, uncalled, unwilling,

Unfelt came o'er me—and how long I slept

I know not—and I fear to ask or know—

Till, in the fierce ray of the summer sun,

Which, brightly angry, flashed, methought, to rouse me—

I woke and screamed. No voice replied to mine.

No creature came to me: I started up.  
I have traversed all the chambers, one by one—  
They are all empty, and upon the walls  
And marble floors, I have looked for gout of blood.  
Speak, thou! who here at last dost wait on me—  
My father and his prisoner—speak!

ATT.—At dawn,  
A prisoner, with Catiline, left the palace.  
Your father, lady—

PHY.—At the dawn! How old  
Is the day, now?

ATT.—Yet morning tides.

PHY.—Yet morning!  
Time lapsed to win, or lose, or wreck a world.  
Oh, I have been accursed in my sleep.  
Oh, morbid, traitor sleep! from your death-thrall  
And heavy blandishment I do divorce  
Mine eyes for ever! Or the hideous things  
Which may have happened—may?—which must! which have!  
Can well effect it! Spake you of my father?

ATT.—'Tis but some minutes since he parted, too.

PHY.—Whither? You know not?

ATT.—Lady, no.

PHY.—Said he

No parting word for Phryne? for his daughter?

ATT.—No word.

PHY.—How looked he? sternly? and

The prisoner? seemed he sad?—hush—thro' the streets,

(At a window.)

Deserted by the people, bands of soldiers  
Troop onward, heavily—returning now  
Perhaps!—what *is* to happen—or *has* happened?  
Heard you?—or any of my women? Speak  
The very truth!

ATT.—Nor they, nor I, can answer.

PHY.—I will go forth! whither I know not—but  
O'er all the spreading city—and fall down  
Before whatever living things I meet,  
Praying a guidance to the mystery  
Or explanation of it. Household gods—  
House of my sires, farewell! I go—oh, when—  
And how, if ever—to return? Fate knoweth.

(Exeunt.)

SCENE II—*The Forum. Lenax, Aufidius, Senators, Crassus, Cethegus, people.*

AUF.—Know ye the cause or motive of this summons?

CRAS.—Unless as an example to the people,  
To punish in their presence, the last son  
Of their old butcher, Marius, we know not.

AUF.—Such circumstantial show is not his fashion.

LEN.—It never was.

AUF.—The people quake in terror,  
And boding ignorance, as hither led  
By their weak Tribunes. See, how silently  
They follow hither the accused.

*Enter Catiline, Julius and Lepidus, guarded, First Tribunes and people.*

CAT.—His air,  
His brow defeat me Could I see him wince  
In look or limb, it were my dearest triumph,  
And for my purpose, opportunity.  
Young Julius Marius.

JUL.—Lucius Catiline?

CAT.—I grieve to see you thus.

JUL.—False as thou'rt foul.

CAT.—No Julius Marius, no. On public grounds  
Your enemy, my heart can pity, still,  
The doomed sufferings of all your race,  
Now in your own to be so sadly ended.

JUL.—Leave me.

CAT.—And if by my poor agency  
It might be otherwise—if your young life

(Aside.  
To him.)



Might from this too untimely stroke be snatched,  
Here do I plainly stand, your friend, to try it.

*(Julius does not notice him.)*

1st TRIB.—The noble senators may answer us.

AUT.—We, and those good knights with us, uninformed  
As Tribunes or as people, hither come  
For Sylla's pleasure.

CAT.—Julius, hearken to me.

You are a man—a young one—from whose eyes  
The world is fading fast, with all its changes  
Of wondrous, promising, and beautiful  
'Tis hard to look upon a man so young,  
Standing so near the verge—encompassed,  
Already, with the shadow and the silence  
Of death—'tis hard to see you, Julius, thus,  
And feel no wish to succour.—I cannot  
Regard it passively; and altho' fate  
Frown on the very dawning of the thought,  
I may be bribed to seal.

*(Julius is still contemptuous.)*

1st TRIB.—Friends! Citizens!

Behold!

1st CRZ.—Metellus leaning on his soldiers.

1st TRIB.—They crowd upon us!

1st CRZ.—Yea—and hem us in!

*(Enter Metellus, with soldiers, who surround the Forum.)*

LEX.—Audiens, note you that?

AUT.—I do—and tremble.

1st TRIB.—'Tis the last day of Sylla's tyranny.

1st CRZ.—Rome's lost. We are to perish!

1st TRIB.—Comes he yet?

*(Looking off.)*

CAT.—Julius, look round you. Of the shades of doom  
It is the denser gathering—the deepest—  
For next comes doom itself. Bethink you, and  
Now answer me. There is a lady—

JUL.—Ha!

CAT.—Start not—but hear—

JUL.—Villain! excelling villain!

Why is that—here, prisoner as I stand,  
I do not, from the bosom which could plot  
That insult for me, tear the fetid heart out,  
And—

CAT.—Traitor! unhand me!

JUL.—But—live. You are the fitter for this world,  
Which now—the gods do see it—is no world  
For any honest man. Go—thrive together.  
In its decrepitude and worthlessness  
I need bequeath to it no better curse.  
Live and revenge me!—

Romans! you look pale  
And stare upon each other, asking in whispers,  
Why this and this? or, what will happen, now?  
Or what shall save us?—Romans—no—not Romans!  
That name no more—slaves then—and slaves of slaves!  
But I'll speak calmer—on the day he robbed you  
Of your last liberties, I met you here,  
Here in this very Forum, and—

1st TRIB.—} Hush! back! *(Looking off.)*

CRZs.

JUL.—Pshaw! They're not worth the breath it costs—a flock  
Of sheep do not cringe closer from the growl  
Of the shepherd's dog. Down with your necks, brave Romans,  
That he may step on them!

*Enter Second Tribune, with people.*

2ND TRIB.—Sylla!—back, back!

*Enter slowly, Sylla, with Lictors.*

SYL.—Senators, citizens, all men of Rome—

A day hath risen whose progress shall proclaim  
Unto the breathing and the unborn world,  
How worthy or unworthy of his place  
Has Sylla proved, and in your turn, of him,  
Yourself, how worthy. A peculiar question,  
Which to this great one tends, we first examine.

In me, the awful dignity of Rome  
 Has by assassin league been violated.  
 There stand the plotters. Julius Marius, and  
 His colleague, Lepidus. More from the Rostrum.  
 JUL.—(*As Sylla walks towards the Rostrum*)  
 Now, Lepidus, your secret dagger.

*Enter Phryne, behind Julius.*

LEP.—Take it.

PHRY.—(*Having observed Julius.*) Turn, Sylla! Turn!

JUL.—(*Breaking thro' the guards.*)—Villaina, make way!

Die, monster! (*Rushing to Sylla*)

PHRY.—(*Intercepting, and catching his arm.*)

Hold, parricide!—infanticide!

CAT.—Guards!—Lictors!

Down with him—slay!

SYL.—Lictors!—disarm that boy;

If I had wanted proof for your assurance,  
 Himself, the head and spirit of this treason,  
 Doth here supply it. Ye have seen his hand  
 Raised against the life of the republic—and,  
 By every law, civil and natural,

The days of the last Marius are now numbered.

PHRY.—Against all nature! against all the laws  
 Of natural hearts! Romans! he is my husband! (*Embracing him.*)

JUL.—Oh Phryne, I was nerved for fate—but, this—

PHRY.—And, Romana, plead for him, with me! ye know—

Great as his crime hath been unto your eyes,  
 And mine, this day—the youngest and the last  
 Of all the Marians, must, if he be man—  
 Hoard in his heart—even against his will—  
 Grievs, recollections, bitterness, and anger,  
 Which madden him, at times, to say and do  
 He knows not what!—oh think ye, Roman husbands,  
 Were he not made, by suffering, moment-mad,  
 He who doth love his wife, as never wife  
 Was loved, would raise his boyish arm upon  
 The sacred person of that wife's dear parent,  
 A parent, by that wife beloved as well—  
 And she will say no more—as she by him,  
 Her chosen husband? Romans, plead for me!  
 Your hands and voices here with mine! My father!

(*Kneels to Sylla.*)

SYL.—I am dictator. Senators, no word.

Tribunes, beware!—Lictors, control the people.

Phryne, retire.

PHRY.—No! bid them strike me here!

It is the fitter place for me to fall—

Even at the feet of the unnatural father

Who spurns me here! Perish I must—I will—

If—

SYL.—Lead the wife of Marius from the Forum! (*Ascends the Rostrum.*)

PHRY.—O! subject slaves!—I stand by him again!

(*Rushes to Julius, who is again guarded.*)

My arm around him! to be silent, now,  
 Since, if I am so, I have equal right  
 With any citizen to tarry here—  
 Silent until I catch a word to harm him—  
 My Julius, fear not!

JUL.—I but fear for you.

SYL.—Young Julius Marius may tell you, Romana, (*From the Rostrum.*)

He strikes but at an absolute dictator.

Wherefore, in justice? Let the people answer.

Freely they chose me—nor unworthily—

For, ere I was dictator, I was a hero.

Deep, distant waters ye shall never see,

I bade flow round your empire, and they flowed

Rejoicingly. Kings I uncrowned and crowned;

Avenge your wrongs; enforced your rights; unfurled

Your glory to earth's humilita. This, abroad.

At home, I brought you peace; by any means;

Peace, still. Proscriptions, confiscations, blood—

These were the means; on whom? and blood of whom?

On those who plundered ye, and first shed yours.  
Who perished? Romans—but the foes of Rome;  
What was her loss? Citizens?—rebels! Sons?  
Parricides!

JUL.—Friends, oh friends!

PRY.—Julius—for my sake—

Patience—fornbearance!

JUL.—Childless fathers, answer!

Fatherless sons! Iorn brothers, answer him!  
Rome's loss?—oh, let her women raise their voices!  
And Romans, tell him, too, Rome's loss is freedom!  
The freedom a perpetual dictator  
Hath in his life shut up, and which his life  
Alone may render!

*(At the commencement of Julius' speech, Sylla had beckoned Cethegus to his side—during it he has conferred with him; now he resumes, without having seemed to notice it.)*

SYL.—Thus, the means were desperate.

Who used them? Sylla? No. Your Sovereign.—

In person? No. In Rome's great Majesty.—

In personal anger? No. In her assertion.—

For his revenge? No—for her great salvation!

What father whose child's treason leaves him childless,

What sireless son whose father's treason shamed him,

What brother whose bad brother shamed their sire,

Will now stand up for such against his country?

If I do speak unto a Roman patriot

So circumstantial and conditional,

Let him stand forth and front—not punishment—

But the deep, broad, indelible disgrace

Of that avowal in this public forum—

Let him stand forth I say!

1st. TRIB.—How should we answer?

1st. CIZ.—Out of our own admissions he would judge us!

1st. TRIB.—Let no man speak!

SYL.—Your silence I do thus interpret, friends.

'Twere just to punish any, who, with cause

Of private suffering, the most peculiar,

Dares, in my sovereign person, touch the state—

Behold young Marius who hath so dared.

JUL.—Tyrant! *(Addressing Sylla.)*

PRY.—My Julius!

SYL.—Yet—

PRY.—Hush! Hear him on!

SYL.—Yet, as the offence, to Sylla, is, at once,

Public and personal, I do waive the right

Of judging him, referring it unto

The senate and the people.

PRY.—Hear you that?

JUL.—I do—in deepest wonder—if he mean it,

I am no longer Sylla's enemy.

SYL.—But more than my permission here is urgent.

JUL.—Hark—some deep subtlety which cheats us all

SYL.—For this you must be, once again, a people,

United to your senate, sovereign—

Without an absolute dictatorship,

Or any intervention from the presence

Of civil or of military force.

Wherefore, observe me. Lictors—yield your fasces!

Soldiers, lay down your arms!—and, all, draw off,

Or, here, as citizens, with your fellows mingle.

*(Lictors and soldiers obey him.)*

PRY.—Oh, joy, my Julius, joy!

JUL.—Let me observe him—

SYL.—This, the first step to leave your councils free,

Is the last act of my authority.

My servants powerless, myself I now

Command from power—Sylla, o'er Sylla still.

The only master. You have heard it said

That, in dictatorship perpetual,

I had shut up your freedom. Well. Attend,

My place I now do abdicate for ever;

My palm and purple I renounce for ever;  
 And, once again a simple citizen,  
 Unarmed, unsymbolled, thus advance to greet you.  
*(Takes off the golden palm and the purple cloak, and descends from the Rostrum.)*

PHRY.—Well, Julius? well!

JUL.—I am astounded—thrilled!

1ST TRIB.—Now, countrymen!

2ND TRIB.—Hush! hush! he would speak still.

SYL.—More. As Rome's magistrate, I have freely dealt

Upon the people—and the senate, too.

For *that*, yourselves have righteously admitted

I am not privately responsible.

Yet—lest my single judgment may have pushed

Authority beyond its sovereign limit—

Hear me. What I have done in Rome's great name,

I will account for in mine own. I ask

A trial from the people. I invite it.

Silent? I dare it!

JUL.—Oh, amazing courage!

Majestic boldness!

PHRY.—Terrible!

JUL.—But how grand!

God-despot! His sublimity hath conquered!

SYL.—I am not answered, friends. Would the coward dagger,

A course of virtuous justice intercept?

I have heard, I know not well how many thousands,

Of those whose kindred, but contaminate, blood

Flowed at their country's doom, pronounced by me,

Waited but time and opportunity.

The time is come—if ever to come; I yield

The opportunity. That, too, I dare.

My countrymen, about the forum, here,

I now shall walk. You see I am unarmed.

My life upon a blow. To plot and poignard

I oppose my genius only! Chæronæa,

Orchomenus, and the terror of my name!

Behold, I walk among ye.

Let that man

Who deems he has a private vengeance, take it! *(Walks to Julius.)*

Again, young Marius, strike!

JUL.—*Her breast, as soon!*

PHRY.—My father!

SYL.—Well? I cannot punish now.

PHRY.—My father! Take *this* hand.

*(Falls on Sylla's neck, holding by one of Julius' hands.)*

SYL.—Tush—tush—

Freely I may depart then? all unquestioned?

*(Re-addressing the people while Phryne still clings to him.)*

PHRY.—Father!

*(Endeavouring to join his hand with that of Julius.)*

SYL.—*(Grasping Julius' hand almost without regarding him.)*

Well, well? He is pardoned, is he not?

Or must I plead for him unto the people

And the grave senate? and—tush—sir, support her—

She is now more yours than mine—tho' I say not

More, in the heart—there—free me of your wife, sir—

My child—that was—

PHRY.—*(Embracing him.)* And is! Is, glorious father!

Say—*is!*

SYL.—*Is, then—Is, is—will that content you?*

Go to your husband.

PHRY.—Yes! When you call him so!

*(Embracing Julius.)*

SYL.—Freely I may depart? and all unquestioned?

Take my last word, tho'. Over all my battles,

Proscriptions, declamations, hear ye, Romans;

How I've served Rome. I found the old republic.

A shadow; scorned, insulted, braved; I leave it

A substance; feared, respected, trembled at—

A threat to foes—to rebels, terrible!

I found ye slaves! I leave ye free! By what

Inducement, ye do know, and will remember.

For myself, Romans, I give thanks for nought.

My own hand won me power. A sovereign crown

In the street-mire I found—thence caught it up,  
Cleansed, placed it on my brow—and was your master !  
Home, Phryne—~~he~~—does he walk homeward with you ?

PHRY.—He does !

JUL.—I do.

SYL.—For a great ambition it was little, then—

Now, to be less or greater, I renounce it.

Whether in public or private feeling—

In patriotism, humility, or scorn—

Yourselves, your generations, ages, times

May leisurely resolve. Farewell. Come, daughter— (*Takes her hand.*)

Julius, attend her at the other side.

Farewell ! The reign of Sylla hath not passed.

(*Exeunt Sylla, Julius, and Phryne ; Sylla's arm round Phryne ; curtain falls while all the rest gaze after him.*)

This tragedy, although completed in the year 1827, was not offered for representation until the spring of 1837, and was performed at the Theatre Royal, Hawkins' Street, Dublin, in the month of June, of the last named year. Of its cast, and reception, we shall write at the proper time.

Whilst laboring in the old track, with hopes bright and buoyant, amid pains and wants, he lived, but in the terrible battle against those ever recurring illnesses of which he so often writes, yet so seldom complains. And now, to his own woes, were added that weak and uncertain health which preyed upon his Ellen. "Repose," said the physician, "is necessary for both." But where was repose for the deep heart that knew no joy save that which sprang from honest, noble, mental work—what repose was for one whose support was wrung from energetic thought, from, as he wrote, "teazing the brain as wool-combers tease wool, to keep the fire in and the pot boiling." When they told him of repose, of rest, of change of air, and scene, and when he marked his own worn and haggard face, which Michael describes as "making him look fully forty though little more than twenty," how bitterly he must have applied to himself the lines of the *Prisoner of Chillon*,

"My limbs are bowed, though not with toil,  
But rusted by a vile repose,"—

for, be it remembered, whilst he could write, whilst *unthreatened* by his physician, he had few regrets ; but how sadly must he not have felt whilst writing the following letter to Michael :—

"London, February 3rd, 1827.

My dear Michael,

For the last week I have been projecting a visit to the southern coast with Ellen, for both our sakes, and under advice. In fact we both require good air, and every thing else calculated to give a new stock of health. Since my last I have suffered much in a relapse, and, though again relieved from absolute pain, remain exhausted and feeble."

This projected visit was not made, for with some few days of revived health came new projects, and now, as in latter years, Banim ever longed to escape the thought that his strength was broken.

In these times of which we write John Sterling was rising into that reputation so short-lived yet so brilliant, and of which Thomas Carlyle and the late Archdeacon Hare have given us such interesting memorials: young, witty, earnest and good-natured, Banim and Sterling were formed to love each other; and it is worthy of notice, that amongst all the portraits made of Sterling by his artist-friends, a little sketch by Banim is considered the most spirited and truthful. The regard of each for each was warm and open, and in the following letter to Michael we gather some knowledge of the sympathies by which they were mutually bound. One can fancy John Sterling joining in a debate at the famous Union on "the Catholic Question," and laughing more loudly than *Peter Plymley* at the arguments of the anti-emancipationists:—

"London, March 1st, 1827.

My dear Michael,

Soon after my last to you I got so well that instead of running down to Hastings as I had intended, I accompanied, on a visit to Cambridge, a young friend of mine, Mr. John Sterling, a talented member of the University. I was present at a debate on the Catholic Question at their Union. I give this piece of intelligence, apprehensive that you may be terrified at my silence. My excursion has agreed with me; I am now well, and so is Ellen.

The attentions shewn me at the Alma Mater of England, and the great interest they take in Ireland, were very gratifying, and joined to pure air and generous excitement, have made me a new man in point of spirit and nerve.

Write instantler to

Abel O'Hara."

Poor *Abel O'Hara*! Just six weeks after the writing of this buoyant-toned letter, bitter, bitter sorrows are upon his noble heart. The terrible tortures of his limbs have returned; painful remedies have been prescribed and endured, but with little effect. His wife is sick; his furniture has been taken in execution for debts incurred during his former and present illness; his pen is idle; his mother is ill, and yet he can,

amidst all his many cares, show gleamings of the ever living love of literature, can urge Michael to renewed exertion, and, most beautiful trait of all, he rejoices that in the new edition of *The Nowlans*, the too highly colored scenes of ardent passion are altered and amended. The letter is as follows:—

*“ London, April 13th, 1827.*

My dear Michael,

After all my resolutions, I have not been able to leave London hitherto, and I know you will be sorry to hear the cause. Continued attacks of my old complaint in the limbs, producing almost the command of my medical advisers, not to go to the country till I had fully tried the effects of galvanic operations: these are now ended with, I hope, some good result, and our seats taken to Hastings for tomorrow morning.

I believe I before told you, that I have not been allowed to exert myself since the commencement of this attack. Now I have to inform you (God be praised) that to the present day I have remained almost idle; so that every thing connected with our future prospects depends on you—that is, if you have not a new series of tales, ready to be transcribed by me against the 1st of July, we must be out of the market.

After the loss of my furniture in Sloane-street, my idleness ever since, and the joint expenses of Ellen's medical men and mine and apothecaries which is immense, to say nothing of living meantime my banker's account must be materially influenced. In fact, if I had a bit of despondency in me, this heavy visitation of sickness, with its consequences, would make me hang my head. But be assured, I still keep a stout heart, and a hope, not without reason, in the future.

In the second edition of the second series of our tales, just out, I have corrected some of the more glaring improprieties of the first. Again, as to your contemplated three volumes, you have been turning the matter long enough in your mind to be able to go to work, and you must not conclude that every thing which displeases you is bad, or vice versa is so. No man EVER fully completed his own original thought.

Need I say how grieved I was to hear of my mother's attack. This weather will make her better; at all events if I did not sympathise with her in spirit, I did in body; that is not much comfort to either of us.”

To an appeal so touching, so pathetic as this, Michael Banim could not be insensible. “From time to time,” he writes to

us, "during the year 1826, and in the first months of 1827, I directed all my leisure hours to the composition of a three volume novel, and the result of my labors was the Third Series of *Tales By The O'Hara Family*—the novel known as *The Croppy*. This, like my former tale, passed through my brother's hands previous to publication." It was almost completed when the last melancholy letter reached Michael; the manuscript was forthwith dispatched to London, and from Eastbourne, whither after the date of his last letter, he had removed, John addressed the following letter to his brother;—

"45 Sea Houses, Eastbourne, June 20th, 1827.

My dear Michael,

When last I wrote, I told you I proposed being in town the 1st of June. and asked you to send your manuscripts to Colburn. Accordingly on the first of June I was in town, and I got the manuscripts the second; such it is worthy of remark are the blessings of punctuality, such the agreeable effect of two people being able to rely on each other in their arrangements.

Days, after my return to Eastbourne, were exclusively devoted to a careful perusal, or rather to careful perusals of your tale. Your anticipations of failure, though they did not convince, put me on my guard against deciding too partially, and precisely, as I felt, I now candidly assure you, that I think you need not apprehend failure in this your trial."

The opinion here expressed of *The Croppy* was fully supported by the opinion of the public—it was, and most justly, considered fully equal in merit to any of the fictions written by *The O'Hara Family*.

Rendered somewhat easy in mind by the assurance that the reputation of *The O'Hara Family* was secured for the present, Banim's satisfaction was increased at the same period by the birth of a daughter. He thus announced the event to his mother:—

"Eastbourne, Sussex, July 22nd, 1827.

My Dearest Mother,

I have to inform you that on Friday night last you became grandmother to a big daughter—who gives such proof of lungs, as to disturb the whole village. Amongst the multitude of women now congregated about me, I go for very little indeed, in fact I seem of no importance whatever in their eyes."



Banim had been long anxious that Michael should visit him, and now he urged the matter specially, and claimed the visit as one due to him in honor of his child, and as a welcome to her. Referring to this period Michael writes to us thus:—

"In fulfilment of a year old promise, I joined the father and mother of the 'big daughter,' in the August of 1827, at the sea-side village of Eastbourne, in Sussex.—When I visited him in 1825, I had observed a sad change in his appearance: he now looked as if twenty years had elapsed since we met. He was stooped: his face (all except the eye) was that of an elderly man, and even with the aid of a stick, he could not walk one hundred yards at a stretch. Notwithstanding, I found him still hearty and joyous, and hoping against all probability for recovery. Of course I did not act so unfeelingly as to undeceive him by giving my own conviction. He removed from Eastbourne to Seven Oaks in Kent, when the winter approached and the sea breeze began too frequently to roar and lash the waters; his health seemed to improve with the change of weather.

I remained as his guest from August to November, and during this time, I put the last volume of 'The Croppy.' out of my hands, reading for him every evening, the result of the day's work, and adopting his suggestions as I went on.

I read in MS. at the same time, the rough copy of a tale, which he had put together between whiles and in the lapses between his attacks of pain. This was done without the knowledge of the doctors. He could not submit to the sentence of positive idleness: the tale I allude to was published the year following under the title of 'The Anglo-Irish.' It was of a different character from the 'O'Hara Tales,' and was not announced as proceeding from the same authors.

I cannot say how the 'Anglo-Irish' was received—I believe indifferently. The full power of the writer's mind was not brought to bear on it; unhappily there was a physical inability to strain the brain to its tension at the time it was written."

The reader will remember that a coldness, arising from misconception, had estranged Gerald Griffin and Banim, in the year 1826, and all correspondence between them had ceased. However, in October, 1827, the following letters were written:—

*"Gerald Griffin to John Banim.*

24 Northumberland Street, Regent's Park.

October 19th, 1827.

MY DEAR SIR.—I have been endeavouring to find you in vain, since my return to London. I enquired at Mount Street, at Mr Colburn's, and from Mr. Arnold, but could only learn that you were then at Hastings. In case I should not be able to see you before I leave London, I wish to communicate in writing what could be done with more satisfaction in person.

Had I had the pleasure of seeing you before I left England, this letter might be unnecessary, and I am very sorry now that I did not. I wish to explain to you more fully, the cause of the long silence which we both seemed to expect should be first broken by the other, and the fault of which I am ready to acknowledge, rested with myself. The fact was, I felt hurt by your letter, in which you charged me with wanting a sense of the advantage I had derived from your kindness, (which charge recollecting the temper of my previous letter, I fear you were not without grounds for,) and acting on that feeling, I wrote again, what I at the time thought ought to be a satisfactory answer. I expected a few words to say whether it had been so or not, but they never came, and thence that absence which you say astonished you. It was an error I acknowledge, but yet not wholly without excuse. I never entered your house without reluctance, even when you were most warm and kind; excuse me if I could not do so when you seemed to wear an altered face. That, and that alone, was the cause of my absence.

For the rest I have only to say, I owe you much, and I thank you. If it has seemed otherwise to you, believe my present assurance. It must have seemed otherwise, or you would not have left my letter unanswered. Be a good christian—forget and forgive.

I hope to leave a parcel directed for you at Mr. Colburn's, of which I request your acceptance, begging at the same time that you will keep my secret, as it is not my concern alone. I take also this opportunity of assuring you of the sincere delight with which I heard of an event in your family, which must have been a source of much happiness to you.

I have another favour to beg of you, which I am sure you will not hesitate to grant me. It is, that you will expunge from the play which you presented for me, the passage in the scene between the Irishman and the hero, comprising the few sentences just before 'she talks philosophy.' You may laugh at my introducing this matter, but I am unwilling to trouble Mr. Arnold myself, and the passage may be objectionable. Once more wishing you all the health, happiness and peace which you can desire or deserve, I am, with sincere esteem and gratitude.

Yours,

GERALD GRIFFIN.

My words have so often failed to convey what I intended that I am not without apprehension, lest by any possibility I should again be misconceived. I wish therefore to say once more distinctly—and to entreat you to understand and believe it—that the only feeling at

present on my mind, is that of sincere regret for what has passed, and anxiety that you should be satisfied of it. Either in vanity or in folly, or in whatever you please, I thought I filled *too humble a part* in the whole transaction, and this made me fretted with myself, and forward to anticipate a slight, where I am certain on proper reflection none was intended. It was not what you deserved, but it was my mistake; your not answering my letter confirmed me in this bad feeling, which, as I have learned to correct, I hope you will no more remember.

G. G.

To this letter, Mr. Banim at last sent the following reply, which led to the subjoined correspondence, ending in a perfect renewal of their former intimacy and good understanding.

*John Banim to Gerald Griffin.*

Bath Hotel, Piccadilly, Nov. 1827.

MY DEAR SIR.—You mistake in thinking that I have ever had the most remote notion of a misunderstanding with you. The last letter we interchanged on the subject of your drama, a year and a half ago, seemed to me quite satisfactory. When you were leaving town about six months after, your note suggesting that some peculiarity, (or a word to that effect, or perhaps stronger) of your own mind must have caused your previous doubts, I recognised as a most ample, tho' unnecessary explanation. I became assured you were content, as I was, with our renewed good understanding, and sincerely in this feeling, I desired in a letter I wrote to Limerick to your cousin last April, to be kindly remembered to you. I do not know how I shall make further answer to your letter of the 19th October, received by me only two days since; one sentence alone—viz., 'I never entered your house without reluctance, even when you were most warm and kind,'—sounds somewhat strangely to my ear, because, during our years of close intimacy, when your visits were always welcome to me, I had never supposed such to be the case. I have written to Mr. Arnold, to the effect you wished.

The parcel you do me the favour to procure me, has not appeared at Mr. Colburn's. I am, my dear Sir, Yours very truly,

JOHN BANIM.

*Gerald Griffin to John Banim.*

No date.

MY DEAR SIR.—When I received your last letter (late on Nov 6th,) I hurried off to the Bath Hotel, in the hope of being able to see you, but was much disappointed at finding you had left it that morning. I am pleased to learn my mistake, but I was led into it by your letter of last January, and—allow me to say—your long silence after my former note on leaving London. Your remembrance I never received.

You will oblige me by accepting these volumes, which though faulty enough, may yet answer the purpose for which I send them. I leave London to-morrow morning, and regret much that all my efforts should have failed in endeavouring to see you, the more especially as I do not purpose returning for some considerable time.

The feeling which renders one reluctant in trespassing on the kindness of a good friend, I can scarcely think so new or strange as you seem to imagine. I should be very sorry it was so; but I ought to remember a conversation on this subject which shewed me that your opinions on this matter were different from those of

My dear Sir,  
yours sincerely,  
GERALD GRIFFIN.

For 'reluctance' read 'diffidence,' and perhaps we may agree.

*John Banim to Gerald Griffin.*

Seven Oaks, Kent.

April 17th, 1828.

MY DEAR SIR.—Not till the other day, when I ran up to town, did I receive at Mr. Colburn's the 'Tales of the Munster Festivals,' with the accompanying note. How long they had previously lain there I cannot tell, nor has a reference to your note enabled me to decide as it is without date; but I feel very uneasy under the apprehension that you may have sent them about the time of publication, because if you reckoned on their speedy transmission to me, your not hearing from me in the meantime, must have seemed to place me before your eyes in a light very different indeed from that in which I sincerely wish, as I ever have done, to be regarded by you.

My best thanks for the volumes. I have read them with the highest gratification, and warmly congratulate you on the talents they display, as well as the success they have met with. That you thus at last triumph in a great degree, as I hope, over the neglects and annoyances of your first residence in London, is to me a matter of some triumph also, to say nothing of the pleasure it affords me, because in common with all who were known to you, I claim the foresight of having long destined you to no common fortune in the battle for literary fame. Accept my very best wishes for your continued and augmented success.

I am very sorry you did not see me at the Bath Hotel last autumn, or that I did not soon after get something like the note that accompanied your tales. The simple explanation of one simple word given in the postscript of that note, would have saved me ever since the exceedingly painful feeling of thinking you unkind; but I now heartily rejoice at being undeceived, and the hand that you hold out, I take, aye, and shake, exploded as is the custom, not only with an unalloyed feeling of, believe me, warm esteem and friendship, but with a lightened bosom, and a mind more at rest, than the idea of our estrangement would allow me to experience.

I hope you will drop me a line very soon. I shall be very uneasy till I know you have got this. Accept my most grateful thanks for the handsome terms in which my tales are mentioned in certain printed pages. Mrs. Banim joins me in kindest remembrances and good wishes, while I remain,

My dear Sir  
yours truly and affectionately

JOHN BANIM."

\* See "Life of Gerald Griffin Esq., By his Brother," p. 231.

As we shall presently find, this revived friendship was a source of deep satisfaction, and the following letter increased this pleasure: how much it increased it, the reader can judge who has marked the deep devotional spirit so frequently apparent in Banim's letters. Upon his first acquaintance with Griffin he had found him embittered by sorrow and neglect, and almost hopeless; he had begun to doubt these divine truths of which he had seldom thought, and, longing to escape from life and sorrow, tried to fancy himself,

"A vapour eddying in the whirl of chance,  
And soon to vanish everlastingly."

He was never a sceptic in the full meaning of the term, but he exemplified a grave truth of Charles Lamb's—"Few men think, until forty, that they are mortal;" and this was the secret of Gerald's errors, from which the following letter declares his release:—

"Pallas Kenry, Ireland, April 22nd, 1828.

MY DEAR SIR.—I had the happiness to receive late last night your most acceptable and friendly letter, for which I return you my warmest thanks. It was a pleasure indeed, which I had almost despaired of enjoying, but it was not on that account the less delightful. It made amends, and ample amends to me, for a great deal of bitter reflection—such as I shall be careful never to give occasion for while I live—and it afforded me likewise the satisfaction of feeling that I had not overrated the generosity of your character. Whatever faults had been committed—whatever misconceptions had arisen, I was confident that when I had endeavoured to explain the one, and freely acknowledged the other, you would not continue to withhold from me that friendship which was one of the most valued consolations of my life—and the loss of which I could never have considered in any other light than as a deep misfortune.

The books I sent to Mr. Colburn's when I was leaving England, a few days after their publication. Knowing however, that you were not then residing in London, I could not be sure that you had received them before I got your letter. I do not know whether I mentioned to you in the note that accompanied the volumes that I had immediately on receiving your letter (about ten at night) ran down to Piccadilly in the hope of seeing you—but to my great disappointment, I found that you had that day left the hotel. I regretted the circumstance extremely—as I was assured that a personal interview would have done more to accomplish a clear understanding between us, than any written explanation.

And now my dear friend, that we do fully understand one another; now that you do so kindly and unreservedly admit me into your friendship—a happiness of which I am prouder than I can easily express—will you permit me to offer one suggestion that may prevent

a recurrence of those unhappy mistakes by which I have suffered so keenly. I am often I see unfortunate in the choice of my expressions. I seem frequently to mean that which is farthest from intention, and to convey subject for offence, in terms that are only designed to express esteem and attachment. Let us not therefore in a world where we can hardly afford to throw away any rational enjoyment, suffer the sentiments which we may entertain for one another, to be disturbed by any misconceptions to which a letter may give occasion. If a sentence should occur to furnish a subject for doubt, let us meet and speak clearly; and then, if either should be found unworthy of the other's confidence, let him be punished by losing it.

I have seen during the last few weeks an announcement of a new work, from the author of the *O'Hara Tales*.—‘*The Croppy*,’ the action of which is fixed at a period of strong interest—a period worthy of being celebrated by a writer, who is not afraid to encounter a stern and tumultuous subject. I am not familiar with the history of those times, but I remember hearing (indeed it must be known to you) of the burning of a barn—in Wexford I think—which would have supplied the subject of a forcible episode. But you felt no want of materials for such a work, neither did this circumstance, now I remember, reflect much honour on the insurgents.

I have to return you my sincere thanks for the kind manner in which you speak of my hasty volumes. I have been long since made aware of their numerous faults, and am endeavouring, as all well disposed people ought, to profit by experience. But though I am sensible that I should have acted more wisely by delaying their publication and devoting more time to their improvement, yet I do not regret having put them forward, even if they should procure me no other advantage than that of recovering an old and valued friend. I remember your speaking to me on one occasion, of a work which is greatly wanted at the present moment—a *History of Ireland*. I should be sorry to think that you had wholly relinquished the idea. It is a subject however, which affords a fairer field for the pursuit of fame than that of fortune, and on that account is little likely to be popular with writers who are able to accomplish both. I have seen one lately announced—from the pen of some Colonel I believe.

Were we now to meet, you would I dare say, find a considerable alteration in many of my opinions. One I do not think it right to withhold from you. You may remember some conversations we had at a time when you lent me a little edition of ‘*Paley's Evidences*. The sentiments which you then expressed surprised me a little, when I remembered some former remarks of yours with which they contrasted very strongly. This circumstance joined with others, led me to a course of study and reflection, which with (I hope) the Divine assistance, ended in the complete re-establishment of my early convictions. The works which I read were (after *Paley's* *Milner's* ‘*End of Controversy*,’ and *Massillon's* sermons, both very able works. I mention my change of opinion on this great subject, because it is a slight part of the great reparation that is due from me, and I mention the occasion of that change, to show how much good or how much evil a person may do by the expression of his opinions in the presence of others, and how very careful he ought to be in assuring

himself that his opinions are correct, before he ventures to communicate them to those with whom his talents and his reputation may give him an influence. An author, my dear friend, has a fearful card to play in domestic society as well as before the public. But why should I take the liberty of pursuing such a theme as this so far? Forgive me for it this single time, as I was tempted only by a deep anxiety for your happiness. I thought too, that the circumstance above mentioned, would give you a pleasure.

If your brother should not be at present in England with you, will you do me the kindness to present him my best remembrances when next you write. One of those 'fair occasions gone for ever by,'—yet no, not for ever, I hope—which I regret to have lost during my residence in London, is the opportunity I had of becoming better acquainted with him. I had something more to say, but my paper fails me. Is our correspondence to terminate here? I anticipate a speedy and generous 'No,'—for though your time be precious, yet you would not hesitate to devote a few moments to one secluded as I am here, if you knew the happiness that it would afford me. Present my best remembrances to Mrs. Banim, whose health I hope most sincerely is improved, and with the warmest esteem and affection, believe me to be,

My dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

GERALD GRIFFIN.\*

To this letter Banim thus replied :—

"Seven Oaks, May 27th, 1828.

MY DEAR GRIFFIN.—You see I lead the way.—Be assured that your last of April 22nd, gives me heart felt pleasure. My old harp of a heart has a string restored to it. I accept your invitation not to allow anything that may occur in letters between us to start a doubt in future of your friendship or character. Let me add my own covenant. When we meet, treat me more bluntly, off-handedly, and talkatively than you have done. I now am sure that an unlucky diffidence hitherto regulated (or rather disarranged) your social manner. However, I shall be happier with you, if amongst your other recent changes, you have acquired a knack of treating a friend differently, and I close this topic by protesting against your supposing that I here mean an iota which does not broadly meet your eyes.

Your religious revolutions in opinion I shall not merely congratulate you upon; I do more by sympathizing with them; yes, I fear when we first met, and for some time after, that my own religious creed was vague and profane, and I sincerely ask your pardon for any word of mine which may have tended to set you astray. But it is so remarkable that Paley should have been the first to call us back to the right path. And perhaps more remarkable still, that, although mixing up abuse of Popery with proofs of Christianity, he should have helped to make us Catholics, as well as believers in revelation.

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\* See "Life of Gerald Griffin, Esq., By his Brother," p. 238.

I envy you your life in poor Ireland. My health has been bad since I saw you. I nearly lost the use of my limbs, but can now limp about on a stick.

I write you a short and hasty letter. Till this day, since I had the great pleasure of receiving your last, I have been very busy and ill enough into the bargain, and this morning I start with Mrs. Banim, to make a long-promised visit to the Rev. James Dunn (a man I wish you knew, the same whom Sheil some time ago speeched praises of) and his lady to Tunbridge Wells, but will not go till I answer your letter, and this accounts I hope for the kind of one it is. Pray write soon, and believe me, your affectionate friend,

JOHN BANIM."

Not alone to Griffin did Banim thus express his satisfaction. Addressing Michael a few days after the date of the last to his friend, he writes:—

"Another thing puts me into the best of humour—I have recovered a friend. You by this time know my doctrine—that except the loss of health, or the loss of a friend, there is nothing in the world worth fretting for. Poor Gerald Griffin. In answer to ours from the Bath Hotel before we left London, he ran down there. We were gone. Then he sent his books with a letter, I got both only lately. His note was all I could wish. I immediately answered him as I ought, recollecting all his former sufferings and inexperience. This morning I have received from him a manly, delightful letter. He tells me, among other things, that some talk of mine with him has made him, or rather re-established him, a Christian and a Roman Catholic, for I found him a sceptic. You may be sure this does my poor head good."

By the address of the letter last written to Gerald Griffin, it appears that Banim had changed his residence from Eastbourne to Seven Oaks, and he thus wrote to Michael, describing his condition. The reference here to his wife and child, his,

"May in her crown of flowers"—

is characteristic; as the reader will hereafter perceive "sun-shine, and a garden not overlooked," were necessary to his perfect enjoyment of the country. We have no more beautiful and manly letter in all these of Banim's now before us, than the following—which seems imbued by that charming spirit expressed by Tennyson—

"All the land in flowery squares,  
Beneath a broad and equal-blowing wind,

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\* See "Life of Gerald Griffin, Esq., By his Brother," p. 241.



Smelt of the coming summer, as one large cloud  
Drew downward: but all else of Heaven was pure  
Up to the sun, and May from verge to verge,  
And May with me from head to heel."

The letter is as follows:—

"Seven Oaks, June 13th, 1828.

My dear Michael,

But come—my heart is lighter certainly: when I wrote last, I was very ill, shattered to pieces, and the clouds lying down on the roads and fields around me. But I am now better; my spirits capital, my self-dependence—(thanks to God Almighty for his gracious protection and help) little abated, several goodly patches of corn in the land, by dint of contributions to the annuals. Ellen running about in our sunny garden, and little Mary shouting to her and to the joy-bells, this beautiful summer day. In fact there is a delightful sense of existence—and of gratitude to the Giver of it, and of the humble, no the great blessings he vouchsafes with it, in all our hearts."

In a former part of the Biography we inserted a letter written to Michael Banim by John, and containing, in our opinion, the most admirable rules for the construction and composition of a perfect novel. The following letter is, if possible, more useful to the young novelist, and if read in connection with that before inserted will prove in the highest degree interesting: indeed the out-line tale here sketched is, in itself, a highly-wrought incident, and coupled with the recollections of the fireside stories told by his mother of her relatives, reminds one of the home-pictures in Robert Southey's *Recollections of his Early Life*.\*

This letter has also a peculiar interest, as from the hints, and directions contained in it, Michael Banim was induced to write his well known tale, *The Ghost Hunter and His Family*:—

"Seven Oaks, November 10th, 1828.

My dear Michael,

No matter from what class of life you take your future materials, seek as much as possible for the good and amiable in our national character and habits; as well as for the strong, the fierce, and I will say the ungovernable. How

\* See "The Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey," Edited by his Son, The Rev. C. C. Southey. Vol I. p. 1.

very valuable, for instance, would be a simple dramatic tale, got through by old Daniel Carroll, his wife, his sons and his two daughters. Here no necessity exists to rake your memory for the great object, *character*. Every one of these I have mentioned, must, from your mother's description of them, live for you. Old Daniel Carroll her father, with his grotesque sun-dials, his fork pendulums—his crude system of philosophy; and his reading, during long evenings, Don Quixote and such books, although so thoroughly pious. Then his wife Betty, you recollect her defence when reprehended for some out of the way expression by her husband. Questioned by him where she had heard the malediction uttered by her. She paused and taxed her memory, and then affirmed, she could have heard it no where, except it issued from the sinful books, he was in the habit of reading. Betty's character is richly primitive. Then there is the son Philip's wild irregular one. The younger Daniel's, petty, selfish, cunning. Alley's retaining her anxiety to be thought very devout, not hiding her candle under a bushel meanwhile—then the eldest daughter, our own dear mother, such as she was in her maidenhood. Her industry, her thrift, her mildness—her mother-wit and natural good sense. Her lovers, her starling, her canniness. My dear Michael, if health permitted, I could use these people, and bring their real and unimagined qualities into play, with credit to the Irish character, all papist as it is, sweetly, primitively, and amiably.

I remember, too, an old story of our mother's, of a gaunt stone-cutter, killing a slight delicate young man in a fight, brought on by a quarrel in a church-yard about the right of interment in a certain spot; you must recollect the occurrence, as it was described to us one cold evening as we sat close together round the fire. There was a man once in affluence, who had been a tithe proctor, if I remember rightly. After having spent a long life in acts of petty tyranny, the ban fell upon his hoard, to this day supposed to be inevitable. You and I have often heard that ban pronounced—"A proctor's money never can have luck"—so it fell out with this man, he became very poor, there was no sympathy for him, and he committed suicide—an act, in those days, of rare occurrence; he died too unrepentant and unshriven. No one can be got to inter the body; nor will any of those, whose 'people's bones' rest in consecrated ground,

permit the corpse of the hardened self-murderer to rest in contact with the relics of their kindred. The coffin is laid on the public street, none will tolerate it near their dwellings, and it is cruelly dragged along the pavement from place to place, and finally brought back to the door of the house wherein the act of suicide had been committed. A compassionate young man enlists three of his associates, they take off the outcast remains and bear it to a neighbouring grave yard. It is night, and by the light of a single candle, fixed in a lump of church-yard clay, and resting on a tomb-stone, the three young men are hastily digging a receptacle for the begrimed coffin that lies near them. A giant stone-cutter surprises them at their stealthy work. His father's remains are buried close to the spot where they are delving, and he sternly interdicts further progress. The charitable young man who had induced the others to assist him, opposes the mandate; he and the stone-cutter contend fiercely over the graves, the stone-cutter is a strong and powerful man, the other is young and slight; he is struck down by his opponent and blood gushes from his mouth; recovered a little, he assists to inter the suicide else-where. He has been hurt internally, and when he reaches home he is obliged to keep his bed; then the sequel of our mother's tale. Sarah, the proctor's daughter, had been, during the days of her father's prosperity, carefully brought up, and educated for a rank beyond that she could now pretend to in her poverty. While yet lamenting over the appalling termination of her parent's life, she was compelled to witness the cruel indignity practised towards his corpse; and her gratitude was overflowing to him who had charitably borne it away and placed it beneath the clay. She visited him in his illness, and nursed him to convalescence, she taught him to love her, and she married him. But consumption had fastened on the young man and his days were numbered. His young wife imbibed the fatal malady from him, they wasted away together day by day, she was the first to die, and he followed her very quietly to the same grave."

Referring to this letter, Michael Banim writes to us thus:—

"From the first of the hints given in this letter by my brother, the tale of *The Ghost Hunter* and his Family had origin—the personages, he indicates, had been more than once graphically drawn for us by our mother. They were her own immediate parents, her brothers and sister. They, as well as

herself, are faithfully depicted in the tale under the above title. The Ghost Hunter and His Family was originally written by me, framed by my brother, and published in 1833, in The Library of Romance, edited by Leitch Richie. No use was made of the second sketch. I did not like the subject. I left it in the suggester's hands, but he never wrought upon it."

In the autumn of 1828, Banim commenced to write a new series of *The Tales By the O'Hara Family*—the title adopted by him for the work was, *The Denounced*.

It was written amidst pain; and the dread of still greater suffering. He left his cottage at Seven Oaks, and removed for change of air, to Black Heath; and from his new residence, he thus, in 1829, wrote sorrowingly to Michael:—

"Black Heath, April 3rd, 1829.

My dear Michael,

I have been obliged to remove hither. Seven Oaks was too far from London for business, and I longed for change of air. For the last five months scarcely three weeks' work in me, and in consequence, my tale has flagged. Had it been God's will to give me health, it would have been ready before now."

The volumes passed, as usual through Michael's hands, and appeared in July, 1829, and are not worthy the author of *The Nowlans*. One does not, however, wonder that the tales are below the standard of Banim's reputation, when we recollect that they were put together hurriedly; while sickness was a frequent visitant, while the working mental power was available only at frequent and desultory intervals, and while compulsive inactivity, and the inevitable heavy outlay consequent on illness, together with the constant change of residence, in search of the health, that was not to return, were at the same time causing a necessity for funds, and an incapacity to create them.

After the completion of the work, Banim's health became more feeble, and in change of air and scene lay his only hope of restoration. On the 20th of August, 1829, he wrote thus, from Black Heath, to Michael:—

"My dear Michael,

We shall be obliged to remove farther from you; I am ordered to the French coast—to a milder climate, and where constant baths can be had at a cheap rate—these I am advised to use freely. I must shift my place when there is a necessity. Any

where in pursuit of health, for without that precious blessing—I need not conclude the sentence.”

This resolution of removing to France was forthwith carried out, and in the Sixth Part of John Banim's Biography, the reader shall know the history of very bright and very gloomy days passed by Banim in his pursuit of Health, and all her “rosy blessings”—blessings never found, yet ever longed for, even amidst pains and griefs, until at length even hope died, and then he was, like Schiller, “Better and better, calmer and calmer.”

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Before closing this paper we desire to inform all our readers, who admire the character and genius of John Banim, that during the past quarter we visited the burial place of this noble-hearted Irishman, and that we with difficulty discovered it. He is buried in the grave-yard of the Roman Catholic Chapel of St. John, Kilkenny, where also are interred Dr. Burgo, the ecclesiastical historian and the Rev. Mr. O'Donnell, the *Father Connell* who gave the title to Banim's last novel.

When Banim was dying he said to Michael—“I have only one request now, lay me so that I may be nearest to my mother—with my left side next her.” And so they buried him more than twelve years ago, and so for twelve years and some months he has lain without stone or monument to mark his grave. Thomas Flood died in 1845,—he has a public monument : Moir, *Blackwood's Delta*, died in 1851,—he has a public monument. Have these examples of public gratitude no teaching for Irishmen ? is the only memorial of John Banim to be a bust, quite unlike him, in the Tholsel of Kilkenny ?—must Michael Banim drag, from his own small funds, the money to purchase a tomb-stone for JOHN BANIM'S GRAVE ? We sincerely hope that such may not be the case, and, to avert it, we beg the aid of the Irish Newspaper Press, particularly of the Kilkenny, Carlow, Waterford, and Tipperary Journals.

### ART. III.—MECHANICS' INSTITUTES.

1. *Lectures and Addresses in aid of Popular Education.* By The Right Honourable the Earl of Carlisle. London: Longman and Co. 1854.
2. *Speeches on National Education.* By The Right Honourable Lord Brougham, in the House of Lords, July and August, 1854. London: Ridgway. 1854.
3. *Lectures on Education, delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain.* London: Parker. 1855.
4. *Importance of Literature to Men of Business.* Glasgow: Griffin & Son. 1854.
5. *Annual Report of the Committee of the Clonmel Mechanics' Institute.* Clonmel. 1855.

In the paper appearing in the foregoing number of this REVIEW, entitled "Adult Education," our readers will remember that we endeavoured to show of what vast importance properly organized Evening Schools would be to the laboring classes. We also showed, that in proportion to the importance of these schools, is the difficulty in establishing them and of securing to them a considerable attendance. This, we stated, is made manifest in Dublin by the very few schools of this character at present in operation. Having offered every suggestion in our power on the management of these schools, we have done our duty as far as it came within our province. We can only hope, that for the common interests of society, these, or some other suggestions calculated to promote the intellectual and social improvement of the working classes may be adopted, for we should remember

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"The mind untaught  
Is a dark waste where fiends and tempests howl;  
As Phœbus to the world, is knowledge to the soul."

Before entering on the immediate subject of the present paper, we would ask our readers to bear with us while we examine the classes of adults and boys generally to be found attending the Evening Schools. Our object in this, is to ascertain if these schools are sufficient in themselves to supply the kind of education sought for by the more advanced members of the working classes; for, if so, we cannot

see the utility of advocating the establishing of Mechanics' Institutes, which may be considered Adult Schools on a larger scale.

Now by enquiring what class of pupils attends Public Evening Schools, and the course of education taught in these schools, we shall find a large proportion consists of those, whose education has been sadly if not wholly neglected in youth, and who are, consequently, learning the mere rudiments of knowledge; while a small, a very small proportion indeed, is engaged upon the higher branches. It is clear therefore that, under such circumstances, the course of education in these schools can be little more than elementary.

Again, we also know that the Teacher's time must be more or less engaged by the majority of his Pupils, and the majority in the present case consists of those pupils scarcely able to read and write. It is manifest then the minority is neglected, which therefore quits the school, and be it remembered, this minority forms the intellectual portion of the school. They see that they are neglected, they know that the Teacher of an Evening School cannot devote his time to a few and neglect the many. The consequence is, that advanced pupils are scarcely ever to be found attending Evening Schools, and no matter what their anxiety and solicitude may be to perfect themselves in knowledge, there is no opportunity afforded them to do so in these Institutes. It will appear here from what we have stated, that Evening Schools as they are at present conducted in Dublin, are not schools where those who have passed through our primary National Schools may pursue their studies, and in so doing acquire a knowledge of those subjects which their pursuits in life may require. The demand for a higher class of schools or institutes is increasing daily, and will continue to do so till it becomes irresistible. Further, it is our belief, that no matter how efficiently Evening Schools be conducted, they will not be attended by that class of adults whose object is to advance themselves above the mere working man. We may look on these schools as preparatory, and we have little doubt, if properly managed, would become so many feeders to Mechanics' Institutes of a like class. When we write that these schools are merely preparatory, and the course taught in them purely elementary, we do not assume that teachers in these schools possess only the literary acquirements necessary to impart instruction in the rudiments of knowledge; how

ridiculous would it not be to teach Algebra or Astronomy to a pupil to whom Arithmetic and Geography are only known by name. The advanced branches not being taught argues in no way against the qualifications of the Teachers ; as well might it be said that a man cannot speak French because he happens to speak English. Those acquainted with Evening Schools and the class of pupils attending must know that mere elementary instruction is all that can be expected to be given in them, since the teachings must always be adapted to the capacity of the pupil, yet by this class of instruction much good can be effected, among the poor creatures simple as it be, and could Evening Schools succeed in only doing this, there is no doubt that they would effect the object for which they were intende—to impart education to those who have been debarred its blessings in early youth.

A large majority indeed of the working classes of our city consists of those either wholly illiterate, or those, as has been already hinted, whose education has been sadly neglected : but, from the very nature of things, this majority, we are happy to state, must necessarily continue to diminish, and institutes of a higher order will appear, and the working classes attain a more exalted rank in the social scale than they at present occupy.

We have now shown the portion of the working classes attending Evening Schools, their capacity to receive instruction, and the course of instruction that must necessarily be taught in these schools. We have also endeavoured to prove that these schools cannot be substituted for Mechanics Institutes. We would next direct the attention of our readers to the more advanced and intellectual class of the Working multitude, and we feel happy to be able to declare, that this class is by no means inconsiderable.—This is the class that is debarred the means of pursuing their studies in the more advanced branches of knowledge, which are entered upon in our primary schools, and hence we find that some of the brightest and most promising of our youths when at school, allow their minds to slumber, and so wax into indifference until at last the bright future which lay before them is darkened and dispelled by their want of progress ; they become reckless—the prospect of toil and sorrow takes the place of the happy manhood, which they have painted for themselves ; want of mental occupation drives them to the ale-house, and thus they are early



made the victims of the many vices that beset the path of young men at their first outset in life.

For the future education of this class, Mechanics' Institutes are required as we have already stated: no matter how efficiently an Evening School may be conducted, they will not attend, knowing as they do, that the course of instruction is merely elementary.—In fact, they would look upon a properly managed Mechanics' Institute in the same light, as a youth in our private schools look upon a University.—The very fact of being a member of such an Institute, would have a mighty influence upon them, and especially if they know it is presided over by those free from sectarian bigotry, and whose only object is to raise their moral and intellectual character.—We agree with the Rev. Dr. Hook, vicar of Leeds, who wisely says:—

“In short, we want for the working classes institutions similar to those which the more opulent, when they quit school, find prepared for them in our Universities. It is astonishing how soon the mind runs to seed, and how quickly, when the waters cease to rise, the well becomes hard and dry. I make no doubt but that there are many who have felt mortification, as I have done, at finding, after the lapse of ten or fifteen years, how some of those children who were at one time the ornament of our schools, have, for want of continued mental cultivation, become as void of intelligence as their worst educated associates. If it is worth while to give an education, it is worth while to take care that the education given is not thrown away. If it is our duty to instruct the children of the working classes, it is equally our duty to afford to adults the means of reaping the advantages of our past labour and youthful industry. The truth of this has been perceived, and attempts have been made to fill up the void of which the complaint is not unfrequent, but the attempt has not been made on a scale commensurate to the requirements of the case. Or if the institutions for adult education at present in existence, be sufficient in number and magnitude for the present wants of the people, the quality of the education provided is lamentably deficient, and the deficiency becomes daily more apparent as the quality of education in our primary schools under trained and certificated masters becomes more effective. To meet the requirements of the case the Mechanics' Institutes were first in the field.—This honor they may claim, and it should willingly be assigned to them.”\*

To prove the correctness of what is just stated, let us take, for example, a boy who has graduated from class to class in any Public School, say for instance the Model National School of Marlborough-street, till he has reached the highest class, and not

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\* “Meliora” 1st Series, p. 25.

only that, but has distinguished himself so much in that class as to merit an appointment as monitor. He continues to graduate in the rank of monitor, until he becomes Head Monitor or Head Pupil Teacher in the School. He is then recalled from school by his parents, apprenticed to some Mechanic, or placed in an office or counting-house. Such a boy desires to advance himself in those branches that apply to the business in which he is now engaged. The spirit of emulation has not as yet passed away, his desire to distinguish himself among men is now his object, to give him an opportunity of doing so is a public duty. All we can do is to offer advantages, which if availed of will stimulate the mind to enquiry, and point out the sources of more minute and accurate knowledge. Let us do what we can to induce him to devote those hours that might be passed in indolence and folly, in attaining a higher end than the mere amusement of the passing hour. It has been said by a wise and good man, "It is our high and holy mission to serve mankind." This we can best do by educating them, for, by the diffusion of knowledge, morality is secured, liberty protected, and the vices avoided which ignorance and idleness engender.

Before we have done with the case we have now before us, we regret to write that frequently have we known many of the most intellectual and promising pupils of our schools, when they left to pursue the callings for which they were severally destined, become the associate of companions whose minds were evil and designing, whose only pleasure was vice, whose haunts, when toil permitting, the public house or gin shop. Example had its effect—the once promising and talented pupil became the prematurely old and dissipated man. What is here mentioned has but too frequently come under our notice, and this it is that has induced us to take up the subject of Mechanics' Institutes, feeling fully convinced that, to the want of such is mainly attributable many of the miseries of the working poor. For had we proper educational institutes awaiting the youths when their school instruction ends, and they begin to follow their various pursuits in life, doubtless many whose leisure hours are spent worthlessly, if not criminally, would be found devoting these hours to mental culture and pursuing those studies congenial to their faculties. To those who have not received an elementary education, their wants can be supplied by Evening Schools; and for those poor persons should those schools be supported, and that too with

no meagre hand, if we desire to remove the thick veil of ignorance from the minds of our working men and enable them to appreciate that liberty which the uneducated can never fully value.

We have described the class of pupils that will not attend Evening Schools, and in doing this, we have stated what appears to us the main cause of their absence. By what we have asserted, it cannot fail to strike the minds of a thinking public, that a great deficiency exists in the means that have, up to this, been adopted to educate the working poor of this country. And it must be acknowledged by those who really think on the subject, that the opening of Mechanics' Institutes is the only way in which this defect can be remedied. But before we examine what the character of these institutions should be, and how they should be conducted, it may be well to anticipate, the question that we regret so often to hear asked by men whom we should suppose would espouse and advocate the cause of the education of the Working Classes; the question we allude to is,—“What use is it for the Working Man to trouble himself about education, more than to know how to read and write?” This question has been often put, but let us ask by whom. Is it not by those whose ideas and faculties of mind extend to the mere ability to add up a column of Pounds, Shillings and Pence? whose minds from morning till night are engrossed with the mercenary thought of wealth, who make riches their god, and to accumulate them, will, through their thirst of cupidity and love of gain, exact the sweat of the poor man's brow with the same eagerness and anxiety as the astute and mercenary Jew will sweat the golden coin to satiate his thirst for the precious metals. Again we hear the same question put by those whose position in society should assure us that they would aid and abet in every way to promote the culture of the mind among the laboring poor,—but such, we regret to write, is not the case; they become jealous that those whom they call plebeians should advance themselves, lest in a few years, by perseverance and mental enterprize, they aspire to, and attain a position for which their own qualification, render them unfit. Doctor Whately, in alluding to this class, thus writes—“Some, again, there are, of the higher classes (in birth and station,) who are jealous of the classes below them treading on their heels, by becoming their equals, or superiors in the literature and science, of which they themselves, perhaps,

possess no great share. This, again, is a feeling which no one is very likely to avow. They persuade, as far as they can, both others and themselves, that what they dread is the unwise, ill-regulated, and indiscriminate diffusion of knowledge."—Knowing the feelings of the two classes we should rejoice to think that their influence on society is weak.—Were it otherwise, how vain would it be for the son of the plebeian to devote his energies for years, perhaps scantily fed and thinly clothed, prosecuting his studies within the peasant's cot, or the walls of some miserable abode in one of our back and secluded streets.

We would wish to ask those who fear or deprecate the diffusion of knowledge among the poor, is it by keeping them in darkness and ignorance that they can best secure the happiness of a people, or the prosperity of a nation? Is it not by doing so superstition and bigotry are engendered, the spirit of anarchy and rebellion fostered, and religious hostility between man and man encouraged? If their object be, as we fear it is, to make the poor the instruments of the rich, to be used by them for whatever purpose they may think proper, we can understand their not considering the education of the poor necessary or advisable. But what a wretched contrast do they form, when compared with such a man as Thomas Wyse, who, showing the necessity for educating the poor thus writes—"Under the most favourable circumstances, the superior whether clergyman or proprietor, can do little with a still brutal and sluggish population. He must begin like Oberlin with first de-brutalizing them; he must awaken the soul before he can make use of it, he must first teach and then civilize. This is true in a greater or less degree, whether we have to deal with Indian or European. It is an indispensable condition of improvement. Education thus becomes not merely a benefit to all, but an object to all of the first necessity." The wisdom and justice of this statement need no comment. Every friend of Education must fully agree with Mr. Wyse on this point; we may justly rank Mr. Wyse among the champions of Popular Education of whom England can proudly boast. As the current of public opinion in favor of this noble project flows on, it is swelled day after day, by the opinions of those who were most adverse to the education of the poor. But we should take care, lest those who come over do more to oppose than to advocate its cause. We cannot be too vigilant or

this point, for, says Archbishop Whately—"I know for a fact, that there are some persons, who deprecate the diffusion of knowledge; but yet they will give in to it, and profess to favour it, merely because they find that they must swim with the stream, because they cannot oppose it. I am continually meeting with persons who are for embarking in the vessel of education, in order that they may be able to retard its course. They are deprecators, above all things, of *too great* a diffusion of knowledge—too much education for the people—too much knowledge for their station in life, which they say, is likely to puff them up."

These are the persons we are to guard against, and, we regret to write, they form no inconsiderable a class in point of number. But as we have already intimated, their influence and power are such that no danger is to be apprehended from them; their opponents are too powerful, the public mind has become too enlightened, the love of knowledge has taken too deep a root, even among the poorer classes, to submit to what they *should* when literature was the privilege of a cloistered few. No, for the plebeian now sees that he lives in an age when his education can compensate for the meanness of his birth, and his industry for his fortune. This is well engrafted upon the minds of the poorer classes, and its effect is manifesting itself day after day among them. They have learned to despise those who would shut them out from the temples of knowledge, and prevent its diffusion among the poor. The State has, more or less, provided education for them, and in doing so, it has only done its duty, but as this duty might no doubt be neglected, we are to look upon it in the light of a favor and feel grateful. It is a wise provision, for by it we are enabled to see with Sir David Brewster that—

"There are men who denounce railways and steam boats, and even the cheap intercourse of minds, and who would willingly doom to penury, or even to gradual annihilation, the industrious millions whose title to existence is as good as their own. These men would cheerfully step back a few centuries to feed on the flesh and clothe in the skins of the beasts of prey, and perchance to offer up their meats to idols, not less respectable than the mammon which they worship."

Whatever may be the objections urged against the Education of the Working Classes, the bounds to which anti-

educationists would limit it, or the restrictions which they would impose upon it; we will not now pause to consider. However we would remind them that, "The man who does not look up is sure to look down,"—this is a short but a very true and pithy saying, and one which, if duly considered, could not fail to exercise a vast influence on the minds of those prejudiced against Popular Education. To afford every advantage to the working portion of the community, to improve their moral and intellectual character, is a public duty, and one that should call forth the interference of the State. Only by educating the laboring multitudes can we safely get them to "look up," and this spirit once engendered and coupled with industry and perseverance, must necessarily tend to elevate them in no inconsiderable degree. "Look up," we would therefore say to the poorest of our fellow creatures, for by doing so you can only hope to reach that ever-to-be-desired goal—*independance*: on the other hand, "look down," and the pauper's home, or felon's cell, will be the reward awaiting you at life's decline. Every day brings about facts that clearly prove the correctness of both statements; we see the industrious and persevering soar above their class, while the indolent and improvident become the victims of poverty and crime. Education is the best antidote for these miseries, especially for the latter. Those most competent to judge of the matter believe this to be the case. "Where crime was in abeyance," speaks Lord Campbell, "good education existed." Again, Archbishop Whately, in his address delivered to the members of the Manchester Athenæum says—"Men are liable to be deceived and misled, but it is in darkness more than in light; in twilight more than in full in-sun, that error is liable to be mistaken for truth."

While fully concurring with such high authorities in their statements on this point, let us hope that something may be done to raise the social character of our toiling poor. And as we consider that this can best be accomplished by the opening of an Educational Institute adequate to their wants, the great necessity for such an institute in Dublin is obvious. The opening of it would be an invaluable boon to the numbers of the working community of our city: that it would be so if properly organized and conducted is a fact too palpable to need demonstration. Why should we fold our

\* Speech on National Education, House of Lords, July, 1854.

arms and look on the mechanics and artizans of our cities and large towns, still in ignorance and made the instruments of vily politicians, without aiding them to dispel the dark cloud, enabling them to see into and repair the evils of neglected early training.

It must have been obvious long since, to those acquainted with the character of the working classes of Dublin, that a proper educational institute, that is an institute having for its objects the intellectual improvement of the working man, is not only desirable but indispensable, if we wish to ameliorate his moral and social condition. "To a thinking man," writes the Rev. Mr. Beames, "the condition of the working classes is a subject not merely of interest, but alarm. It has been shown that the proportion of criminals to the honest and industrial classes is increasing; that though our laws are infinitely milder than they were, even thirty years ago, the number of convictions is larger."\* In our opinion the education of the working classes is a subject well deserving the attention of the State. In England ample provision is made for it. In Ireland none. In the former it occupies the attention of the noblest of her peers, the ablest of her statesmen, the most learned of her judges, the most scientific of her philosophers. But in Ireland it has few active advocates. These classes have been styled "the pith and marrow" of the people, by a true friend of Mechanics' Institutes, the Earl of Carlisle, whose anxiety and solicitude for the improvement of the working man's condition never tires. "Let," speaks the noble Earl in his address at Huddersfield College, 1843, "education be provided for the heirs of poverty and the children of toil, as a relaxation from the weary hours of labour; let it be provided for them as a solid and sustaining nurture for the intellectual, the moral and the spiritual cravings of nature. And let me give this parting exhortation to you, that within the whole range of your several spheres, according to the best of your abilities, you should promote the united cause of a free conscience and universal education."

Such an exhortation, and coming from such a source, should stimulate the professed friends of Popular Education in this country, to follow the example of the noble earl, and in-

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\* "Meliora," vol. ii, p. 70.

duce them, as far as in them lies, to provide for the educational wants of the poor Irish apprentice and of the neglected artisan. Were we duly to consider the evils arising from ignorance or want of education, and contemplate the miseries it entails, we surely would not have remained so long indifferent to the social condition of the working poor. Did we afford to the Irish artisan advantages similar to those offered him in the sister country, many an avenue to poverty would have been closed, many an ill-fated marriage would have been prevented, and instead of feeding work-houses, and prisons with poverty-stricken and forsaken offspring, we would be providing for the premature and thoughtless father means of mental culture and enlightenment, which would, in a more auspicious period of life, enable him to acquire for himself and his little ones, a cheerful homestead, secure from the blighting blast of poverty. Whatever may be the divisions of opinion regarding the cause or causes of early marriages, we hold that ignorance is the main and most powerful. Is it not among those who have been debarred the blessings of education in youth, or those whose after education has been neglected, that the majority of unhappy marriages take place; marriages, in whose train follow misery, discord, and but too often abandonment of either parent. We merely allude here to early and improvident marriages, as one of the many evils arising from the neglect of the after education of the working classes, or in other words, indifference to improve the condition in which they have been placed by Providence. As long then as we continue unheeding of, and indifferent to what may be justly entitled the right of every working man, no matter however poor or insignificant he may be, so long may we expect to have an increasing demand for work-house and prison accommodation. And we would further add, that by debarring the working portion of the community the means which properly managed Mechanics' Institutes would afford, we are indirectly aiding to encourage rather than to suppress the spirit of religious hostility still existing among its already formed victims. Bigotry is fast disappearing from among the most enlightened classes of Ireland, and we thank heaven that it is so; but let it not be understood, that among the lower and uneducated portion it is on the decline. No, the bitterest spirit of bigotry is still existing among the poorer of our fellow countrymen; a bigotry that could only issue from a darkened and unenlightened mind, and we fear things must remain in this sad



state if some effectual means be not adopted to bring the Protestant and Roman Catholic artizan to a greater, and more friendly intercourse with each other. Any man acquainted with the character of the working poor of Ireland, must see the necessity for this ; and we would state that any professed friend of Ireland, having a true wish to regenerate her, must direct his attention to, and urge the necessity and justice of, educating and enlightening this important body. It has been truly said, "that half our animosities arise from ignorance of each other;" and there can be no doubt that the other half is, in a great measure, attributable to the want of proper education. From ignorance proceeds that spirit of faction and religious hostility among the poorer classes, which has ever been the greatest obstacle to their social and moral improvement. "What years of distrust and dissension, how many generations of misery and crime has it sent forth from its prolific womb. We have seen these things, but have seen them very late. We have attacked the consequence, but the causes are not yet extinguished."\* To contribute our aid in removing this cause is now the object of our serious consideration. We therefore propose the opening of Mechanics' Institutes throughout the country, where the necessity for doing so can be shown, clearly and satisfactorily.

In Dublin, the want of a proper Mechanics' Institute has been sadly felt by the working classes, and educationists of every party will admit its need. Perhaps in Europe, there is not a city where the after education of the artizans is more neglected. We could not point out one institute in Dublin affording to the poor mechanic opportunities of acquiring the knowledge suited to his taste, or congenial to his faculties. In fact, the education of the parent is a thing seldom or never spoken of. The laboring multitudes of this city seem too insignificant a body to engage the attention of the educationists of the country, or if they do, there are none philanthropic enough to come forward to advocate the cause of their instruction. It is a vast work no doubt, but it is of vaster importance, vaster than we might at first imagine. Educate the parent, and he will be earnest for the education of his children ; offer advantages of continued education to the children now attending our Public Schools, and

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\* Wyse—"Education Reform," vol. I.

when they become parents themselves, they will be anxious that their children shall experience the same abiding fruits. What have we done in Dublin up to this for the education of her poorer citizens; we have given them opportunities, doubtless, to have their children instructed in the elementary branches of knowledge for a few years, but after they have left the "friendly shelter" of our schools, their education ceases to be worthy of our notice, or sufficiently important to engage our attention.

"The teacher thinks his duty done the moment the pupil quits the school. His duty is done, but not that of the pupil. The education must be continued. In the upper classes of society this is not difficult. Daily occasions, long leisure, abundant means, provide in most instances for its prosecution. The middle and lower orders are less fortunate. The active and stern interests of life press upon them. Physical wants usurp their own being—intellectual pursuits are overpowered—mere culture is forgotten.

This after education, if so it may be called, is in general neglected, or when applied, it is generally on so limited and local a scale, that its influence is scarcely perceptible. But it is essential. A building does not consist in foundation. If elementary education be justly an object of national solicitude, so also are the means by which this elementary education may be given, through every successive period of life, its full value and efficacy."

We have allowed the minds of many pupils of our National Schools to sleep, never it would seem to waken. We have done worse, we have not held out any inducement to counteract that of the public house or political assembly. Our school doors were closed against him when the toil of the day was over, though he was still willing to prosecute those studies upon which he had already entered, while attending our national and other public schools. The leisure hours should be employed, and in the majority of cases how were they devoted? We speak from conviction when we assert that they were devoted to anything but advantage to himself or to mankind. We have seen many who were justly considered the most promising pupils when at school, become degraded members of society, bearing the brand of the drunkard and vagabond—being contaminated by those who considered themselves their equal as regards social position, and would laugh them to

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\* Wyse on "Education Reform," vol. I., p. 229.

were they to manifest an intention or a desire to soar above their class.

Our experience of the character of tradesmen of the old school, who boast of still pursuing the craft of their fathers and grandfathers, justifies us in offering these opinions. These men view with no very friendly feeling those of their class who attempt to rise above the position of their parents. The young aspiring mechanic is an object of envy to those who are either too indolent or too incompetent to make one step in improving their condition, beyond putting in, as they say themselves, an *extra quarter day* of animal labor. The character of the working classes cannot be arrived at by mere cursory observations, we must have intercourse with them, we must hear their opinions from their own lips on matters that concern them or bear upon their interests. Still further, we must not deem it beneath us to hold friendly intercourse with them, and now and then to concur with them, in their opinions on many points where neither integrity nor truth is compromised. There is more sincerity and more unsophisticated honesty in one warm shake-hands of an honest and "hard-handed" mechanic, than in a thousand of those patronizing ones which we so frequently see given by those in high station to the man of intrinsic worth. How frequently do we see even the teachers, whose duty it is to encourage a desire of education among the working classes, pass by and consider their most industrious and intellectual pupils beneath them. Feeling that we are in some measure competent to judge on this point, we would state, that unless those teachers descend from their *imaginary* high position (and this they can do and be really greater men and more useful members of society), and become more acquainted with the condition and characters of the toiling poor, any attempt of theirs to educate parents or grown adults would be absurd. We do not think the term *absurd* too strong, for we are led by long experience and conviction to give an opinion upon matters respecting the condition and social character of this class of the community. In Dublin, at least, our experience of the intellectual and social condition of the operative classes, is in some degree considerable. Many of the married members of this body can never be educated, no matter what means may be devised to diffuse knowledge among them. We must, therefore, be at rest about these, and do all that we can to prevent

another such generation appearing among us. In England every means is taken to effect this, while in Ireland it forms but a secondary consideration. It is true, as we have already stated, much has been done and is doing for juvenile education, but why not provide liberally for adult education also? Should we not regret that in such a city as Dublin not one Public Educational Institute exists, affording advantages to the young apprentice or grown adult adequate to their wants. "Perhaps," writes Mann, "the most extravagant expenditure of funds and efforts in erecting, and supporting, and improving elementary schools, would have but small effect in lengthening school attendance, in comparison with that which would result from half the labour and expense applied to bring within the reach of those emerging from the school, the means of cultivating as a pleasure intellectual occupations, which in school they followed as a task." We admit that there are many practical difficulties in the way of the satisfactory success of adult education, but we also insist that these difficulties can be surmounted; and farther we would assert, that not only can these difficulties be overcome, but most satisfactory results produced if proper and judicious means be employed. We again repeat what we have already stated, that little, very little indeed, has been done in the department of adult or continuous education as far as Ireland is concerned. The obstacles to it are few, the advantages to be derived from it are many, and the necessity for it too evident to need demonstration. Apprehension seems to have been felt by many educationists, not as to the necessity or importance of the education of the laboring classes of Dublin, but as to the impossibility of getting these classes to attend, no matter what might be the opportunities afforded them for intellectual improvement.

Well, every great undertaking is attended with proportional difficulties, and we will agree with those entertaining the apprehension on this point so far as to admit, that we have many obstacles to surmount before we can succeed in bringing about results that would compensate for the trouble and amount of money that must be expended in the task. But, on the other hand, we hold the education of the working poor to be a matter of sufficient importance to induce us to make a trial; and knowing well that the thing is *practicable* and only requires enterprise, energy, and a well organized system to remove the obstacles in the way, we urge the undertaking, and in doing

so we feel we are discharging a just debt which we owe to the industrious and well-disposed classes of Ireland. The present state of the society in Dublin, composed of these classes, is favorable and auspicious; the tendency to seek for knowledge suitable to their occupations or callings in life is every day increasing, and we declare, no matter how confined they may be by the duties of such, still they exhibit a desire of devoting the little leisure at their disposal to the acquisition of that knowledge which they believe will make them more respectable and more happy. Opportunities for the acquirement of such knowledge they should have, and from no matter what source the support of organized and judiciously managed institutes should come, we hold it to be a duty incumbent upon us to provide them. We should provide for the moral as well as the physical stamina of their existence, as only by doing so we can surely enable them to hold command—

“ O’er the mind’s sea in calm and storm,  
O’er the heart’s sunshine and its showers,  
O’er Passion’s moments, bright and warm,  
O’er Reason’s dark cold hours.”

The necessity of providing continuous education for these young persons, who may have already received an elementary education in our public schools, we have endeavoured to show, and we have also attempted to point out the importance of providing for the education of adults, or parents, if you will. In doing this we have not omitted to mention that many obstacles are to be first surmounted, ere we can be satisfied with the results of our labor, or produce among these classes a proper estimate of the value of education. The axe must be laid to the root. Years must roll on, labor, zeal, and energy must be exercised, disappointments must serve only to increase the labor, and invigorate those employed in the undertaking, liberal means must be devoted and the labourer be paid his hire, ere the working classes of Ireland can be brought to think that the improvement of their moral and social condition is an object of solicitude or consideration to those whom Providence has destined to be their governors “Therefore it is,” speaks Lord Brougham “that the importance is incalculable, of improving the minds of the parents themselves by the promotion of adult education.”\* As already intimated,

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\* Speech on National Education, House of Lords, July, 1834.

evening schools can be made to supply the wants of a considerable portion of the industrious classes, whose education has been almost if not entirely neglected. But there are still required institutes on a broader basis, for the more intellectual members of this body, affording greater advantages than could be expected from the schools where elementary instruction only is given. What we urge and strongly recommend, in the Irish Metropolis especially, is an institute having for its object the continuance of that education, of which the foundation has been already laid in our primary schools, and at the same time affording an opportunity to the uneducated but well disposed adult, to commence the task which should have been learned in youth. We want an institute purely educational, thoroughly liberal and truly national. This is the class of Mechanics' Institutes which Ireland needs and this class only will contribute to her advancement.

The Irish have at all times manifested a tact for Polemics, nor has this taste undergone any diminution among the operative classes of the present day. Wily politicians continue still to encourage and keep among them this, what we might term, national epidemic. Much no doubt must be done to abate their propensity to political and religious discussions. We do not look to stem the torrent of these discussions where such discussions are necessary, we know that controversy leads to the developement of truth in all matters. Yet when we see the classes among whom those discussions are carried on, and conscious of the unhappy feeling they engender in the hearts of those classes, we feel it but just to employ every means that would tend to prevent them, and contribute to make every man, no matter what his creed or sect, live in harmony and concord with his fellow man.

Let us then endeavour to do this—let us have mixed education for the adult as well as for the junior. Let the shepherds feed the sheep as well as the lambs, in a word, let the doors of knowledge be thrown open to the poor artizans of our country of every class, of every persuasion.—To do this, we must have Mechanics' Institutes conducted on principles free from sectarian spirit and party tendency. We have Model National Schools, why not a Model National Mechanics' Institute? We see, and hear of, the success of the former wherever they have been established; we are conscious of the great good they are effecting, but we deplore that means are not taken to make this good

more lasting. The absence, indeed the almost total absence, of the means of continuous education, renders the National System in Ireland incapable of conferring advantages it otherwise could extend. The importance of adult education is beyond all doubt,—its necessity unquestionable. The most enlightened give it their attention, aid in its formation, and come forward to advocate its cause. Among the resolutions laid before the House of Lords in July, 1854, by Lord Brougham, when speaking on national education, is the following:—

“That the indifference which has been found amongst the parents in many places to obtain education for their children, and a reluctance to forego the advantage of their labour, by withdrawing them from school, is mainly owing to the ignorance of the parents, and this can be best removed by the encouragement of a taste for reading, by the establishment of Mechanics' Institutes, Apprentices' Libraries, and Reading Rooms, and by the abolition of all taxes upon knowledge.”

Again, the Earl of Carlisle, showing the necessity for continuous education, when referring to those who have just left off attending our daily schools to follow their various vocations in life, declares,—

“Often, it seems to me, when we see or are brought into contact with any number of young persons, be it the work people in a large factory or the scholars in a large school, or any other assemblage of our fellow beings, about to enter on the great theatre of human life, and there to play their respective parts, we find ourselves disposed to pass beyond the present hour and the petty interests which may immediately engross us, to go out from ourselves, and enter into communication as it were with the quick-coming fortunes of our species. We cannot help travelling in thought over the parts that these before us may have to play on that swelling scene. Do we see in them the persevering agents of all our manifold and wondrous British industry. The skilful inventors of new instruments and methods—the vigorous colonizers of climes stretching under other unfamiliar stars—or else the leaders in unseemly brawls and boisterous revelries, the dark perpetrators of crime, the tenants of the felon's cell, the candidates for the hangman's gallows? They may now be at the very turning point from which to take one of these diverging paths. My attention has of late happened to be much occupied with the poet Gray, and the words of his most beautiful stanzas come almost unbidden to my lips, but it can be said with nearly more truth of any such assemblage of human beings left wholly uncared for and untended, than of any departed tenants of a village church-yard,—

“Perchance in this neglected spot is laid  
Some heart once pregnant with celestial fire,  
Hands that the rod of empire might have swayed,  
Or waked to ecstasy the living lyre.”

And what is the obvious moral from these well known lines? What but this,—that give the requisite opportunity, give the sufficient development, and then you may have at least the chance of detecting, unburying, these latent powers and hidden excellencies, of bringing them to the light of day, of calling them into real and beneficial exercise.”

In our views on adult as well as continuous education, our readers will perceive that we are fully supported by not only the noblemen just mentioned, but by other educationists of equally high authority. Having proved the necessity of Mechanics’ Institutes, we shall now proceed to offer a few suggestions on the manner in which they should be conducted in order to render them as much as possible adequate to the wants of the laboring and well disposed classes. By these classes we mean all whose occupation prevents their attending to education by day, and who are anxious to devote their leisure hours each evening to its acquirements.

In the first place, we hold the Institute should be educational in every point of view, and no person should be eligible thereto unless he become a member of one or the other of the classes opened in the Institute. This will show that his object is mental culture, and not the mere passing away of an idle hour on the stairs and lobbies of the building. Secondly, no person should be admitted who is not living by weekly wages; of course apprentices in every case should form an exception, but in no instance should employers be admitted unless as visitors. This suggestion may appear strange, but experience justifies us in urging it. It is evident, employers would be above receiving instruction in the same classes as those in which the poor adult or apprentice would be found. And even were they disposed to devote their leisure hours to the pursuit of knowledge, there are many other places affording the advantages of doing so. Again, we hold that employers should not be permitted to form a committee or board, to govern the Institute, nor would we have members of the working classes to do so either. In many parts of England we believe the management of Mechanics’ Institutes, and Public Reading Rooms, is left in the hands of the working man. Now we would be glad that this could be done in Ireland, but in our opinion it is so



impracticable that any effort made to effect it would be in vain. To have a Mechanics' Institute succeed in Ireland, men of influence and high position must take the reins of its government. The Irish deserve high patronage, and once procured they do all they can to merit its continuance. In fact we should set apart a Mechanics' Institute as much as possible for the Working Classes, and we believe, this can best be done by excluding all parties who do not live by weekly wages, and who are not known to be working men or apprentices. This will clearly show to the laboring bands that the institute is for their benefit only, which we have no doubt would be most powerful in inducing them to attend.

We would also urge that weekly payments should be adopted; our reason for this is,—to the working man or poor apprentice a few shillings are not at all times available, while a few pence out of their weekly earnings may be convenient at any period. By shewing the operative classes that you are consulting their interests you can best reckon upon their attendance to the Institute. Again, we would suggest that to the senior classes the respect that men should always have more than boys, should be given; and this will attract in a great measure the attendance of those more advanced in years. In no case, if it can be possibly avoided, should boys be allowed to intermix with adults while receiving instruction, for the latter always manifest the greatest unwillingness to assemble with the former in class teaching. In fact, this has been, and must continue to be a very great obstacle in the way of adult education.—We would therefore recommend separate apartments, or class or school-rooms, setting one aside for adults, and another for the more junior pupils, and it would perhaps be found advisable to name different times to admit and dismiss the classes. Indeed such an arrangement seems to us very judicious and one which if carried into effect would be attended with satisfactory results. In each Mechanics' Institute there should be one spacious and well ventilated room which would answer for a lecture hall or for any other purpose connected with the institute, and in no instance should it be devoted to meetings on any matter not bearing upon the business of the Institute.

We have stated, in a preceding part of this paper, that we did not advocate or desire to see opened Institutes solely Protestant or solely Roman Catholic. Nor do we want Institutes

where party politics and religious differences will interfere with their internal management.—No, what we want to see established in Dublin, and throughout the country, are, Mechanics' Institutes having for their object the improvement of the *minds* of our fellow creatures, and the elevation of their *moral* and *social* character. To effect these grand and laudable objects, all must agree that politics, and every thing bordering on religious hostility, must not only be not tolerated but totally excluded. These have ever proved the bane of every institution not only in Ireland but throughout the world. In England the most learned and the most philanthropic do all in their power to prevent their introduction into any educational Institute established to elevate the character of the operative classes of their country. Mr. Disraeli in his address to the members of the Manchester Athenæum, in October, 1844, attributes the decline of that model institute which but a short time previous was, to use his own words, "in the last stage of its fortune," to the sectarian feeling that pervaded its management. We give the following extract from the address of the Honorable Gentleman, who no matter how people may differ from him on other points, all must acknowledge to be a most zealous advocate for the diffusion of knowledge, even among the poorest of his fellow creatures :—

"I would say in the first place, without imputing the slightest fault to the originators of this institution, wishing to be most distinctly understood as not only not imputing any fault to them, but most decidedly being of opinion that the fault does not lie at their door; still, I cannot shut my eyes to the fact, that, in the origin of this institution, by circumstances not foreseen, and which certainly were not intended, a party, a limited and a sectarian feeling in some degree pervaded its management. . . . There are some amongst us now, I know, who believe that the period has arrived when a great effort must be made to emancipate this country from the degrading thralldom of faction—to terminate, if possible, that sectarian and limited view, in which all human conduct is examined, observed and criticised—to put an end to that exclusiveness, which, in its peculiar sphere, is equally deleterious as that aristocratical exclusiveness of manners which has produced so much evil; and, as far as I can offer an opinion, these views have met with sympathy from every part of the country."

In the exclusion of Party politics, and sectarian principles from every Educational Institute, we are fully supported by the most learned, and the most wise, but to exclude them from an institute attended by the industrious classes needs, no doubt,

the said firm system of management. If every exertion were not made to suppress party spirit and factious feeling, instead of advocating the establishment of Mechanics' Institutes in the country, we consider we would be much wanting in our duty were we not to give them our most strenuous opposition. Ireland has suffered enough already from party feelings, and party intolerance—she is more than sufficiently perpetized now. Some effort should be made to remove the cause before we can expect the effect to cease; we must make the working classes understand the difference between their true and false interests; between their apparent and real friends. But to do this we must wean them from their old habits, gradually but effectively; we must point out to the son of toil, nobler and loftier occupation for his leisure hours than seeking after information that tends only to foster within his breast, feelings of political hatred and religious animosity towards his fellow men. In fact, unless every caution be taken and the greatest vigilance exercised to prevent political and religious discussions taking place within the walls of the Institution, and further, the exclusion from among those to whose hands its management would be committed, any person or persons evincing the least desire to advocate party feeling, the decline and certain fall of the Institute will soon become manifest. Should we ever see established for the working class of Dublin and other towns in Ireland, Mechanics' Institutes such as those whose opening we now advocate, we would say to them, in the words of Professor Nicholl,—

“Mix not up your Society, directly or indirectly, with the church or religious politics of a candidate for a seat in your directions, do not ask of yourselves even to which of our various sects or churches he belongs; if you do, I prophesy for you, without the slightest misgivings, that this Institution will have no protracted existence. There must be no paltering or only half sincerity on this point. It is easy to see that the church with which a man worships ought never to be a reason for holding him unfit to sit at the council of a Society like yours, but neither ought it to be a reason why he should be there.”

It is unnecessary to dwell any longer on the importance of having Mechanics' Institutes non-sectarian, and free from any party politics. We now take leave of the matter in the confident expectation that this indispensable part of the management of the Institutions, the great necessity for which we are endeav-

vouring to prove, will be fully and effectively carried out by those in whom the power to accomplish it may be vested. If this be done there is very little to fear for the success of Mechanics' Institutes, as they will then and then only assume the character of establishments having for their common character—the literary and scientific education of the working people. But to effect this object, first class instruction must be placed within their reach, and first class teachers must be had to impart it.

On the subjects that seem to us best calculated to meet the wants of the thinking part of the industrious classes in Dublin, and the large towns in Ireland, we would here offer a few observations—The instruction given in Mechanics' Institutes needs to be of a more advanced character than that given in an Evening School. The very nature of things requires this, as has been already proved in a preceding part of this paper. Indeed, if it could be done, we would be in favor of having the class of instruction in the former such as would be required by pupils on their leaving the latter. This, perhaps, would not be doing justice to all parties, nor might it be prudent to introduce such an arrangement.

For instance, were an adult to present himself for admission to a Mechanics' Institute, he would feel it very humiliating if he were told that he should first graduate in an evening school, as he did not possess the necessary qualifications for a member. Now we believe this plan would never work, and therefore we urge the establishment of institutions that will afford an opportunity to the poor adult to learn to read, and at the same time afford advantages to the more advanced members of prosecuting their studies in those branches of knowledge, which they may have already entered upon. It is clear, then, elementary instruction must be afforded in such an institute, and also the courses of instruction of a much higher character must be taught. For the purpose of giving effect to these arrangements, it will be necessary to have the advanced members as much as possible apart from those learning the rudiments of knowledge, and though we strongly recommend an elementary evening school to be attached to every Mechanics' Institute, in no case we think should any pupil under sixteen years of age be admitted to either.

The course of instruction taught in Mechanics' Institutes should more or less depend upon the class of members attending: for we hold, unless the capacity of the pupil be

carefully considered; the exertion of the teacher, or the importance of the subject, will fail to produce the desired effect. Again, if we do not give the mechanic or artizan the knowledge that *he himself* says is most requisite for him, and best calculated to lead to the greater development of his craft, he will not attend. From our experience of those of the citizens of Dublin living by weekly wages, we are induced to recommend the following courses to be taught in a Mechanics' Institute:—

1st. Course. English Grammar, English Composition, Geography, Algebra, Geometry, (Practical and Theoretical) and Mensuration.

2nd. Course. French, Latin, Mechanics, Chemistry, and Astronomy.

It may be said that these courses comprise too many subjects, and the teaching of them would be carrying the education of the million too far. Well, those who entertain this opinion may do so, but for our part, we cannot see why the son of the mechanic should not be as eligible to receive instruction in any branch, as the child of the lawyer or surgeon. Of course, were we aware that the former was *destined* to follow, and never rise above the mere mechanical life of his father or grandfather, we might say, that to teach them many of these branches would be useless, and perhaps ridiculous.

But this we do not know, nor is it necessary we should, as our object in urging the opening of Mechanics' Institutes is to elevate and not depress, to encourage and not dishearten, to enlighten and not to keep in darkness, the working multitudes of our country, no matter what their position, no matter how low their birth. To extend the blessings of education to all, to disseminate the seeds of useful knowledge among all, to aid all in acquiring knowledge that will enable them to advance themselves in the world, and to afford them honorable and useful employment for their leisure hours, are the feelings which actuate us to advocate so warmly, the formation of what may be justly termed, Mechanics' Institutes for the operative classes of Ireland. We fully agree with the Rev. Dr. Hook, when he says that "we demand for the working classes, the best article," and we cannot see why it could not be procured for them, if proper means were resorted to. A great portion of the time of the working classes who have attended our daily schools, was devoted to the acquisition of the instruments of gaining knowledge, ra-

ther than that of knowledge itself. It is therefore clear, that if no facilities be offered for their application afterwards, we must expect the mind to degenerate ; and no matter how large may be the number of elementary schools, the intellectual portion of the laboring body must remain uneducated. Being fully aware of this, we have ventured to recommend an English course, which in our opinion appears best adapted for the class of persons for whose benefit Mechanics' Institutes are intended.

Indeed, were we advocates for having the poor and uneducated man's son no better than his father, or the laborer's son a mere laborer too, in fact, were we to have the condition of the lower classes of society to remain stationary, then we might put greater limits to the course ; or were we to entertain the same opinion held by Mr. Cobbett when he said, "It was highly injudicious to teach the poor people to aspire to anything but labour,"\* we should oppose the diffusion of knowledge among all who have been born poor, and keep it in a storehouse for those who are fortunate enough to possess the *Cash* to purchase it. Popular education is too far in advance now, and its friends too numerous to permit this system of exclusion—we say with Archbishop Whately—"I wonder not much, considering what human nature is, that some should think the education of the poor an *evil* : I do wonder at their not perceiving it to be *inevitable*."

Before closing the part of our paper relating to the class of instruction that should be given in Mechanics' Institutes, a question arises,—Should the course of Education consist of English only ? We can in great truth inform our readers that we have given this matter our serious consideration for some time, and we might say for years, and the result of our consideration we shall now lay before them ; but before doing so we would have them to bear in mind, that we are now advocating the cause of continuous education, for those who have already passed through elementary schools, as well as the education of the poor adult, which may have been more sadly neglected.

Under such circumstances it must appear that persons will attend, whose vocations in life must widely differ, but who, nevertheless, form the working portion of the community. Of

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\* Mr. Cobbett's speech on Mr. Roebuck's motion for a committee to enquire into the state of English Education.

that there can be no doubt, since our readers here state that we would have no man eligible, except those living by their own earnings. We cannot expect to have all Mechanics, nor do we expect to have all clerks, all shop-assistants, all workmen; nor do we want such: but we must have all working for their bread, members of some class or other: this must be insisted upon, as it will be a safeguard against persons joining through curiosity, or party intentions.

We have perhaps wandered too much from the result of our consideration, relative to the teaching of languages in these Institutes. But, duly considering all circumstances, we have come to the conclusion, that the French and Latin languages *at least* should be taught; but the reader will understand that by recommending those particular languages, we are not undervaluing others. Indeed we well know there are many young men in very humble circumstances in life, who would think no amount of time devoted to the pursuit of classical knowledge unprofitably spent. It must be remembered that we are not endeavouring to show the subjects which might be useful and desirable, but those which are requisite and suitable to the wants of the class who would attend to be instructed in them. We can best describe the education that we would have given, by using the words of Thomas Wyse, who writes"—

"The very first essential of the education for which we are contending is not its extent, nor its elevation, nor the number of things learned, nor their seeming importance, nor their facility—though all this be worth attending to—but, above all things, and in all things, its *applicability*."

It is our duty to provide for the educational wants of all, but at the same time we should first see that we have pupils, or at least a probability of having them, before we incur the expense of paying Masters to teach subjects that are not in great demand, among the classes likely to attend the Institutes which occupy our attention at present. This it is which makes us recommend the teaching of the French and Latin Languages only at their starting, and were we not convinced of the importance, and the great estimation in which a practical knowledge of them is held, we would be inclined to confine the course of education in these Institutes to English subjects only. But no matter what may be the character of the instruction given, we should never forget that their principal object should be the "scientific cultivation" of the mind of the Mechanic; and we

would urge the teaching of those principles of science most nearly connected with the occupation of the pupil. By doing this we are not preventing other members from availing themselves of any advantages that these Institutes may afford. No, we would say to them, embrace every opportunity that we have offered to you to acquire that knowledge suited to your capacities and inclination; and we would adopt the sentiments of the Earl of Carlisle, when exhorting the junior members of the Manchester Athenæum to persevere, and addressing them in the words of Johnson, he said :—

—————Proceed, illustrious youth,  
And Virtue guard thee to the throne of truth !  
Let all thy soul indulge the generous heat,  
Till captive science yield her last retreat ;  
Let Reason guide thee with her brightest ray,  
And pour in misty Doubt resistless day.

But supposing that we offer advantages after advantages, suppose every subject that possibly could be mentioned was taught in these institutes, of what avail would it be if proper teachers were not procured, and a proper teaching system adopted. A system may be good we will grant, but it does not follow that a teacher acting upon it must be the same. "In a teacher is requisite not only a competent knowledge of his subject, but an aptness to teach, which can only be acquired, generally speaking, by those who make teaching their sole occupation and study." A teacher of the working classes should be one competent to adapt his instruction to the position which his pupils hold or are likely to hold in life, otherwise let him not appear upon so important a stage. He must be a man of ability, energy and morality, having his heart in his high calling, and not one who looks on school-keeping as his last resource, after having evinced his incapacity for all other pursuits. In fact we hold that there could not be a calling in life more entitled to universal respect than that of a teacher, if honorably and honestly exercised. "There are few things," speaks the eminent Professor Nicholl, "more to be wished than that some competent pen would assume the important task of critically examining how knowledge ought to be communicated to the various minds thirsting for it." Again, in our views on this all important point, we are supported by the learned Professor Tyndall, who, when delivering his lecture on the study of Physics,



at the Royal Institution of Great Britain, thus speaks of the profession of a Teacher :—

"If there be one profession in England of paramount importance I believe it to be that of the Schoolmaster ; and if there be a position where selfishness and incompetence do most serious mischief, by lowering the moral tone and exciting contempt, and where reverence and notable truthfulness ought to be the feelings evoked, it is that of the governor of the school. When a man of enlarged heart and mind comes among boys—when he allows his being to stream through them, and observes the operation of his own character evidenced in the elevation of theirs—it would be idle to talk of the position of such a man being honorable. It is a blessed position. The man is a blessing to himself and to all around him. . . . .  
For no matter what means of culture may be chosen, whether physical or philological, success must ever mainly depend upon the amount of life, love and earnestness, which the teacher himself brings with him to his vocation."

Would that the profession was as justly estimated by the State ; if it were, we should not see many an Irish teacher who would have been a credit to both his vocation and his country, compelled to seek the outdoor relief of the pauper, or humiliated to share the shelter of the Workhouse home. But a brighter day seems now to promise for them ; and it is with much pleasure we find ourselves in a position to state, that effective means have been latterly taken, by the Irish Commissioners of National Education, to alleviate their distress by increasing, as we are informed, the salaries of all teachers of National Schools in proportion to their various merits. By elevating the teacher in the social rank, you elevate his profession also, and this can be only done by giving him a salary commensurate with the importance of his vocation, and the duties he is called upon to discharge.

We will now proceed to offer a few observations on what must be an adjunct of paramount importance to every Mechanics' Institute—a Library. We know of no greater boon that could be conferred upon the intellectual poor, than placing within their reach the advantages of a well selected library ; nor do we know why such a public duty should have been so long overlooked. Here may the poor mechanic, during the intervals of toil, find something to soothe him, ere he retires to seek that repose—

" When Labor's children sleep,  
When Joy forgets to smile, and Care to weep."

To the working classes there could not be anything of greater importance than the establishment of Free Libraries; every effort, every pains should be taken to make these classes a Reading People. It is an object well worthy our attention, and one which if accomplished would more than compensate for any amount of toil employed in its achievement. What greater pleasure, let us ask, could there be to those who feel an interest in the social condition of the poor and fatigued man of toil, than to see him, at the close of each day, take his seat either in the Public Reading Room, or find him surrounded by his little ones on a winter evening, reading some amusing or interesting book aloud by his own fireside. Let us not be told that the poor artisans of our large towns cannot be made a Reading People. Afford them the advantages of becoming so, and no doubt their love of reading will soon manifest itself. The love of reading once diffused among the operative poor, it must necessarily have a most salutary effect. Its great benefit has been felt in England, and why should it not be in Ireland, if opportunity were offered? Lord Brougham, in his able speech on National Education, alluding to the Public Reading Rooms in Carlisle, says—"This at least is quite certain, that of the hundreds who belong to these libraries and reading rooms, none have even been suspected of joining in any corrupt proceedings, though from accidental circumstances a more than ordinarily long canvas preceded the last general election."

But let us enquire what the nature of the books should be composing a library calculated to suit the tastes of the working portion of the community? This is a matter that requires to be dealt with very cautiously, and one we would leave to be handled by special authorities, did not our subject demand from us our opinion on so important a point. Now, every educationist must admit that the more entertaining the book, the greater will be the demand for it. We are now writing, not of a library suited to the Philosopher, the Lawyer, the Doctor, or the Divine, but a library suited to the poor working man. To have such a library, you must first consult the tastes of those men whose attendance you are endeavouring to secure. To do this you must move among them, speak with them, or become acquainted with their character in every way possible. This, we assure our readers, we have endeavoured to do for many years, and from our experience we can say without fear of contradiction,

that to have the working classes of Ireland a reading people, we must first begin by placing within their reach books of an amusing more than a philosophic nature. Works of fiction will be eagerly sought for and greedily read by the people, and such works must be provided for them or else we fail in the undertaking. Now, be it understood, that we look upon the introduction of those books more as an inducement to secure their attendance, than as sources from which useful knowledge is to be derived. But, at the same time, it cannot be denied that much knowledge is to be derived from the reading of works of the better class of fiction, and their reading is often productive of great good. In our views on this point we are fully supported by Sir J. P. W. Herschell, no mean authority on such matters, who says :—

“In short, you will find that in the higher and better class of works of fiction and imagination duly circulated, you possess all you require to strike your grappling iron into their souls, and chain them willing followers to the car of advancing civilization.

When I speak of works of imagination and fiction, I would not have it supposed that I would turn loose among the class of readers to whom I am more especially referring, a whole library of novels. The novel, in its best form, I regard as one of the most powerful engines of civilization ever invented.”\*

These are the words of one of the most eminent educationists of the age; no mere theorist, but one practically acquainted with the character of the labouring classes of his country. The reason for dwelling so strongly on this class of reading is, that it seems really the most powerful agent which we could employ to gain the attention of those whom free libraries are calculated to serve. Of course we would not wish to have a library, opened for the benefit of the poorer classes, to consist of novels only, no matter how good or how high their character might be; but we would urge their circulation on no niggard scale; for, unless we amuse in some way the mechanic after the weary hours of toil, we fear he will continue to seek amusement elsewhere, which no doubt will be attended with greater danger to his moral and intellectual culture, than the pursuit of a novel coming from the pen of a Goldsmith or a Scott. We must have recourse to light literature if we desire to see the working classes a reading people, or to offer them inducements sufficient to counteract the attractions of the public

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\* “And with respect of fiction too, though I would not recommend it as giving the same healthy tone and nourishment to the mind as other

house or dram shop. The biographies of great men will also be read with remarkable avidity by the mechanic or the artizan, particularly if the names of such men be familiar to him : consequently, we would recommend the introduction of books of this nature into a Mechanics' Library. If, to the classes of books just mentioned, works of a scientific nature, treatises on practical subjects, the leading reviews, selections from travels, and the works of the eminent poets be added, we shall have a library that cannot fail to be regarded as an object of the greatest interest by every well-disposed member of the working poor.

We should be considered as having made a great omission when referring to the class of works that should constitute a library, a library for the working classes, were we to neglect offering some allusion to the introduction of News-papers. Now we do not deprecate the reading of news-papers, nor are we in any way opposed to such, but on the contrary look upon their reading in a most favorable light, and as a most powerful means of instructing man in the history of his age; but notwithstanding all this, we fear very much that their introduction into institutes, the opening of which we are now advocating, would be attended with very unsatisfactory results. No doubt there are many who entertain a different opinion to this, but it must be remembered that to educate and unite all parties, no matter what their creed or religious sects, are the motives that induce us to take up the subject of the present paper thus earnestly. To insure success in such an undertaking, we certainly think that the most prudent course would be to exclude from every institute, intended for the benefit of the Working Classes, all books and periodicals having a political or sectarian tendency. We are not the only advocates of such a course. Sir John Herschell, in his address delivered to the subscribers of the Windsor and Eton Library, thus speaks:—

“The caution which I would hold out is, that an extreme scrupulousness should be exercised, with reference to the admission of works on Politics and Legislation, into such a department. Indeed I should strongly advocate their exclusion altogether. \* \* \*

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more practical pursuits, yet I am pleased to think, especially in later times, that writers of fiction have treated it with so much refinement, and so much enlargement of view, that lessons may be derived from the best pages of the best writers of fiction, be they male or female, scarcely inferior to what can be derived from the study of facts.”—*Earl of Carlisle's Address at the Bradford Mechanics' Institute.*

We shall be taking on ourselves a deep responsibility, and one for which I may conscientiously, for my own part, say I am not prepared, by any step which may tend to interfere one way or the other, with the free formation of public opinion on such subjects; nor indeed can I conceive a more probable cause of disagreement among ourselves, which is of all things the most to be deprecated, than the discussions which might arise on this point—the only way to keep clear of which is to *exclude* such works altogether."

There can be no doubt that the safest course would be that recommended here; in fact so strongly do we concur with this able authority, that we should give our strenuous opposition to the introduction of works of this nature. But, as we have already stated, it is not from any jealousy of discussion, or out of any spirit of opposition, that we recommend the non-introduction of News-papers,—we wish to prevent, as far as in us lies, an institute intended to be purely educational, from becoming the arena of political discussions and party manifestations. We do not desire men who join a Mechanics' Institute for the sake of reading News-papers—no, those are the very men that a Mechanics' Institute would do better without. The members we seek for are those whose object is the acquirement of knowledge of a loftier character than the mere perusal of a news-paper can bestow; and for such men, no matter how humble their station in life, we advocate the opening of Mechanics' Institutes and Free Libraries. We agree with the Attorney General for England, that by excluding news-papers from these institutes we are depriving the portion of the Working classes who would join them, "of one of the principal attractions to be found in Public Houses." But if we can compensate them for it by placing in their hands works of equal interest and of greater general entertainment, we contribute to their social happiness and intellectual improvement much more durably and effectively; with more benefit to the man, himself, and with greater advantage to the commonwealth.

Scotland is an example worth our notice; Institutes of the first character exist in many parts of that country, and the noblest of her aristocracy are to be found presiding at the meetings of their members. It may not be out of place here to give the following extract from an address, delivered to the Members of the Glasgow Athenæum, by his Grace the Duke of Argyle, relative to newspaper reading:—

"Now the first advice which I would give to the young men of Glasgow would be this,—not to spend their time *too much*—I lay

stress upon the words 'too much'—not to spend their time too much in mere newspaper reading. I should have given this advice at any time, and upon any occasion on which I might have appeared before the citizens of Glasgow with a similar object in view; but I have a particular desire to give this advice upon this occasion, because, at a late meeting of a similar institution in the city of Manchester, a person very eminent in the political world—I mean Mr. Cobden—gave a directly contrary advice. Mr. Cobden told the young men of Manchester, if I recollect his words, that no reading could be more useful than that of newspapers. Now, with all respect for Mr. Cobden, I wholly differ from such a sentiment. I do not wish to undervalue the high character and the very great ability of the better portion of the British Press. In that character we are all deeply interested, and we should be ungrateful if we did not acknowledge that that character does stand high. I will not hesitate to say that there are articles continually appearing in the daily press which, for vigour of expression and for grace of composition, are equal to the best specimens of English literature. All that I would say is—and I again repeat it—do not spend 'too much' of your time in newspaper-reading; and I give that advice upon this ground, that the knowledge which you acquire from newspapers is necessarily more or less of a desultory and superficial character. I would say then to the young men of Glasgow—if you wish to be living always in the present—if you wish to have the din of its contentions always in your ears, and the flush of its fleeting interests for ever on your brow—above all, if you wish to have your opinions ready made for you, without the trouble of enquiry and without the discipline of thought—then I say come from your counting-houses, and spend the few hours of leisure which you may have in exhausting the columns of the daily press; but if your ambition be a noble one—if your aim be higher—you will often find yourselves passing from the door of the news-room into that of the library—from the present to the past—from the living to the dead—to commune with those thoughts which have stood the test of time, and which have been raised to the shelves of the library by the common consent of all men, because they do not contain mere floating information, but instruction for all generations and for all time."

From this extract it is manifest that the Duke entertains opinions quite at variance with those of Mr. Cobden relative to newspaper reading, and though we cannot altogether coincide with either gentleman, we must admire the principles of the former. But, it is probable, had his Grace been addressing a similar assembly of the young men at Dublin, he would have recommended the exclusion of newspapers altogether. On the subject of the library, we have nothing further to observe, as it will be for many years to come, the matter to adopt or reject the suggestion we made. The cause of our advocating the opening of Me-

chanics' Institutes is to afford the mechanic, or any other working man those opportunities of mental culture and harmless amusement, which have been withheld to this period in Ireland, especially in its metropolis. And in order to protect the Institutes from the monopoly of persons in easier circumstances, we have recommended that none but those living by weekly wages should be considered admissible. The reason we assigned for this, seems to us a very palpable one, namely—that the presence of employers or superiors is calculated to prevent the attendance of the operative classes. This is not only the case in Ireland, but in England and Scotland also: Charles Knight, writing on Free Libraries, states—

“That the majority of Library Institutes in England comprise professional men, the higher shopkeepers and the managers of large firms; that the clerk and the shopkeeper will not go where they have a chance of being looked coldly on by their employers or superiors in service, and resort to Mechanics' Institutes, where their presence effectually drives out the fustian jacket.”

Mr Knight is a warm advocate for Free Libraries, and his arguments in their favor show a thorough knowledge of his subject, and a consciousness of the great good they must necessarily effect among the operative classes of any country. “There could be nothing easier,” writes this gentleman, “than to make the National School a Free Library also.” We consider that such could be very easily accomplished, but not more so than to make the Mechanics' Institute the same.

We have now submitted to our readers our views on Mechanics' Institutes suited to meet the educational wants of the working classes of this country, and though we regret the smallness of the number: we must not deny that throughout Ireland there are to be found a “happy few.” In Clonmel, for instance, there is an Institute of which its supporters may feel justly proud. The Evening School attached to this Institute, we understand, is in connexion with the Commissioners of Irish National Education, and perhaps in Ireland there is not another school of a like character equal to it.

The influence that such Institutes, whose opening we so strongly urge, would have upon the operative portion of society, cannot fail to strike the most casual observer. “Great indeed,” says the learned Sheriff Allison, “are the results to public and private welfare which may be expected from the spread and success of such institutions, in which the real treasures of

ther than that of knowledge itself. It is therefore clear, that if no facilities be offered for their application afterwards, we must expect the mind to degenerate; and no matter how large may be the number of elementary schools, the intellectual portion of the laboring body must remain uneducated. Being fully aware of this, we have ventured to recommend an English course, which in our opinion appears best adapted for the class of persons for whose benefit Mechanics' Institutes are intended.

Indeed, were we advocates for having the poor and uneducated man's son no better than his father, or the laborer's son a mere laborer too, in fact, were we to have the condition of the lower classes of society to remain stationary, then we might put greater limits to the course; or were we to entertain the same opinion held by Mr. Cobbett when he said, "It was highly injudicious to teach the poor people to aspire to anything but labour,"\* we should oppose the diffusion of knowledge among all who have been born poor, and keep it in a storehouse for those who are fortunate enough to possess the *Cash* to purchase it. Popular education is too far in advance now, and its friends too numerous to permit this system of exclusion—we say with Archbishop Whately—"I wonder not much, considering what human nature is, that some should think the education of the poor an *evil*: I do wonder at their not perceiving it to be *inevitable*."

Before closing the part of our paper relating to the class of instruction that should be given in Mechanics' Institutes, a question arises,—Should the course of Education consist of English only? We can in great truth inform our readers that we have given this matter our serious consideration for some time, and we might say for years, and the result of our consideration we shall now lay before them; but before doing so we would have them to bear in mind, that we are now advocating the cause of continuous education, for those who have already passed through elementary schools, as well as the education of the poor adult, which may have been more sadly neglected.

Under such circumstances it must appear that persons will attend, whose vocations in life must widely differ, but who, nevertheless, form the working portion of the community. Of

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\* Mr. Cobbett's speech on Mr. Roebuck's motion for a committee to enquire into the state of English Education.



to perseverance, and create in his bosom a spirit of emulation. The plan we allude to is—that each member be solicited to bring to the institute a specimen of the craft in which he is engaged, and at stated intervals that those specimens should be submitted to the inspection of competent judges, and premiums awarded to the successful competitors. Good results would certainly arise from this plan if once carried into effect, but in no case should any specimen be exhibited except by a member of the institute. Viewed in any light it will be seen that these institutes would be calculated to improve the character of the working classes, and conduce to their social welfare. An institute such as this we earnestly hope to see opened for the young mechanics and artizans of Dublin. But, instead of this, what have we?

An Institution bearing the title *Mechanics'*, a title which it can in no degree of justice claim. It is an assembly house for the middle classes, as may easily be discovered by any person visiting the Reading Room attached to it. The visitor will see there an assemblage of men of middle age, filling positions in society from which they derive incomes of some hundreds a year, while he is struck with the almost entire absence of the working mechanic or youthful apprentice. We admit that both one and the other are eligible to the institute, and we also admit the desirability of having an institute open to all classes; but we see the almost total impossibility of having men "with the honorable stain of labor on their hands and brows" intermix with fashionably attired gentlemen to whom daily toil is only known by name. It would unquestionably be a great advantage to have the employer and the employed assemble in the same institute; in fact, this is a system we would encourage, still, it was not designed by the originators of *Mechanics' Institutes*. No; these institutes were intended to benefit mechanics or men depending on their weekly earnings, and such only should be eligible thereto. That the so called Dublin *Mechanics' Institute* is not an educational institute, all acquainted with its character must admit, but that the common object of the gentlemen comprising its board is to render it so, no person can deny. Yet we cannot see how this object can be accomplished till the spirit of religious hostility and party feeling on both sides shall have passed away, and indeed we regret to observe that such has pervaded, and continues to pervade its management at the present moment. Much credit, no doubt,

is due to certain well meaning and influential gentlemen for their untiring efforts to suppress and eradicate from the institution those agents of its destruction, and which if allowed to continue, will render it inevitable. But if it is to succeed its success we *fear* must be attributed to the support of the middle ranks, who, we have just grounds to believe, are its main supporters at present.

The classes of this institute are attended by persons who should be made to seek instruction in other places more suited to their positions. We advert to this feature of its management because we are aware of the injustice done to the children of mechanics or workmen, who would be only too glad to send them to learn the subjects taught in many of the classes. But if the Dublin Mechanics' Institute were what its name imports, men of superior circumstances and high positions would not be allowed to join it for the purpose of having a "cheap read," and that their children might be taught accomplishments at a "cheap rate." To certain gentlemen connected with it we accord the praise that is justly due to them for the active and zealous part they have taken to reconcile its members on more than one occasion; yet we cannot but observe, and at the same time regret, that there are still connected with the Institution certain individuals who, it would appear, glory in disseminating discord and party feeling among those of the working classes who attend it. It is a subject of regret, as we have already observed, that such an Institute should be converted at times into an arena of party politics and religious bigotry. We are not now censuring any section, we are merely stating what we, and thousands of others, know to be the shameful fact. We know that the Mechanics' Institute of Dublin was originated, fostered and brought to a high position by some of the most benevolent and influential of our fellow citizens; that its board was composed of, and its affairs conducted by many who had but one object in view,—the welfare of the Mechanics. But unfortunately these gentlemen allowed some turbulent, disaffected individuals to steal in amongst them, who in the end drove the original founders out, and made the Institute designed for the good of the poor, a scene of politics and party spirit, a forum of debate for half-fledged orators, instead of a school of science for the working man. It is unnecessary for us to state how rejoiced we shall be when we hear of harmony and good will existing among the

members of this institution, and that discord and religious hostility shall be heard of no more. Its directors well know that facts speak more forcibly than speeches, however eloquent; knowing this it would be perhaps wise to prevent many of those would-be party leaders from delivering addresses calculated to create ill and envious feelings among the unwary and credulous portion of the members; for, to say the least of some of the meetings that have lately taken place in this institution, they were anything but creditable. Let us hope that we shall never witness such again. We shall now pass from it, and in doing so, wish that some steps may be taken to entitle it to the name it at present holds. If such be done there is no doubt that the number on *Rolls* in the English class will far exceed that given in the Directors' Report for last year, which we believe was THIRTY-SEVEN.

In a preceding part of this paper we stated that we did not desire Institutions devoted solely to the education of Protestants or Roman Catholics, but one for the benefit of all classes, without reference to any creed or sect. It is evident that an institute like this would be really National: to render it so we would strongly recommend that it should be placed under the Commissioners of Irish National Education: we care not what may be the objections urged against this, for our part we hold it to be the only way by which such institutes can be rendered successful. Experience has strengthened us in this view, and we could, if space permitted, adduce many cogent reasons for entertaining this opinion. Our readers well know that the National System is the only system suited to Ireland, and this time itself has sufficiently proved. Could the Commissioners be induced to give the matter their consideration, and open for the working classes of Dublin a Model National Mechanics' Institute, such as we have endeavoured to describe, there is no doubt it would be attended with the most signal success, if committed to proper managers and Trained Teachers. With the Commissioners are the confidence and well wishes of the vast majority of the Irish people. These they have justly earned, for till their appointment knowledge was as a sealed casket to the Irish poor, and there is every reason to believe it would continue so till this day, did not the Legislature extend its powerful arm and burst the seal. There never has been a greater boon conferred upon any country than National Education has proved to Ireland, and it affords us

more than ordinary satisfaction to see such men as Sir John Pakington come forth to urge a similar system for England.

In closing our paper we would have our readers to bear in mind, that the grounds on which we urge the opening of Mechanics' Institutes are exactly those on which our Viceroy, the Earl of Carlisle, urged their encouragement and support, namely—"to raise the toiling masses of our countrymen above the range of sordid cares and low desires—to enliven the weary toil and drudgery of life with the countless graces of literature, and the sparkling play of fancy,—to clothe the lessons of duty and of prudence in the most instructive as well as the most inviting forms—to throw open to eyes, dull and bleared with the irksome monotony of their daily task-work, the rich resources and bountiful prodigalities of nature,—to dignify the present with the lessons of the past and the visions of the future—to make the artizans of our crowded workshops, and the inhabitants of our most sequestered villages, alive to all that is going on in the big universe around them, and amidst all the startling and repelling distinctions of our country, to place all upon the equal domain of intellect and of genius."

#### ART. IV.—ODD BOOKS.

1. *Catalogue of the Valuable, Select, and Distinguished Library of the late John Smith Furlong, Esq., Q.C., and Benchet of the Honorable Society of Kings' Inns, Which will be Sold by Auction, by Charles Sharpe, at his Literary Sale Room, 31, Anglesea Street, on Tuesday, 26th May, 1846, and Ten following Days, Commencing at 1 o'clock Each Day.* Dublin: Printed by Webb and Chapman. 1846.
2. *Catalogue of The Valuable Library of the late Frederick William Conway, Esq., Comprising Rare and Early English and Foreign Theology; Ecclesiastical History and Antiquities; Illuminated and other Manuscripts of the XIII, XIV, and XV Centuries; With many Very Fine Specimens of Early Printing; Standard Literature in the English, French, Italian, and Spanish Languages; a Noble Collection of the Greek and Latin Classics; Works relating to Ireland and America; the Drama; Bibliography; Illustrated Works, &c., Which will be Sold by Auction, by H. Lewis, in the Literary Sale Rooms, 31, Anglesea Street, on Tuesday, May 30th, 1854, and Twenty-Four following Days.* Dublin, 1854.

There is certainly more of pain than pleasure in the contemplation of the eccentricities of genius. We do not refer, of course, to that abuse of natural gifts, and their application to the cause of infidelity or indecency, for which some writers are infamous; of that obliquity of moral vision, which produced the *Essays* of a Bolingbroke, or of a Hume, the *Pucelle* of a Voltaire, and the *Contes et Nouvelles* of a LaFontaine, but of an idiosyncrasy which leads to the expenditure of superior powers on subjects of a trifling, absurd, or merely curious character.

We cannot look upon these memorials of misdirected industry and talent without a painful calculation of what the efforts they cost, if properly applied, could have done for literature and humanity. As if, too, the labor and expenditure of mind bestowed on such works, exhausted, in the single effort, the entire resources of the writers, these authors, though in

their follies and absurdities displaying great powers and superior acquirements, have, in nearly every instance, remained content with such reputation as they gained by their bizarre productions; and have sat down in easy idleness for the rest of their existences. Whether this inactivity is to be ascribed to exhaustion of brain, or to satisfied ambition, or whether indeed a life-time was not more than sufficient for the invention and completion of such "curiosities of literature," whatever be the cause, the result is much to be deplored.

The eccentricities of which we are about to write have assumed various forms of development. In some instances the singularity lies in the subject, in others in the manner in which the subject is treated, and in others again in a laborious alliteration, or in a peculiar arrangement of type upon the page into various shapes, as glasses, crosses, and so forth.

Shape, indeed, appears generally to have been an ingenious device to attract the popular eye, and to supply the place of merit and substance in the matter, with singularity in the form. It appears to have been practised at a very early period in literary annals; Simmias of Rhodes, conjectured by Vossius to have lived in the reign of Ptolemy Lagus, wrote three pieces which are called the Wings, the Egg, and the Axe, the verses of each being so arranged as to form these respective figures.\* It is probable that he was also the author of *Syrinx*, or Pipe of Pan, which is generally ascribed to Theocritus, and printed in the editions of his works. The verses of which this poem are composed are so arranged as to form the shape of a shepherd's pipe. We have also the *Altar*, and *Organ*, Latin poems of Publius Optatianus Porphyrius, and in more modern times we have the *Urania* of Balthazar Boniface, which contains 26 printed and 22 engraved pages, and figure verses resembling a Tower, (*turris*) a Shield, (*clypeus*) a Pillar, (*columna*) an Hour glass, (*clepsydra*) and others. In the poems of Charles Francis Panard, called, by Marmontel, the *La Fontaine de Vaudeville*, are to be found several of these puerilities. The Glass, and the Bottle, and the Lozenges, each resembling one of those articles, are amongst the number.†

Still more laborious was the composition of those poems, if they deserve the name, in which the initial of each word

\* See *Spectator* (Chalmers' Edition, London: 1822) vol I. p. 284.

† For the glass and bottle, see *IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW*, No. XI. Vol. III. p. 630. Art. "Fashion in Poetry and The Poets of Fashion."

with the same letter was scrupulously observed. The *Pugna Porcorum* of Plaisant, or as he is generally called by his latinized name *Placentius*, is probably the best known of these: it is intended as a satire on the clergy, Plaisant being himself a Dominican monk, and its entire merit consists in every word commencing with a P. Of a similar character is the

Canum cum cattis  
certamen

Carmine compositum  
Currente calamo

Auctor est Henricus Harderus—

It begins thus:—

Cattorum caninus certamina clara canumque  
Calliope concede chelyn; clariaeque, camænæ  
Condite cum cytharis celso condigno cothurno  
Carmina; certantes canibus committite catts  
Commemorate canum casus casu que cattorum  
Cumprimis causas certamina cuncta creantur.

The letter C is a favorite letter for this purpose, as it affords greater facilities, at least in the Latin language. We find accordingly a monk, named Hugbald, addressing a poem in praise of baldness to Charles the Bald—commencing thus:—

Carmina clarisonæ calvis cantate camoenæ  
Conere condigno conabor carmine calvos  
Contra cirrosi crines confundere colli.

Martinus Hamconius, a somewhat celebrated writer against the Calvinists, endeavoured to point his arguments with this device, and produced his "*Certamen catholicorum cum calvinistis continuo caractere C. conscriptum per Martinum Hamconium Lovanii 1612.*" In addition there is the "*Christus Crucifixus*" of Pierius, and the "*De venatione carmen heroicum*" of Mameranus.

Truly has Montaigne said "*Notre esprit est un outil vagabond, dangereux, et téméraire, il est mal aise d'y joindre l'ordre et la mesure. C'est un outrageux glaive a son possesseur meme que l'esprit à qui ne sait s'en armer ardonnement et discrètement.*"

In the wild and irregular excursions of some fancies, no personage or subject however sacred is respected; no speculation however impious or unprofitable neglected; no enquiry however useless or indecent unpursued. The mysteries of religion; the miraculous dispensations of Providence; the secrets and wonders

of nature, and the formation and existence of man himself, become in turns, instead of subjects of grave and humble enquiry, the sports of eccentric genius or bold impiety.\*

It is difficult to glance at, without a shudder, the wild ravings of a Bourignon, or the deliberate licentiousness of a Beverland or Aretino; but we can gather consolation from the knowledge that these, and such like productions, are daily sinking deeper into that total oblivion whose merciful waters will eventually close over them for ever. The enquiries with which men of great knowledge have frequently occupied their thoughts will, on the other hand, frequently provoke a smile. The kind of fruit which tempted our first parents; the burial place of Adam; his height; the extent of his knowledge, to these and other subjects of equal inutility, men of real learning and ability have devoted great time and labor.

A shoemaker of Amiens published, in 1615, a tract in which, tracing the history of boots, he asserted that Adam was the first to make them from the skins of beasts, and that he learned the art from God himself.

A Member of the Academy, in a laborious dissertation on the weights and measures of the ancients, favors us with the following chronological Scale of the various heights of men since the creation.—Adam 123 feet 9 inches, Eve 118 feet 9½ inches, Noah 103, Abraham 27, Moses 18, Hercules 10, Alexander 10, Julius Cæsar 5. He sagely adds, that if Providence had not been pleased to suspend this progressive decrease, men would now be no bigger than the smallest insect.

In the seventeenth century, the chevalier Causans undertook to explain, by means of the quadrature of the circle, the mystery of original sin and of the Trinity. He announced that he had deposited with a Notary 300,000 francs, to be paid over to any person who should succeed in refuting his reasoning. Among his adversaries, who were pretty numerous, was a young woman who took the matter very seriously, and who, failing to convince the chevalier that his reasoning was false, summoned him before the châtelet. The court very sensibly declined to decide the controversy, but considered that the fortune of an honest man should not be dissipated for a whim; the suit was consequently dismissed.

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\* In the Retrospective Review for June, 1854, will be found printed, and extending to seven pages, a speculation upon the occupation of God before the Creation.



Olaus Ruðbeck, a Swedish Physician and natural philosopher, who died at Upsal, in 1740, maintained, in his natural history of the Bible, that Scalvim, with which the Hebrews were fed in the desert, were neither quails nor locusts, but herrings, "neither fish, nor fowl, but good red herring."

The father of this writer was the author of a learned work, in which he assigns the locality of Paradise to Sweden. This book is more remarkable for learning than for judgment, and is entitled "*Atlantica sive Manheim vera Japheti Posteriorum sedes ac Patria*," in 4 folio volumes. As a companion to this work may be mentioned, "*An enquiry into the nature and place of Hell*," 1714, by the Rev. Tobias Swinden, an English clergyman, who endeavours to prove therein that the sun is that place of torments.

Doctor Edmund Dickinson, an English Physician, published, in 1655, a learned work entitled "*Delphi Phœnicizantes*," the object of which is to prove that the Greeks borrowed the story of the Pythian Apollo, and all that related to the oracle of Delphos, from the Scriptures. In Joshua, Dr. Dickinson sees Apollo; in King Og, Python or Typhon the Giant, (for, according to Dr. Dickinson, Typhon is but an anagram of Python). Typhon, in Greek means burnt, as Og does in Hebrew. Then the arrows of Apollo are the rays of the sun, which pierce or burn up Typhon, or Python; that is to say in fine, that on a very hot day, Joshua conquered Og, King of the Bashans.

Gabriel DeHenao, a Spanish Jesuit, is the author of a curious treatise called "*Empyreologia seu Philosophia Christiana de Empyreo Coelo*." In this he undertakes to describe the delights of Paradise, one of which will consist of playing on musical instruments like those in use on earth.

He is, however, outdone by another Jesuit, Louis Henriques, who wrote "*Occupations de Saints dans le Ciel*." The paradise of this good man reminds one of that of Mahomet; according to him the blessed shall delight in embracing one another; in bathing in delightful baths, in which they shall swim like fishes; they shall sing more melodiously than nightingales, and take delight in balls, masquerades, and ballets.

About the year 1700, John Asgill, an English Barrister, published a work entitled, "*An Argument to prove that according to the Covenant of Eternal Life, revealed in the*

Scriptures, man may be translated from hence without passing through Death, although the Human Nature of Christ himself could not thus be translated till he had passed through Death." The publication of this work excited so much indignation against the writer that he was expelled from the Irish House of Commons, after having held his seat but four days. He subsequently obtained a seat in the British Parliament, and having been arrested for debt, some members who considered themselves disgraced by the circumstance, made his book an excuse for expelling him a second time.

Perhaps as strange and original a notion as ever entered the head of man, was that started by John Hardouin, a learned French Jesuit, respecting the authenticity of the writings of the ancients. In his "*Chronologiæ ex nummis antiquis, restitutæ, specimen primum*," 2 to., Paris, 1696, he supports the hypothesis, that almost all the writings which bear the names of the Greek and Roman poets and historians, are the spurious productions of the 13th century. He excepts, however, Homer, Herodotus, Cicero, and Pliny, as well as the satires and epistles of Horace and the Georgics of Virgil, but contends that the two latter are allegorical writers, who had, under the names of Lalage and Æneas, represented the Christian religion and the life of its founder. His clerical superiors thought proper to call upon him for a public recantation of his errors, and they proscribed and condemned his book.

An idea of the state of Medical Science in the reign of Edward the Second, may be formed from a perusal of the "*Rosa Anglica*" of John of Gateseten, who was Physician to that King. In this he states that he cured one of the Royal children of the Small Pox by wrapping him in scarlet cloth, and hanging scarlet curtains round the bed. The work abounds with superstitious absurdities, and yet it appears that the author was acquainted with the process of rendering salt water fresh by distillation.

If the contents of a book were always equal to the title, the "*Examen de ingenios para las ciencias*," of John Huarte, (known as the "*Tryal of wits*" of Carew and Bellamy) would be invaluable to parents and directors of youth. It professes to be "*An examination of such geniuses as are born fit for acquiring the science, wherein by marvellous and useful secrets, drawn from true philosophy, both natural and divine, are*

shown the gifts and different abilities found in man, and for what kind of study the genius of every man is adapted, in such a manner that whoever shall read this book attentively will discover the properties of his own genius, and be able to make choice of that science in which he will make the greatest improvement." To render the value of his work inestimable the author prescribes the formalities to be observed by those who would wish to have children of a virtuous turn of mind, or of either sex: this, however, is but the theory of Aristotle.

Huarte also published, as authentic, a pretended letter of Lentulus, the proconsul, from Jerusalem, in which a particular description is given of the person of our Saviour. Our readers have doubtless frequently seen a portrait answering the description given in this letter, and with the letter itself appended, exposed for sale in shop windows, and purchased eagerly by old and young. We have often thought what reception any attempt to impeach the genuineness of the inscription would meet with from those persons, and remembering moreover the happiness of being well deceived, have forborne the task.

Gaspar Tagliacozzi, immortalised in *Hudibras* by the latinized name of *Taliacotius*, was an Italian surgeon, born at Bologna in 1546; he applied himself chiefly to curing wounds of the ears, lips and nose, and published a curious work entitled, "*De curtorum chirurgia per insitionem additis catiis traducis, Instrumentorum omnium atque deligationum Iconibus et tabulis*," lib II. fol. Venice, 1597. He is said to have practised the operation in question, of cutting out a portion of skin and flesh from the upper part of the arm, applying it to the raw skin of the face over the place of the nose, and keeping it in that position by ligatures till the parts were properly united. The piece must then have been entirely separated from the arm, which till then had been kept in contact with the face. The more modern plan consists of dissecting a part of the integuments of the forehead, and bringing it down to the proper place, where it is confined till adhesion takes place.\*

The study of medicine is suggestive of many curious and interesting enquiries; while the knowledge which it imparts of the human frame, and of the mysterious connexion of soul with body, produces in men of a sober and contemplative turn, habits of deep thought and religious tendency; it frequently, on the other hand, is the cause of misleading and daz-

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\* See post, p. 300, "Strange Cure for a Cut Off Nose."

zing men of sceptical turn of mind, and of leading them to view every thing with material eyes.

This is well illustrated in the case of Bernard Connor, an Irish physician born in the county Kerry in 1666, and who obtained the appointment of Physician to the King of Poland. His extraordinary work is entitled "*Evangelium Medicii vel Medicina Mystica De suspensis naturæ legibus sive Miraculis reliquisque in rebus βιβλαιοῖς memoratis, quæ medicinæ indagini subijci possunt, ubi perpensis prius corporum natura sano et morbo corporis humani statu, nec non motus legibus, rerum status super naturam, præcipuè qui corpus humanum et animam spectant, juxta medicinæ principia explicantur. A Bernard Connor, medicus doctor eregia societate Londinensi etc.*" Londini sumptibus bibliopolarum Richardi Wellington, etc, etc. M.DC.XC.VII., and is devoted to an attempt to prove that certain miracles related in Scripture can be traced to natural causes. It is curious to find in the beginning of the book a permission to print it, granted by the London censors, Thomas Millington, Thomas Burwel, Richard Torless, William Dawes, and Thomas Gill. Certainly in the year 1697 England had no great reason to boast of the liberty of the press.

O'Connor commences his book with a mistake. He expresses his opinion that an explanation and reference to natural causes of those miracles relative to the human frame related in Scripture, would have a powerful effect in converting sceptics and deists, by reconciling reason with the doctrine of miracles; but he does not see that, on the contrary, nothing could be more opposed to such results than success in his demonstration, which would only shew that miracles are not in fact miracles. The work is nevertheless learned and ingenious, and excited about the time of its appearance considerable comment and discussion.

It would be a matter of no small surprise to many, to learn what fruitful source of contention, the question of the existence of witchcraft formed some 250 years ago, and perhaps more, to learn that those who denied its existence were greatly in the minority, and were looked upon as impious and daring sceptics. Meric Casaubon is the author of a work entitled "*A treatise proving spirits, witches, and supernatural operations,*" which one would be inclined to suppose, was intended by him rather as a compliment to the opinion of his patron, James

the First, than as an expression of his own opinions, from the fact that he was also the writer of "A treatise concerning enthusiasm, as it is an effect of nature," a work approved by Sir William Temple, who regarded it as a happy attempt to account for delusions upon natural principles.

One of the latest defenders of witchcraft was Joseph Glanville, who died in 1680, who was the author of an elaborate and credulous work entitled "Some philosophical considerations touching the being of witches and witchcraft." It is almost incredible, that the same man who produced this weak and narrow treatise, should at the time, be one of the warmest defenders of the philosophy of Bacon, against that of Aristotle, defended by Stubbe.

John Wierus, born in the Duchy of Brabant in 1555, and Physician to the Duke of Cleves, maintained in his "*De prestigiis et Incuratationibus*," that persons accused of witchcraft were hypochondriacs; and Reginald Scott, a learned Englishman of the 16th century, undertook their defence in the work which is now known as "Scott's discovery of witchcraft," proving the common opinion of witches contracting with devils, spirits, familiars, &c., to be but imaginary erroneous conceptions and novelties, with a treatise on the nature of spirits, devils, &c. In the preface he declares that his views are "to prevent the abasement of God's glory, the rescue of the gospel from an alliance with such peevish trumpery, and to advocate favour and christian compassion towards the poor souls accused of witchcraft, rather than rigour and extremity."

It was against what he himself calls "the damnable opinion of Wierus and Scott," that King James the First wrote his "*Demonologie*," printed at Edinburgh in 1597.

The history of the principal attempts which have been made at imposture in literary matters, is tolerably well known to most readers. The amount of genius, industry, and ingenuity expended in the elaboration of those deceptions is indeed wonderful, and makes our regret for their ill direction proportionably greater.

The Rowley poems of Chatterton; the Shakspeare forgeries of Ireland, and the less decided imposition of Macpherson's *Osian* are known to every reader. The positive injury inflicted by these, and such as these, is after all inconsiderable, and the indignation excited in those, whose vanity and self-esteem were wounded by the discovery by others, of impostures which

had escaped their own research, was the chief agent in raising the storm of rage and obloquy which overwhelmed the authors.

The unworthy means by which, about the year 1750, a Mr. William Lauder attempted to detract from the poetical candor and originality of Milton, give however, to his case, a very different complexion. Lauder was a native of Scotland, and having been disappointed in obtaining a professorship in Edinburgh removed to London, and began his career as author. In the year 1747, he published, in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, an "Essay on Milton's use and imitation of the moderns," in which he attempted to prove that Milton had largely borrowed from some modern Latin poets in the composition of *Paradise Lost*.

Several answers were attempted in the *Magazine*, but none of them succeeded in vindicating the character of the Poet; and Lauder, encouraged by his success, proceeded to republish his essay in a separate form. In the preface to this essay he says, "I have ventured to publish the following observations on Milton's imitation of the Moderns, having lately fallen on four or five modern authors in Latin verse, which I have reason to believe Milton consulted in composing his '*Paradise Lost*.' The novelty of the subject will entitle me to the favor of the reader, since I in no way intend unjustly to derogate from the real merit of the writer." The first author alluded to was Jacobus Massenius. He was professor of Rhetoric in the Jesuits' College at Cologne, about 1650, and he wrote "*Sarcotis*" in five books, "which," said Lauder, "is not so much a complete model as a rough draft of an epic poem. Milton follows this author tolerably closely through the first two books. In it Adam and Eve are described under the single name of sarcothea or human nature, whose antagonist, the infernal serpent, is called Lucifer. The infernal council or Pandemonium, Lucifer's habits, and the fights of the angels, are too obvious not to have been noticed. Milton's exordium appears to have been almost directly taken from Massenius and Ramsay."

The charge made by Lauder against Milton amounted in fact to this, that he had borrowed the plan, and in many parts particular passages from other authors; and to the refutation of this charge, soon after the appearance in a separate form of Lauder's Essay, Dr. Douglas, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, applied himself with complete success. In a published letter

to the Earl of Bath, Dr. Douglas showed that passages which Lauder had cited professedly from Massenius, Staphorstius, Taubmannus and others, had been interpolated into these authors by Lauder himself, from Alexander Hog's latin translation of Milton's *Paradise Lost*. Incredible as it may seem, it even appeared that Lauder interpolated Milton himself, and quoted lines from *Paradise Lost* which never existed in that poem.

Dr. Douglas' exposure was too complete to permit a struggle against it, Lauder confessed his imposition, and assigned as its origin his anxiety to enhance the merit of Dr. Anthony Johnstone, (of whose paraphrase of the Psalms in Latin Verse he had published an Edition,) by lessening that of Milton, Pope having, in his criticisms on Johnstone, contrasted him unfavorably with Milton.

George Psalmanazar's history of the Island of Formosa, published in London, in 1704, succeeded for a time in imposing upon many. The real name of this person is not known, he was of French extraction, and his early life was by no means irreproachable. Originally he had conceived the idea of passing himself off as a Japanese convert to Christianity, but not finding this scheme successful, he determined upon assuming the character of a native of the Island of Formosa, and invented a new language which he called Formosan.

Meeting with a clergyman named Innes, who was chaplain to an officer in Flanders, the pair entered into an arrangement to visit London, and Psalmanazar having joined, at Mr. Innes' request, the Established Church, was presented to Dr. Compton, Dr. Gibson, and several others who became his patrons. He next translated the church catechism into Formosan, and published his account of the Island, with engravings of ships, dwellings, &c., and so far was the public mind deceived, that this book passed rapidly through two editions and was generally looked upon as a faithful account of the Island and its inhabitants. The invention necessary to produce a new language, and the amazing tenacity of memory required to make his various and numerous conversations in his *native* language consistent, were, surely, designed for better things.

We have already observed upon the eccentricity of medical writers, and in truth amongst their works we find the most remarkable examples of ingenious folly; but yet a folly so interest-

ing that one prefers it to many a wise, grave treatise of our own time. Besides, in their old, odd books, we trace the gradual rise and progress of the noble science of healing, of the great art of Medicine.

Surgery, through the prohibition of the church, was, like money-lending, through the prohibition of receiving interest, confined solely, in its higher branches, to the Jews. The Jews were pronounced impious, and medicines received through their prescriptions declared accursed, and by a decree of the council of Lateran, the physicians were directed, under heavy penalties, to require that the patients should receive the sacraments of penance and the eucharist, before medicine could be prescribed for them—thus it was supposed that the Jewish physicians would be readily discovered, as through bigotry they would refuse to obey this direction. The prescriptions were curious, but amongst the most strange of all was that commonly known as the Doctrine of Signatures—that is, certain herbs and plants were presumed useful in curing those parts of the human body to which they bore, or were fancied to bear, a resemblance. Capillary herbs were good in diseases of the hair. Walnuts were presumed to be a sovereign cure in all diseases of the head, from the great resemblance between them and that portion of the human frame—the green covering of the outer husk, represented the pericranium; and salt made of the husk was good for injuries to the outside of the head. The soft inner shell was like the skull, and the thin yellow skin was like the dura and the pia mater. The kernel was so like the brain that it must of necessity be a perfect remedy for all diseases or injuries of that organ. William Coles, the herbalist, writes, that the “Lily of the Valley is good to cure the apoplexy, for as that disease is caused by the dropping of humours into the principal ventricles of the brain, so the flowers of this lily hanging on the plants as if they were drops, are of wonderful use herein.” Kidney beans, from their perfect resemblance to the kidneys, were considered of great service in all urinary diseases. The yellow and purple spots upon the flowers Eye-bright, resembling the marks upon diseased eyes, the flowers were esteemed most efficacious in curing these disorders. Thistles and Holly, from their stinging the hand which touched them, were believed to be useful in curing the pricking pains of pleurisy; and the Saxifrage, from the manner of its growth, was esteemed a most powerful dissolvent of the stone. And



because the cones of the pine tree resembled the front teeth, a gudge of vinegar in which they had been boiled was classed as a most efficacious remedy for the tooth-ache.

But the Doctrine of Signatures was surpassed in its absurdity by the remedies and ingredients prescribed for the cure of diseases generally.—For consumption, pills of powder of pearls and whiteamber were prescribed; for this disease, and also for dropsy, water distilled from a peck of garden snails and a quart of earth worms was good; and cockwater was also recommended, and was made from the water in which a cock that had been chased, beaten, and plucked alive, had been boiled. For broken bones, the oil of swallows was prescribed; this was made by pounding twenty live swallows in a mortar: a grey cel with a white belly, closed in an earthen pot, and buried alive in a dunghill, gave forth an oil which was good for the hearing; but the water of man's blood was the most famous and expensive of all the old remedies, and, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, was "an invention whereof some princes had very great estimation." To make it—a strong man of a warm nature, and twenty-five years old, was to be selected and well dieted for a month with meat, spices and wine; when the month had elapsed, veins in both his arms were to be opened and as much blood as he could bear taken from him. One handful of salt was to be added to six pounds of the blood, and this was to be seven times distilled, water being each time poured upon the residuum. This was to be taken three or four times a year, in doses of an ounce at a time—health and strength were supposed to be transferable by means of this mixture. May not the doctrine of transfusion have its origin in this custom?

The practice of surgery was still more curious.—It was necessary that a dangerous and difficult operation for the stone should be performed on Louis XIV., and several men afflicted with a like disease were carried to the house of Louvois, the Minister, where the chief surgeon Felix operated upon them before Fagon, the physician of the King. Most of those operated on died; and that the King might know nothing of his dangerous condition, or, of the means adopted to ensure certainty and safety in the cure, they were buried privately and by night. The operation was performed successfully upon the king; but Felix was so much agitated, that a nervous tremor settled upon him for life, and in bleeding a friend, on the day succeeding that upon

which the king had been so happily cured, he disabled the patient irreparably. When Felip de Utre went in search of the Omeguas from Venezuela, he was wounded by a spear, thrust through the ribs just beneath the right arm. A Spaniard, who was ignorant of surgery, undertook to cure him, and De Utre's coat of mail was placed upon an old Indian who was mounted on a horse; the amateur surgeon then drove a spear into the Indian's body, through the hole in the armour, and his body having been opened, the spear being still kept in the wound, it was discovered that the heart was uninjured—thus they assumed that De Utre's wound was not mortal, and being treated as if the wound were an ordinary one, he recovered. When Henry II. of France was mortally wounded by a splinter from a spear, in tilting with Montgomerie, which entered his visor and pierced his eye, the surgeons, for the purpose of discovering the probable injury done to the King, cut off the heads of four criminals, and thrust splinters into their eyes, as nearly at the same inclination as the fatal one had entered that of the King. Ambrose Paré's chapter on poisons, and his "Strange Cure for a Cut Off Nose," which we give in the words of his translator, Johnson, are remarkable:—

"There was a Surgeon of *Italy*, of late years, which would restore or repair the portion of the Nose that was cut away, after this manner. He first scarified the callous edges of the maimed Nose round about, as is usually done in the cure of Hair-lips; he then made a gash or cavity in the muscle of the arm, which is called *biceps*, as large as the greatness of the portion of the Nose, which was cut away, did require; and into that gash or cavity so made, he would put that part of the Nose so wounded, and bind the patient's head to his arm, as if it were to a post, so fast that it might remain firm, stable and immovable, and not lean or bow any way; and about forty days after, or at that time when he judged the flesh of the Nose was perfectly agglutinated with the flesh of the arm, he cut out as much of the flesh of the arm, cleaving fast unto the Nose, as was sufficient to supply the defect of that which was lost, and then he would make it even, and bring it, as by licking, to the fashion and form of a Nose, as near as art would permit; and in the meanwhile he did feed his patient with panadoes, gellies, and all such things as were easy to be swallowed and digested. The flesh that is taken out of the arm is not of the like temperature as the flesh of the Nose is; also the holes of the restored Nose cannot be made as they were before."

Our space does not permit us to extend the subject farther, we have but glanced at it; to pursue it fully would be to fill some volumes. It is indeed but little to be wondered at,

that writers should exhaust their invention in search of novel ideas and topics, when making an attempt to fix themselves in the minds of men, and in the annals of literature. The selection of a strange or unusual subject, or a peculiar and remarkable mode of treating a common one, are but evidence of a desire to be remembered, and if not cherished as a genius, at least to be preserved in memory as a curiosity.

In a future paper we shall return to the consideration of this subject, and at greater length.

#### ART. V.—THE ROMANCE OF LIFE:—THE COUNT OF MONTE CRISTO.

*The Count of Monte Cristo.* By Alexander Dumas. London: Chapman and Hall. 1847.

In resuming the subject to which we devoted a small portion of our last number, we proceed to detail the facts upon which the principal incidents of the very entertaining novel of Alexandre Dumas, ushered into public notice under the aristocratic title of "*The Count of Monte Cristo*," have been founded, and we feel it necessary here to premise, that we are not to be considered as imputing plagiarism, or a deficiency of imaginative or descriptive power, to the gifted Frenchman who has won for himself an European reputation, second perhaps only to that transcendent genius, whose romances have made us familiar with the characters of former kings, the habits of bye-gone times, the chivalrous honour of knight or noble, and the plain, simple, natural, feelings of man in his humblest phase—the immortal Scott. We rather accord the ready meed of our praise to Dumas, for the ingenuity with which he adopts and adapts transactions of recent date to the construction of tales equally interesting as the choicest legends of the middle ages, and to which their greatest graces are imparted by the drapery of his imaginative power. He commences the novel to which we refer, by a scene in Marseilles, in which the arrival of a ship from a distant voyage is naturally described, and we rejoice with the hero of the tale upon his

perils past, his promotion gained, his old father comforted and relieved in his necessity, and his intended bride visited and won to name the nuptial day; envy and malice are depicted at their baleful work, the ingenuous young sailor is involved in a false accusation, and consigned to hopeless captivity as a state prisoner. We are soon introduced to the "small cabinet of the Tuileries," and Louis the XVIII. is placed before us almost as distinctly as the lion-hearted Richard appears in *Ivanhoe*, or the crafty and cruel Louis the XI. in *Quentin Durward*. The first of the restored Bourbons was not a man calculated to win attention as a character; much had been done for him, nothing had been done by him, he was cunning but not sagacious, pedantic but not learned, confident but not courageous, fearful but not cautious, and we have all these points fully pourtrayed by Dumas, in his description of the scene which terminated by the announcement of Napoleon's return from Elba. It is not our intention to go farther with the narrative, we notice its early pages as justifying our previous remarks, and we now proceed to give the real story on which the remainder of the work is founded.

There lived at Paris in 1807, a shoemaker, of the description called *chamber masters*, named Francois Picaud, he was young, tolerably well-looking, and was on the point of effecting a matrimonial union with an agreeable, lively damsel, who possessed a very handsome dowry. Full of the excitement consequent on his expected good fortune, and arrayed in his best attire, he betook himself to a café kept by an acquaintance of his own rank and age, but who was more wealthy than the shoemaker, and was remarkable for an extraordinary jealousy of any neighbour who appeared to be thriving, or even likely to prosper.

Mathieu Loupian, who had as well as Picaud, been born at Nismes, kept a well frequented house of refreshment near the place Sainte Opportune. He was a widower having two children, and three persons all from the department of Gard, were peculiarly intimate with him.

"What now," said the host, "ch! Picaud, but you are stylish, one would imagine that you were about to dance *les treilhas*," (a popular ballet much practised in lower Languedoc.)

"I am on a better project, my friend Loupian, I am about to marry."

"And whom have you selected to plant your horns," demanded one of the company named Allut.

"Not the second daughter of your mother-in-law, for in that family they manage matters so awkwardly that your aspers are breaking through your hat."

It required only a look to perceive a large rent in the old felt hat of Allut, so the laugh was on the side of the son of Caspin.

"But jesting apart," said the host, "who is your intended, Picard?"

"The damsel de Vigoroux."

"Marguerite the rich?"

"The same."

"But she has one hundred thousand francs," exclaimed the astonished host.

"I shall pay her for them in love and happiness, so friends I invite you to the ceremony which is to be performed at Saint Leu, and to the dance which we are to have in the evening, it is to be a *bal champêtre* in *les bosquets de Venus, rue aux Ours*, at M. Latignac's, the fifth house, and in the gardens at its rear."

The four friends could scarcely reply in some common-place phrases, so much did the good fortune of their comrade surprise them.

"And when is the wedding?" asked Loupian.

"Next Tuesday, I shall expect you, I am now going to the Mayor and the Curé."

He departed, they looked at each other.

"What a lucky rascal!"

"He is a scoundrel."

"A girl so handsome and so rich."

"And to a cobbler."

"And in three days."

"I will wager that I stop his progress," said Loupian.

"What are you about?"

"Oh, just a joke."

"But what?"

"It is an excellent joke; the commissary is just coming here, I shall say that I suspect Picard to be an agent of the English; you understand, he will be summoned and examined, he will be frightened at his position, and for at least eight days, the marriage will have to wait."

"Loupian," said Allut, "your's is a dangerous game, you do not know Picaud thoroughly, he is capable, if he finds you out, of a fearful revenge."

"Bah!" cried the other, "we must have some diversion in carnival time."

"Just as you please, but I warn you that I take no part in your project, every one to his taste."

"Oh!" replied the proprietor of the café, "you are but a dung-hill cock."

"I am an honest man, you are jealous and envious of your neighbour, I shall live quietly, you will come to a bad end—good night."

As soon as he turned on his heel, the trio took courage to persevere in their amusing trick, and Loupian, with whom it originated, promised his two friends a hearty laugh. The same day, the commissary to whom Loupian whispered his suspicions, discharged his duty as a vigilant functionary, and two hours had not elapsed before an elaborate report was laid before his superior, and ultimately came under the observation of the Duc de Rovigo. It coincided with some revelations which he had received touching movements in la Vendée. Beyond all doubt, Picaud was an agent between the south and west, his trade perhaps, was only a device, and he was likely to be a gentleman of Languedoc, in short, during the night of Sunday, the unfortunate Picaud was taken from his apartment, with such mystery that no one saw him depart, and from that day, every trace of him was totally lost, his kindred or friends could obtain no explanation of his fate, and his very existence was soon forgotten.

Time elapses, 1814 arrives, the Imperial government falls, and from the castle of Fenestrelle there issues about the 15th April, a man bent down by suffering, old by the effect of despair rather than by the hand of time. In seven years he appeared to have lived half a century, no one would have recognized him, and he could not recognize himself when he first looked in a mirror at a petty inn of the village of Fenestrella.

This man who, in his prison, answered to the name of Joseph Lucher, was less a domestic than an adopted son of a rich Milanese ecclesiastic. The latter, indignant at the total abandonment of him by his relatives, determined to exclude them from any participation in his enormous wealth, consoli-

dated in the public securities of Hamburgh, and the Bank of England. He had moreover sold extensive domains to an exalted personage of Italy, and realized the produce through the agency of a banker of Amsterdam, who remitted the dividends to his order. This noble Italian died the 4th January 1814, leaving the poor Joseph Lucher sole heir to about seven millions of francs in ready money, having also confided to him the secret of a concealed treasure, worth twelve hundred thousand francs, in diamonds, and at least three millions in coined money, ducats, florins, doubloons, louis, and guineas.

Joseph Lucher freed at length, hastened to Milan, and uniting prudence with promptitude, in a short time acquired the property which he came to seek. He then visited Amsterdam, Hamburgh, and London, and amassed treasures worthy of Royal coffers, yielding him a revenue of six hundred thousand francs, exclusive of his diamonds and one million reserved for present use. His property was vested in the funds of England, Holland, and France.

Having made such arrangements he set out for Paris, where he arrived the 15th February 1815, eight years to the very day after the hapless Picaud had disappeared. He should now be about thirty-four years of age. Joseph Lucher was attacked by a severe illness the day after his arrival, and being without attendance, even of a valet, he had himself conveyed to a *maison de santé*. At the return of Napoleon, Lucher was still unwell, and his sickness continued as long as the emperor remained in France, but as soon as the second restoration appeared finally to consolidate the Bourbon dynasty, the inmate of the *maison de santé* quitted his sick bed and took up his residence in the quarter Sainte Opportune, where he speedily acquired some interesting information.

In February 1807, there had been great excitement in the neighbourhood, consequent on the disappearance of a young shoemaker, an honest man who was on the point of marriage with a very wealthy girl. Some hoax concocted by three friends had destroyed his brilliant prospects, the poor fellow had either fled or been carried off. No one knew what had become of him. His intended spent two years in deep affliction, but then, convinced that her sorrow was unavailing, she married the coffee-house keeper Loupian, who by such an union having acquired large property, possessed the most magni-

ficent and best frequented house amongst the cafés of Paris. Joseph Lucher received this information with seeming indifference, he just ventured an inquiry as to the names of those whose tricks had occasioned the misfortunes of Picaud—their names had been forgotten.

"Nevertheless," added one of those to whom the inquiry was addressed, "I have heard one Antoine Allut declare that he knew the parties of whom we are speaking."

"I was acquainted with a man named Allut in Italy; he was from Nismes."

"The person I mean is also a native of that place."

"This Allut lent me one hundred crowns which he told me to repay at my convenience to his cousin Antoine."

"Well you may remit the money to him at Nismes, for he has retired to his native town."

Next day a post chaise preceded by a courier who paid like a prince, flew rather than rolled along the road to Lyons. From Lyons the carriage followed the course of the Rhone by the Marseilles road which it quitted at the bridge of St. Esprit. There an Italian abbé alighted for the first time, from the commencement of the journey.

He took another carriage and proceeded to Nismes, to the well known Hotel du Luxembourg. He at once instituted inquiries as to what had become of Antoine Allut. This name, rather common in that country, is borne by several families, differing in rank, fortune, and religion. Some time elapsed before the individual required by the abbé Baldini, was discovered, and some days were necessary to establish an intimate communication with Antoine Allut. But these preliminaries having been adjusted, the abbé detailed to Allut, that whilst a state prisoner in the castle de l'Oeuf, in Naples, he had formed an acquaintance with a worthy friend, whose death in 1811, had caused him great affliction.

"At that time," said he, "my friend was a man of thirty years, he expired deploring his absence from his native land, but pardoning those who had caused his misfortunes, he was a native of Nismes, named Pierre Picaud."

Allut uttered a cry, the abbé regarded him with an astonished look.

"You knew this Picaud yourself?" he said to Allut.

"He was one of my best friends—he has died far away—poor fellow! but have you been informed of the cause of his arrest?"



"He knew it not himself, and so he has repeatedly sworn to me most solemnly."

Allut sighed, the abbé resumed :—

"Whilst he lived one idea engrossed his mind, he used to say that he would resign his hope of Paradise to discover the author or authors of his arrest, and from this fixed idea he derived the notion of making a singular bequest. But meanwhile, I should apprise you that, in his prison, Picaud had rendered some valuable service to an Englishman, who was likewise a prisoner, and who at his death, bequeathed to Picaud, a diamond worth at least, fifty thousand francs."

"He was a lucky fellow," cried Allut, "fifty thousand francs are in themselves a fortune."

"When Pierre Picaud found himself on his death bed, he had me summoned, and told me that his end would be happy if I would promise to accomplish his intentions ; he conjured me to make that promise, and I replied, that I would swear to observe his injunctions in the full confidence that he would require nothing contrary to my personal honour or my religious duties. Oh ! never, replied he, hear me and judge for yourself. I have not been able to discover the names of those by whom I have been immured in this prison, but God has inspired me with the conviction that one of my fellow-townsmen, Antoine Allut, of Nismes, knew those by whom I was denounced. Seek for him, as soon as you regain your liberty, and on my behalf give him the diamond which I possess from the bounty of Sir Herbert Newton ; but I impose one condition, that in receiving the gem from you, he shall confide to you the names of the men whom I regard as my murderers. When he shall have communicated that information, you will then return to Naples, and have the tale of their calumny engraven on my tomb. There are four thousand sequins (about two thousand francs) to procure admission for my corpse into a vault set apart for that purpose, moreover, here are sixteen thousand sequins more to defray the expenses of your journey to Nismes. I possess these sums through the generosity of my dear master, Sir Herbert Newton. Touched with compassion for his fate, I swore to execute faithfully his injunctions. He placed the diamond in my hands and died peacefully. Although I was then a prisoner, I have been able to carry out his wishes. His body rests at Naples, in the church of the Santo Spirito, and as soon as I recovered my freedom I hastened to

France, to acquit myself of the charge I had undertaken from my hapless friend—here I am, and here also is the diamond."

With these words the abbè Baldini raised his hand, which on the middle finger displayed the solitary but superb gem, whose brilliancy and magnitude fully attested its value. In estimating it at fifty thousand francs, there was no exaggeration, in fact the stone was worth double that sum. Antoine Allut gazed on it with rivetted attention, a cold perspiration bedewed his forehead, his mouth was fearfully contracted, and the tremor that pervaded his entire frame, plainly indicated the contest which in his heart avarice maintained with fear.

At this moment the wife of Allut entered displaying evident signs of recent and deep mortification; she paced rapidly across the apartment, placed herself full before her husband, who was all absorbed in the discourse of the Italian abbè and began:

"Old fellow, the sooner you take yourself and me from this horrid town the better, your brother and my sister will crush us with their assumption of superiority, they will only notice us by their overbearing insolence; learn, that within the last hour they have received twenty thousand francs, sent by the public diligence, and coming to them as sudden and as unexpected as if the money had fallen from the sky."

"Twenty thousand francs!" repeated Allut in astonishment, "and from whence?"

"'Tis an extraordinary story—your brother, about a year ago, saved from drowning a Danish gentleman who was on a visit at Avignon with the count de Rantzau. This stranger merely thanked him and departed, but now comes this prodigious present all in beautiful golden louis d'or of forty francs each. Won't they become haughtier than ever? Won't they trample on us now? Your younger brother! My younger sister! Oh! beyond all doubt I shall lose my senses."

"That would not be surprizing, madame, when you hear that your husband refuses a legacy of, at least, fifty thousand francs, which a dying friend bequeathed him," added the abbè.

"How? he refuses fifty thousand francs?" exclaimed the wife, raising her clenched hand and directing a look at her husband quite in unison with her threatening gesture.

"I am stating the legacy at its least value," replied the abbè placidly. He then re-commenced the recital which he had previously made to Allut, and again displayed the ring which

nevertheless, he kept on his finger. Certainly it required more firmness than belonged to the character of Allut to resist such a terrible temptation ; jealous and low-minded, the sudden prosperity of his brother appeared an actual outrage on his poverty. His wife at once betook herself to a neighbouring jeweller, and he having examined the gem, offered sixty-three thousand francs for it, provided that a neat farm of which he was the proprietor, would be taken in part payment at the value of three thousand francs.

The Alluts were wild with joy, the woman could not restrain her delight, she indulged in a thousand extravagant demonstrations. Forthwith Autoine Allut acknowledged that he knew the persons, and gave their names. He was agitated with some apprehension of future evil, but encouraged by his wife, he desired the abbè to write down Gervais Chaubard, Guilhem Solari, and lastly Gilles Loupian. The abbè coolly entered the names in his tablets, handed the ring to Allut, and departed.

The ring became the property of the jeweller, who paid the stipulated price, and in four months after it was sold to a Turkish merchant for 102,000 francs. Allut inflamed with rage, assassinated the jeweller, was obliged to fly, and was believed to have escaped to Greece.

An elderly lady presented herself at the café of Loupian, and asked an interview with the proprietor ; she confided to him, that her family were indebted for some special services to a poor man, who had been ruined by the events of 1814, but his pride revolted against the acceptance of any direct recompence, his only wish was for an engagement as an assistant in a respectable establishment where he would be kindly treated, he was no longer young, his age was about fifty, and if M. Loupian would receive him, he should be paid one hundred francs a month, unknown to the person in question.

Loupian agrees, a man presents himself, homely, and poorly clad, the woman of the house attentively surveys him, and thinks she has seen some person resembling him, but midst other cares she ceases to conjecture, and the new assistant pursues his avocations without further question. The two *Nismois* frequent the café ; one day one of them fails to appear at the expected hour, they joke upon his absence, but next day he does not come, Solari promises to enquire the cause, he

returns in great consternation to the café at nine o'clock in the evening, and announces, that at five in the morning of the preceding day, the unfortunate Chaubard had been found poignarded on the *Pont des Arts*, the weapon had been left in the wound, and on the handle was inscribed NUMBER ONE.

Numerous conjectures were afloat, but conjectures are useless, the police were on the alert, but the guilty one escaped all their efforts. Some time afterwards, a valuable greyhound belonging to the master of the café, was poisoned, and a person declared that he had seen one of the customers throwing biscuits to the poor brute; Loupian instituted a lawsuit against this customer, but on the day of trial his witness was not to be found, and he was more readily mulcted in heavy costs, when it appeared that the defendant, who was engaged in the service of the mails, was in Strasburgh on the day the dog was poisoned.

Loupian, by his first marriage, had a daughter, she had now attained her sixteenth year, and was a lovely girl. A fine gentleman saw her, became deeply enamoured, and lavished large sums to gain to his interest, the attendants of the café and the waiting maid of the demoiselle. He represented himself as a marquis and a *millionaire*, she was too confiding, and had to acknowledge her imprudence. Her agonized father expostulates with *Monsieur* who boasts of his fortune, displays a pedigree, shews the title-deeds of his domains, and agrees to marry the damsel. Joy now reigns in Loupian's family. The marriage takes place, and the bridegroom, who wishes the nuptials to be splendid, orders a repast of one hundred and fifty covers, at the *Cadran Bleu*.

At the appointed hour the guests arrive, but the marquis does not appear, a note from him announces that by orders of the king, he is obliged to attend at the palace on an affair of importance, he requests that the repast may proceed, and promises to join the company about ten o'clock. The bride is grieved, even amidst the numerous congratulations offered on her distinguished position. Two courses are over, and with the *dessert*, a note is laid on the plate of each guest, by which they are informed, that Loupian's daughter is the bride of an escaped convict, and that he has fled the kingdom.

Frightful is the affliction of this wretched family, the atmosphere of their misery is too dark for them to see from whence such deadly blows issue. In four days after, having betaken

themselves to the country, to avoid for a short time public observation, they receive intelligence that the café has been burnt down, and that nothing has been saved from the conflagration, which was taken advantage of by thieving miscreants, to plunder and carry away whatever they could seize from the flames.

Loupian is now ruined, he has no property, no friends, save one—the old attendant Prosper, still remains, he is content to serve even without wages, and to share the scanty bread of his impoverished master; his fidelity is admired and praised, and Loupian manages to open a much more humble establishment in the *Rue St. Antoine*. Solari visits it regularly, and in a short time, on his return home, is seized with intense pains, a physician is called who declares the man to be poisoned, and spite of all endeavours, the unfortunate Solari expires in horrible convulsions. Twelve hours after, when according to usage, the bier is exposed in the entry of his residence, a paper is found pinned to the pall, bearing the sinister words

NUMBER TWO.

Besides the daughter whose destiny had been so unpropitious, Loupian had a son; this lad beset by bad characters of both sexes, struggled a while against bad example and continued temptation, and ended by giving himself up to evil pursuits. One night his comrades proposed a lark, it was to break into a wine store, take away a dozen bottles, have a merry night with the prize, and pay for them next morning. Eugene Loupian, half-drunk, clapped his hands at this fine project. But at the moment when the door was forced and the flasks selected, the police, apprized by some secret information, were on the spot, Loupian and his associates were arrested in the fact, and subsequently convicted of the robbery. Royal clemency saved the young man from the galleys; notwithstanding incredible efforts and application of money in high quarters to arrest the hand of mercy, Loupian's son had to undergo twenty years imprisonment.

This catastrophe completed the ruin of the hapless family; the handsome and rich Marguerite died heart-broken and childless. Loupian and his daughter remained without any resource, then the honest attendant brought forth his savings and offered them to the young woman, but on the most degrading conditions. In the hope of alleviating her father's

misery, and in her own destitution, she sank into the debasing snare, and became the concubine of her father's servant.

Loupian hardly existed, his misfortunes had nearly overturned his mind. One evening whilst walking in a dark alley of the gardens of the Tuileries, a man masked presented himself to his attention, "Loupian," he exclaimed, "do you remember 1807?" "Wherefore?"—"Do you recollect the crime you perpetrated at that period?"—"The crime!" "An infamous contrivance by which you plunged your friend Picaud into a dungeon; do you remember that?"—"Ah! God has punished me heavily for it." "No, but Picaud himself, who to accomplish his vengeance, stabbed Chaubard on the *pont des Arts*, poisoned Solari, made your daughter a thief's wife, and laid the trap into which your son has fallen! He it is that has caused your wife to die of a broken-heart, and lowered your daughter to a life of disgrace. Yes, in your servant Prosper, recognize Picaud, but let it be at the moment when he accomplishes his NUMBER THREE."

A dagger stab, home to the heart, followed the last word; there was one feeble cry, and vengeance was complete; but Picaud almost at the moment, fell stunned by a heavy blow, and only recovered his consciousness of life to find himself gagged, wrapped up and bound, and rapidly conveyed from the scene where his last revenge had been consummated. In whose hands was he? A gendarme would not have taken such precautions, even if he suspected that accomplices were lurking near, a call would have sufficed to arouse the sentinels—was it a robber? If so, how singular his proceedings! At all events, Picaud had fallen into a trap at the very moment when he dispatched his last victim.

In about half an hour he was freed from the large mantle in which he had been wrapped, and the gag was removed, he was lying on a sofa bed, the air was damp and thick, and the place appeared to be a cave belonging in all appearance to an abandoned quarry. It was partly furnished, there was a Prussian stove, the smoke from which found vent in the crevices above, a kitchen lamp afforded a murky light, and in front of Picaud, there stood a man, with folded arms, and gloomy aspect.

The obscurity that pervaded the place, the agitation which Picaud naturally experienced, and the change which ten years of misery and despair can effect upon the human sea-

tures, prevented the assassin of Loupian from recognizing the individual who appeared before him like a phantom, he watched in silence for a word explanatory of his future fate, and ten minutes elapsed without either of the men breaking the awful silence.

"Well! Picaud," at length the stranger said, "what name will you bear now? Shall it be that which you received from your father? Shall it be the one you assumed on your release from Fenestrelle, will you be the abbé Baldini, or the café-waiter Prosper? Your inventive genius perhaps, will furnish you with a fifth. With you vengeance has been a pastime, or rather a raging madness, of which you should have had a horror if you had not sold your soul to the demon; you have sacrificed the last ten years of your life to pursue three wretches whom you ought to have spared, you have committed horrible crimes, and have drawn me with you into the abyss."

"You, who are you?"

"I am your accomplice, a villain who for your accursed diamond has sold the lives of my friends, your gold was deadly to me, the avarice kindled by you in my bosom has never been extinguished, the thirst of riches rendered me furious and guilty; I slew the jeweller who deceived me, I had to fly with my wife who died in exile, and I, having ventured to return, was arrested, tried, condemned, I have undergone exposure and branding, I have dragged the ball; at last happening to escape, I wished, in my turn, to attack and punish this abbé Baldini who pursues and punishes others so severely. I hastened to Naples, no one there knew him, I sought the tomb of Picaud, and learned that Picaud was still living; but how did I obtain that knowledge? No one, not even the Pope, shall ever wrest that secret from me. Thence I betake myself in pursuit of this pretended dead man, but when I find him, two assassinations have already attested his vengeance, the children of Loupian have been ruined, his house burned, his property destroyed;—This evening I had resolved to visit the wretched man, but the devil was still a little in advance of me, and I was only in time to seize his murderer. But now I have you, I can repay the mischief you have done to myself, and prove that the people of our country have strong hands as well as good memories—I am Antoine Allut."

Picaud answered not, strange ideas passed through his mind ; sustained until now by the intoxicating love of revenge, he had in some degree forgotten his immense fortune and the enjoyments it could impart. But now when vengeance was accomplished, and when he only thought of living amidst all the delights that riches could impart, he had fallen into the hands of a man equally implacable as he had proved himself. These reflections passed wildly through his brain, and he gnawed in his rage, the cords with which his limbs were bound ; Allut held him and constrained him to cease his efforts.

Then he thought, rich as I am, can I not with fair promises and with a considerable sum free myself from this enemy ? I have given more than 100,000 francs to discover the names of my victims ; can I not give that, or even twice that, to escape the present peril in which I am involved ?

Then fear and avarice combined to prevent any offer to his captor, and he thought that by feigning poverty he would escape for perhaps, a few crowns ; at length he spoke—

“Where am I ?”

“Tis no matter where you are, but you are beyond the aid of succour or mercy, you are mine, solely mine, the slave of my will, and subject even to my caprice.” Picaud smiled disdainfully. Allut tacitly commented on his disdain by tightening the rope still more, and then he proceeded to sup, but offered not a morsel to Picaud.

“I am hungry,” exclaimed the prisoner.

“How much will you pay for bread and water if I give it to you ?”

“I have no money.”

“You have sixteen millions of francs and more,” replied Allut, and he recapitulated that they were invested in the funds of England, Holland, Italy, and France.”

Picaud was excessively agitated—

“You dream” said he.

“Well then, my friend, dream that you eat.”

He went out, left Picaud bound, and remained absent until seven in the morning ; when he returned he breakfasted ; at the sight of the food Picaud became ravenous, “give me some food,” he exclaimed,

“What will you pay for bread and water ?”

“Nothing.”



"Well then, we shall see who will be weary of his resolution first."

He departed again and returned at three in the afternoon; it was now twenty-eight hours since Picaud had tasted food, he implored mercy of his gaoler, and offered twenty sous for one pound of bread.

"Listen," said Allut, "I shall give you food twice a day, and you shall pay each time twenty-five thousand francs."

Picaud yelled, writhed himself upon his bed; the other remained tranquil.

"I have spoken the last word," said he, "take your own time, you had no mercy on my friends, you shall have no pity from me."

The miserable prisoner passed the remainder of the day and the succeeding night in bonds, raging with famine and despair. His physical energies were gone, he became convulsed, and then Allut perceived that his victim and his future hopes were both flying from his power. In his rage he tore his hair, stamped and cursed his own folly, but perceiving what he considered a sneer on the face of the wretched Picaud, he grasped a knife—one blow and all was ended; nothing remained for him but to fly, and he succeeded in reaching England.

There, having fallen sick in 1828, and having been reclaimed to a sense of horror at his past offences, he made a confession to a French Catholic clergyman, detailed to the ecclesiastic all the particulars of this fearful narrative, and signed his name to each page. He died reconciled to God, and was interred with christian rites, and by his desire, after his death the abbé P—— forwarded the document to the Parisian Police accompanied by the following letter:—

"Monsieur le Prefet,

I have had the gratification of restoring to feelings of contrition, a man fearfully guilty. It was his opinion, in which I fully concurred, that it might be useful to communicate to you the details of a series of abominable offences of which he has been at once the agent and one of the objects. By attending to the directions furnished in the annexed statement, the subterranean apartment may be discovered in which the remains of the wretched Picaud lie, a melancholy victim to his own passions and unrelenting revenge. May God forgive him; man in his pride usurps the prerogative of the deity, he seeks for vengeance, and by vengeance he is crushed.

Antoine Allut has sought in vain to discover where and how the

funds of his victim were deposited ; no registry, title or document, or sum of money, ever fell into his hands ; inclosed are references as to two lodgments which under other names, Picaud is supposed to have had in Paris.

Even on the bed of death Antoine Allut refused to inform me of the means whereby he acquired a knowledge of the proceedings stated in his *memoire*, or how he became acquainted with the crimes and fortune of Picaud ; only once, about an hour before he expired, he said to me '*Father, the faith of no man can be more lively than mine, for I have seen and heard the voice of a soul separated from the body to which it belonged.*'

There was at that time no indication of delirium about Allut ; he had just pronounced deliberately his profession of faith. The men of this age are presumptuous, to them incredulity appears a proof of wisdom. The ways of God are infinite, to his dispensations we should offer submission, and to his goodness adoration.

I have the honor to be, &c."

Before we advert to any other case, as forming material for the construction of the romance before us, we are tempted into finding fault with one of its incidents, which appears most unnatural, and therefore most improbable ; we refer to the scene between the ruined merchant and his son, in which a father acknowledges his intention to commit suicide, and ultimately persuades his son to acquiesce in such a crime, nay, even to use to his parent, with the fatal pistols lying before him, prepared for the catastrophe, the expression, "die in peace, my father, I will live ;" this is, we repeat, unnatural and improbable. The English are said to be a suicidal people, amongst whom, a November day produces throat-cutting, pistoling, and poisoning ; but in England, was there ever an instance of suicide being the subject of consultation between parent and child ? O ! never, nor do we believe, that such could appear to our continental neighbours, more consistent with the state and feelings of society amongst them, than it is amongst ourselves. We now have to notice the character of the poisoner, Madame de Villefort. Many of our readers would suppose that she has been copied from the Marchioness de Brinvilliers, or that some of the revelations of La Voisin, respecting her aristocratic customers, suggested the character to Dumas. We conceive however, that the "family poisoner" is a reproduction of Madame de Vartelle, whose crimes were consummated about the year 1789, and respecting whom we subjoin the following facts :—

Monsieur de M. member of the parliament of Paris, came one day in great mystery to speak to Monsieur Herault, the

Lieutenant-general of police ; the conversation was long and animated, the acting magistrate took notes, put them into a particular portfolio, and then sent one of the gentlemen of his office to escort M. de M—— to his carriage, as the etiquette of the time required.

Why has Monsieur de M. gone to the police office ? his home is disturbed, two successive attempts to poison had been made, without his being able to discover their origin, when a bold step of the culprit obliged him to see at once to it. But to make the subject better understood, it is well to describe the member of parliament and his family.

He was himself about sixty years of age, a man of the old stamp, all goodness and loyalty, incorruptible in his important functions ; he had much influence in the high court, where they followed strictly his advice. Three married sons and a bishop, who was the eldest, three daughters, like their brothers, bound in Hymen's bands. One of his sisters, the rich widow of a deceased president, and a brother retired, with the rank and pension of a Lieutenant-colonel, and the cross of Saint Louis. He lived thus in his immense mansion in the *Rue des francs Bourgeois, au Marais*. His three sons had their wives with them, the eldest and the youngest having each a boy, the second only daughters ; these little girls had filled his house with monkeys.

Although living under the same roof, the several couples did not assemble at one table ; they had each their separate larder, but every Sunday, and all the fete days of the month, they gathered, without any strangers, round their common father, the mother had been dead for many years.

One morning Monsieur de M. was in his study, a sealed letter caught his eye, he opened it, it ran so :—"Tremble, unhappy man ! thou hast ruined me by influencing thy colleagues ; from this moment, I declare deadly war against thee ; thou and thine shall perish successively, for my hatred is so great, thy destruction alone would not satisfy me ; I will not sign, seek my name among thy numerous victims : it will be difficult to distinguish it there."

Monsieur de M. despised this epistle, he asked his people in vain who had brought it, no one knew of it ; he thought perhaps, he had in his establishment, an accomplice of the unknown ; but who among his servants, the men of his confidence, grown old in his house ?

Shortly after this threatening notice, an active poison was poured into the copper in which was cooked the beef to make the soups and stews. A poor kitchen maid, wishing shortly before dinner to refresh herself, had scarcely swallowed a few mouthfuls of this liquid, when she felt terrible pains in her stomach and vital parts of the body. Instant assistance was obtained for her. Her strength of constitution and youth wrestled in her favor, at length she was restored to life, but for a long time she was only able to linger on in a miserable state of existence.

The member of parliament surprised at this horrible attempt, called all his domestics about him, spoke to them like a good master; another would have dismissed them, he on the contrary, kept them, but told them, that a secret and formidable enemy had sworn his ruin and that of his family, and implored of them not to let themselves be influenced by an unknown, who sooner or later would bring them to the gallows.

Struck as it were with a thunderbolt by this dismal disclosure, the comptroller, the steward, butler, cook, gate-keeper, valet, coachman, and the porter, even to the waiting and chambermaids, fell at his feet in exclaiming against it, vowed him fidelity against any temptation; prayed, sobbed, and abused the wretch who had compromised them, and M. de M—— saw none but innocent hearts among those by whom he was surrounded.

From that day the caution was much greater, the dwelling better watched, the kitchens especially were changed into a kind of fortress, to which the approach was very difficult. Yet so much vigilance and such a desire to preserve their esteemed master could not prevent the eldest son, his wife, and two of their children dying in one night from the effects of a deadly poison which was put in a decanter of gooseberry water of which they had all drank abundantly.

The young woman was in the ninth month of her pregnancy. The tortures of the poison hastened her delivery, and in expiring, she gave life to a male infant, which the physicians declared might live. Notwithstanding the catastrophe which had hurried its birth, this awful shock, which came upon the magistrate with such force, did not leave him thought to care for this new comer, born under such painful circumstances. The wife of the third son, of whom this misfortune displayed the good disposition, taking her unfortunate

nephew in her arms, kissed him with a tenderness which showed maternal feeling, vowing that henceforth he should live with her son, of whom he would be the brother, not the cousin. She would carefully seek a nurse for him, and she found one who came apropos from one of her estates, and hardly had the poor little creature come into the world, at the moment when its own parents left it so unhappily, than he was snatched from the affections of his grandfather, and sent from Paris, even thirty miles away, to the most remote part of Berry.

It was after this fresh attempt, unhappily crowned with too much success, that M. de M—— came to confide his griefs and fears to the Lieutenant-General of police. M. de Herault interested for M. de M—— questioned him as to the antecedents of his life, his attachments, his affairs, the parties who had suffered by his judgments, of the families of criminals condemned to death by the Tournelle, in the decisions of which he had participated. It is a fact, that the severity of the laws, in sacrificing the interests of individuals to the theories of justice, for the supposed benefit of all, never fails to engender animosities which late or early manifest themselves. However worthy a magistrate may be, a slave to a law without mercy, he pays then for the evils of a legislature which he has not power to abolish, and which he considers as supremely just, because his education and his convenience keep him naturally apart from all the circumstances against which the laws are specially enacted. His conscience puts itself in opposition to him, and a thousand enemies spring up around him. Montesquieu was thinking undoubtedly on this fatal truth when he exclaimed, "Political bodies are infected with weakness, internal vice, and secret and hidden venom."

M. de M. listened to the questions with the impatience of a man who had nothing to accuse himself of. His conscience was so pure, his suits had always been so accordant with the strict rules of justice, that he could see no enemy. M. Herault gave him but little hope, for he himself did not understand what way to take to discover the truth. Eight days after this catastrophe M. de Vartelle, third son of M. de M—— heard new figs cried in the street: he opened the window, called the peasant seller of the fruit, bought it and had it hoisted to his apartment, by means of a cord which they fastened to the basket in which these spring fruits were dis-

played. Having them in his possession, he went to seek his father to offer him some of them, but hearing he was receiving the Bishop of Meaux, he returned, ate six figs, and shortly after was seized with horrible convulsions. At the first intimation he gave of this accident, they ran for his wife, she was at mass; M. de M—— sent to seek skilful doctors. They came, detected the presence of a poisonous substance in the figs; some one had inserted in each, several grains of arsenic in very fine powder. The unfortunate man lingered till the next day, when he breathed his last.

Oh! at this time the inconsolable father had need of all his religion not to blaspheme Providence, or to use against himself some fatal violence. A very natural terror was manifest in the family. Two of his sons-in-law declared to him that they wished to travel for some time. It was the pretext they made use of to leave this ill-fated house, and remove from it their wives and children.

Madame d'Orgerel, the magistrate's sister, frightened like her nephews and nieces, was going also to remove, but she was dissuaded from it by the eagerness of Madame de Vartelle, the newly made widow, who weeping very much, declared that death caused her less fear than the grief of leaving the grandfather of her children. All Paris admired the courage of this good daughter-in-law, supported soon by the Bishop de —— her brother-in-law, the eldest son as I have said, and who also instead of basely abandoning his father, had hastened from his diocese to share in his affliction.

The bishop would pass a month with his family. The one and twentieth day he is in bed with a rheumatic fever. He orders a drink to be made of borage, sweetmeats, dried figs and conserve of roses. His aunt and sister-in-law are both in his room, they ring the bell, sugar is required, they bring a sugar basin of Saxony china, the drink is taken, the bishop has more of it several times, and towards evening symptoms of poisoning manifest themselves; the strength of the poison is not so great, and the bishop has time, ere dying, to leave all his wealth in an entail to the eldest son of Madame de Vartelle, in case the orphan child of the eldest son died before him.

We will not attempt to describe the state of the family of M——, after this latest loss, the despair of the father, the fright of the sons-in-law and the daughters, the indignation of the public, the surprise of the authorities, the disappoint-

ment of the police, furious at not been able to come at this unknown prisoner, so clever and so exceedingly villainous. While matters were in this state a favorite servant of the second son (M. de Niore, the father of the little one in the country,) came in one morning where the counsellor was, and throwing himself on his knees, implored him to hear him to the end in what he was going to say, and not to refuse him a request.

"Monsieur," continued he, "on the eve of the death of your third son, M. de Vartell, I felt myself shaken with force in my bed, and about two o'clock in the morning I awoke with a start, and opened my eyes; what was my horror when I saw before me, my good master, your son, M. de Niore, he was pale and sad, he made me a sign to have no fear, and his action did not lessen my terror, when he told me I should have thought of saving his son. 'Ask from my father, authority to fetch away afar this child, that my father, and my father only, may know where you will bring him to; without this he will die, as my poor brother de Vartelle is now dying.'

"These words spoken, the vision vanished, I fainted, and when I came to myself the sun had risen. For nothing in the world, would I have dared to make such a revelation to you, quite certain you would regard it as an idle fancy. I was silent,—In two days after your fourth son expired. I then felt remorse, but still I was silent; again, on Tuesday last, and my lord the bishop is dead. Yesterday, Thursday, I was at nightfall in the servants' hall, where they had lighted a fire, to bake sweetmeats for the winter's use. Seated in an armchair meditating, I thought of my good master, when I felt him move against me, bend down to my ear so close that his cold and damp breath froze me with horror. 'Saint Jean,' he said to me, 'thou hast not then loved me'—'Oh but yes, master' I replied, 'very much and even still'—'Well then, why wilt thou not give me the consolation to see my son, my poor Exupère, escape death? Death which threatens him also, as it has struck my brothers.'

"Some person entered, I heard nothing go out, but the voice was silent. I opened my eyes, it was the cook who came, he said to me, 'I did not think you were alone, Saint Jean, it is strange, I heard some one speak'—'It was myself, I have got that bad habit,' I thought best to say, not to let him suspect what had happened me. I ought to have gone to seek you,

Monsieur, but again, an insane timidity held me back, I did not believe the second prediction, it is realised ; I have still waited some days, but the fear of again seeing this apparition and of course hearing another misfortune announced, has at length determined me to do my duty."

Monsieur de M—— listened seriously to this strange recital ; the valet asked his permission to make himself certain by a sign, or otherwise, of the identity of the child, then to carry him off, to bring him to some remote part of Italy or Germany, and there to wait with him for better times.

The magistrate, notwithstanding the fervour that Saint Jean threw into his account, could not bring himself to take so extraordinary a step, and put off for several days a definite answer. He was, as I have said, a man of mind and sense, and found it difficult to believe that Heaven, for his sake, would make use of a valet as an agent, when a direct notice offered no greater inconvenience to the supernatural powers, and would better answer their purpose. Besides, not having spoken until after the affair, did he not seek to acquire an importance by a vision, which would make him the preponderating influence in the house, or was he not struck with a madness, very natural after so many misfortunes, and was it not still more delicate to give the charge of an infant to an insane person ?

Meanwhile Madamed'Orgerel, sister of the counsellor, comes, in her turn, to say to her brother, that having to dread a violent death like the other members of the family, she wished not to be taken unawares, and to dispose before hand of her great wealth ; she divided in equal portions between Exupère the orphan, and the young Ambroise, son of the virtuous widow of M de Vartelle, as being the only males of the name likely to perpetuate the race. Each of these two children, in case one died first, was substituted for the other. This determined the common grandfather to do like his sister, and after having arranged the fortunes of his daughters, he left all his property to the young son of Niore, with remainder to his first cousin, if he should survive. These two wills were confided to the interesting widow, who, well satisfied with the rich share that Madame d'Orgerel gave her son, and the magnificent chance which he had by the wills of the bishop and M. de M——, swore before God, that she would be the tender, sincere, and devoted mother, of the unfortunate orphan.



Two or three weeks after this last event, it might be midnight, and M. de M—— occupied with an official document, which he must hasten, sat up in his study, when some one knocked lightly at a door which communicated with the interior of the house. The domestics did not make use of it, except for the morning attendance, or in extraordinary cases; the Magistrate surprised then, that any one came to him that way, rose and having approached it asked "who was there?" He thought the answer was, "Saint Jean," but he had hardly heard, when the door opened, and he saw this man come in having his hair on end, his figure disordered, and having no other garment on than his small clothes, his stockings, slippers, and shirt, he held a wax candle in his hand. "Ah Monsieur," he cried, "we are lost, I have not been able to prevail with you, and the death of your sister is near." "What do you say, unfortunate?" replied his master, much alarmed. "This that I have just heard. We were late in the common hall, where Rosette (the waiting woman of Madame d'Orgerel) came to announce to us in secret, what you Monsieur do not perhaps yet know, as she pretends."—"What! the departure of her mistress who retires to her chateau in Burgundy." (M. de M—— was in fact ignorant of it). "This set us to chat, so that midnight surprised us. We had taken our candles, here I was going up the little stair-case opposite, when at the third lobby, though I had my figure bent to see the steps, I saw my light grow pale, and it seemed as if a body stopped my passage. At once my heart beat violently, my blood congealed, I raised my head,—it was my master, but this time irritated, furious, he called me knave, wretched, wicked valet, ill disposed to the house, commanded me to return to you, and to disobey you, if you would not permit me to save the orphan child. He struck me rudely with a stick, so that I was obliged to have my arms bandaged. For the rest he said before disappearing, 'the coming death of my aunt will announce to my father whether I be a false prophet.'"

M. de M—— still more astonished at this revelation than the others, because it was accompanied by tokens of fact, raised quickly the sleeves of the servant, and with horror mingled with fright, recognised on the skin shocking marks, black, yellow, and livid, indubitable evidence of the fatal apparition. His incredulity received a strong check, still he did not give up at once from a remaining scruple of conscience; the mar-

vellous acts more on us in grief. He remained alarmed, he reflected and dismissed Saint Jean, advising him to go to repose. "To-morrow," he said to him, "at eleven o'clock, on my return from the court, come here by the same staircase, I will give thee thy instructions and thou shall set out."

Accordingly on the following day Saint Jean, furnished with letters for various high personages, set out under the pretence of quitting the service and returning to his rustic home, but really authorized to carry off the infant to the most remote end of Basse Bretagne.

His departure astonished all the household, the virtuous widow more than any, although she represented to her father that this man could not be very trustworthy. Two days after the waiting woman of Madame d'Orgerel went out, and did not return. They waited for her until late, it was in vain, but towards two o'clock in the morning a dreadful explosion, coming from the adjoining apartments of M. de M.—and his sister, awoke the sleepers and made the others hasten to the place attacked. The effect of a train or infernal engine, by God's mercy not complete, had thrown down the walls, upset the partitions, started the floors, and broken the ceilings. A double attempt had threatened the life of the magistrate and Madame d'Orgerel. The latter had perished, but as they believed, from fright, for they found her thrown in a corner of the room without apparent wound, and no part of her person showed the least sign of violence. M. de M.—. more fortunate, escaped with some bruises. In a stove in the apartment of Madame de Vartelle, was found a packet containing some powder, balls, combustibles, metal, and broken glass. Without doubt the miscreant had not had time to set fire to it likewise.

Such an attempt filled all Paris with horror, and put the police on the alert; the waiting woman of the sister not being returned, and being no more forthcoming, notwithstanding all the searches they made, it was concluded that among the family of M—— she had been the instrument of the most abominable vengeance.

The whole court and city came to visit M. de M—— and his daughter-in-law, they congratulated them on having escaped this conspiracy. Alas! their lot was sad, this father deprived of all his own, isolated, obliged to hide his rightful heir, dragged on a miserable existence. At last, he waited with impatience

for news from his servant, when his daughter-in-law entering in a state of extreme grief, announced to him, that her agent wrote from her estate, in Berry, that an unknown person had come to take away the young Exupère, and that they had vainly followed to recover him. M. de M——, from an excess of prudence of which he was ashamed, hesitated at first to confide to his daughter-in-law the part he had taken in this event, the faithful valet had demanded of him, in the name of the Holy Spirit, this discretion towards the nearest of his relatives, a circumstance I have not mentioned, but which I now recall to mind; meanwhile, ashamed to act thus to a woman so virtuous, so devoted, he confided to her all that was past. Madame de Vartelle received with delight this confidence, she approved this excessive precaution; then she observed to her father-in-law, that he was wrong in wishing to keep to himself such a secret; might he not perish, the victim of their implacable enemy? then the heir of so great a fortune would remain in the power of a low person. The daughters of M. de M——, his sons-in-law, would they not be justified in contesting the identity of a child, who had nothing to recommend it but the word of Saint Jean? The magistrate replied to his daughter-in-law, that she was right, and that he would go instantly and take as his confidant in this affair, his brother, the Lieutenant-colonel, the first president of the Parliament.

"I should have thought," replied Madame de Vartelle, "to have merited more trust on the part of my father."

"My daughter, your sex is the only obstacle to this, you know that in law, the declaration of Monsieur the president, would have altogether more weight than yours, I ought to prevent future contests as you have so well said."

Madame de Vartelle retired, not very well satisfied; the reasons that the magistrate gave her, were too sincere for her to insist longer. One evening the house porter came to warn M. de M—— with mystery, that Saint Jean returned home, asked to speak with him; the magistrate made him come in, and this man told him, that he could find no better place to conceal his charge than in Paris itself. He had placed him with one of his sisters living in good air, in the mountain of Saint Genevieve; there he himself might better watch over him, than at a long distance out, and still in the name of the Holy Spirit, he forbade M. de M—— to take into his confidence any of the members of his family. Saint Jean, to whom

his master dared not to own the almost total revelation just made to his daughter-in-law, returned to his service. Several weeks passed, when one morning, this domestic made his appearance, when M. de M—— was rising, but pale, and his body racked with cruel pains.

"In the name of God," he cried, "send to seek Monsieur the Attorney General of the Parliament, M. the civil Lieutenant and the Lieutenant-General of police, I have to make before them a declaration of great importance. Hasten, I am rapidly dying, a strong antidote suspends, but cannot destroy the horrible venom which kills me."

These words astonished M. de M——, he went out himself, whilst his brother watched by Saint Jean at the request of the latter, who conjured him not to leave him alone with any person, no matter who it might be, Saint Jean asks "where is Madame de Vartelle?"

"At the church" they say to him, "it is her sacrament day, she communicates." Saint Jean at this answer had two or three bursts of sardonic laughter. The magistrate, too anxious to explain the mystery that surrounds him, brings not only the high persons named, but also Monsieur le President and two of the gentlemen whom he had found with the Attorney General. It is before this grave tribunal that Saint Jean relates the following facts. Madame de Vartelle, who hated her husband, wished at the same time to augment her fortune immensely, and to become a widow, in order to get married again to a duke, who loved her in secret, but who still would not consent to be united to her, unless she became exceedingly rich. To accomplish this double object she should manœuvre to combine in her son's person all the successions of his progenitors, and to rid herself of her husband. In consequence she applied herself to the study of poisons, and first of all, to cast off the suspicions that might be thrown on the interior of the house, she got written for the sum of five louis, by a clerk of the *cemeteries des Innocens*, whom Saint Jean named, and who too late was brought forward and confronted with the culprit, the letter which puzzled M. de M—— so much. Then having gained over Saint Jean, it was easy for them both to dispose in turn of all their victims. It was she who, taking advantage of the circumstance, poisoned the figs bought by her husband in the time the former took to go to his father. Then

leaving the house, by a door which opened into a neighboring street, she had gone to await at church the finale of this daring act; meanwhile, the more the crimes increased in this house, the less Saint Jean was reconciled to it, knowing that he would perish if he accused his accomplice; and besides not having any convicting proof to show against her, he invented the story of the apparition of his former master. He even went so far as to strike his body violently with sticks to impose on M. de M——. He knew that this abominable woman, having at her disposal the first heir of this family, would not kill him, until he had inherited of his relatives and his grandfather, for then her son, after him, would be found the only representative of the male branches, but hardly would so much wealth be come to him, than his mother would spoil him of it to gather it to herself: now in effecting the disappearance of the young Exupère de Niore, Providence caused to be born so unfortunately for the success of her infernal conspiracies, they rendered vain and useless the murder of M. de M—— and his sister. Madame de Vartelle, wishing that the suspicions of the daring blow that would make her father-in-law and Madame d'Orgerel perish in the explosion of a mine, should not reach her, arranged this crime with no less skill than the others. The unhappy waiting woman of Madame d'Orgerel, stupified with opium, had been carried from her bed during the night, by this fury herself, and thrown, struck by several blows of a dagger to the heart, into a subterranean pit opening into one of the cellars of the house, where they found her. She arranged then, in her own chamber, the artificial mine to which she set no light, and which found there, made it to be thought she was to have perished herself. It was her hand set fire to the apparatus, the result of which caused the death of Madame d'Orgerel. Saint Jean before his departure knew nothing of this, but on his return, this female parricide seeking to gain him anew, had given him this last confidence.

Enraged at not being able to learn, either from M. de M——, or Saint Jean, where the child was hidden, the chief object for her, she was determined to be rid of her accomplice, in the hope that with him would be lost all trace of her nephew, or at least that the possession of the estate might be contested with the child. Saint Jean, who distrusted her, no

longer took his meals in the house, he could not conceive how she would manage to make him take poison.

On the morning of this day he found that he was dying. At once he had swallowed a strong antidote, not powerful enough to save him, but which retarded his death, so that it did not come till after vengeance. This man indicated the places where they would find the remains of the poisons and diabolical machines which Madame de Vartelle had used. He named the druggists, jews, and apothecaries who had furnished the first materials, and then he made known where they would seize papers which would fully inform his auditors.

Shortly after Saint Jean's death drew near and he expired when this sacrilegious woman re-entered the house coming from the Carmelites, where she had dared to go to communion. Arrested unexpectedly, brought to a remote prison under an assumed name, she could not survive her shame, she hung herself with a silk pocket handkerchief, and must have suffered frightful agony before she expired, for she had struggled violently with death, as the numerous bruises which covered her body proved.

This occurrence, horrible in the circumstances, occupied the police very much, it was the cause of an increase of the prosecutions and inquiries directed against the poisoners of both sexes, who seemed willing to revive the fatal epochs of Brinvilliers and la Voisin. The attention they gave to this event led to the discovery of an odious conspiracy against the royal family, and in favor of the house of Orleans.

Before the reader exclaims against this accusation so often advanced in history, and which is looked upon so willingly as a manœuvre of party hatred, he should reflect on these sad words of M. de Sartines—

“When a murder, when a poisoning occurs, the shortest way, with an efficient police, would be to arrest immediately all the relatives of the victim. The calumnies, the quarrels, and the lawsuits of which the family is generally or secretly the theatre, show sufficiently by the scandal of their evidence, that it is to this source one must go to enquire into the causes of mysterious events and horrible catastrophes. The family lives among us under the protection of a virtuous name which the magistracy tremble to suspect, the family is a collection of crimes, a storehouse of infamy. The hypocrisy of the false

caresses which are here lavished, surpass our utmost imaginations. They might found pathetic romances on this basis. *In a family of twenty persons, the police should place forty spies."*

We have now laid before our readers the principal materials which, in our opinion, suggested the leading incidents of the Count of Monte Cristo. In our narratives we have perhaps, forgotten the duties of the critic, but our readers will recollect that explanation rather than criticism was promised when the articles on the "Romance of Life" were commenced. We have derived great satisfaction in our progress through the parterres of imagination in which Dumas has cultivated such choice flowers, and it is our hope that our readers may be pleased with our indication of the seed from which such a splendid crop has been raised. When next we seek to occupy their attention. it shall be in reference to the productions of one who either as a novelist or historian has won ample laurels, the highly gifted JAMES. We forbear quoting the peculiar sources from whence we have derived the details of this article, for peculiar reasons which at a future period may cease to exist.

F. T. P.

ART. VI.—FITZPATRICK'S LIFE OF LORD  
CLONCURRY.

*The Life, Times, and Contemporaries of Lord Cloncurry, embracing the period from 1775, to 1853; with a selection from his hitherto unpublished correspondence.* By William John Fitzpatrick, Esq., M.R.D.S. Dublin: Duffy. 1855.

EVEN before reading this book, we were inclined to consider its author an honest Irishman. Our reason for this favorable conjecture was, that this life of Lord Cloncurry was abused by all parties. Conservatives think Mr. Fitzpatrick a leveller. Old Ireland cannot pardon him, because he gives Young Ireland credit for anything under heaven; and Young Ireland proclaims him a trimmer who has done injustice to the best men of its party. We have ever been of opinion, that a really honest and sincere man, who pins the salvation of his country not on any particular party, and sees not every man and every measure through the same glass as his political leaders, but looks, and judges, and speaks for himself, of both men and measures, will for many a year to come, be looked upon with distrust by all parties, and offending each in turn, will find himself denounced for his back-sliding, without getting credit for the good he has done, or even for the services he may have rendered to either party when he thought their objects were useful. Such a man was Lord Cloncurry, and we think his biographer has brought to his task a congenial spirit. We have been pleased by this book, we think that a great deal of time and care have been spent in collecting its materials, it is written in an agreeable style, and for these reasons we shall not criticize the book with a severity to which Mr. Fitzpatrick has occasionally left himself open. Although we shall leave to others the ungracious task, for which it is said critics have such a fancy, of tearing a writer to pieces, we cannot close our eyes to the fact, that there are, in the volume before us, some grave errors of taste, which we are sure none will judge more severely than Mr. Fitzpatrick himself, when he shall have become more experienced as a writer of Biography: a character in which we hope frequently to meet him, but he must bear in mind, that the age of tropes and metaphors has past. Fine writing



or fine speaking is dangerous ground ; the subject must admit of it ; it must be ventured on only by a master, and even then, sparingly, if perfect, and yet beyond the dignity of the subject or occasion, it is laughed at ; a slip is ruin. This book shews that its writer possesses many of the necessary component qualities of a biographer—honesty of purpose and judgment, a spirit of patient and laborious enquiry, a love for his task, a talent for writing agreeably and seizing interesting points in his subjects : with a little more care in his arrangement, and in his selection of correspondences, and a faithfully preserved vow against every figure of speech known to the elocution book, we should welcome this gentleman as an acquisition to our biographers, and await with anticipations of pleasure and information the productions of his pen.

At first we were disposed to censure the introduction into this work of those sanguinary and disgraceful excesses, by which the people of this country were goaded into rebellion. We will not dwell upon these frightful scenes : they are recorded to the eternal infamy of the ministers who succeeded in accomplishing the legislative union of England and Ireland, and their more wretched tools. It struck us as bad taste and bad judgment, and especially at the present time, to drag again before us the hideous tragedy of '98. On consideration however, we found that it was necessary to enter upon this topic, in order to do justice to Lord Cloncurry : the writer of this biography must have thought, and in our opinion he thought correctly, that justice to his subject should be with him a primary consideration. In this view he was right in entering on these details, which if needlessly introduced, we should be the first to censure. Through life, and not alone with his own class, but amongst all of what is called pure conservative politics, Lord Cloncurry was looked on as a rebel, a man who if he saw a prospect of success, would have led an attack on throne and constitution. His intimacy with many of the leaders in the insurrection of '98, his known liberal opinions and opposition to that union, upon which English ministers had staked the integrity of the British empire and sacrificed their own characters, his ready assistance both with money and kind offices to attainted men, might lead an unprejudiced mind to suspect there were some grounds for this calumny. The history of his country, during the few years preceding the union will, however, clear away this foul

imputation. Lord Cloncurry was a generous, high-minded man, who loved his country, and felt for her distresses. His sympathies were enlisted for a suffering people, as for a persecuted individual, and though he could not approve the ill-judged and violent efforts which many who felt with him attempted, when they had failed, and languished in their dungeons, until summoned to the scaffold, for having loved their country, "not wisely but too well," Cloncurry was not the man to refuse that assistance which humanity could not deny to the fallen. Looking back on those early scenes of Cloncurry's life, we repeat that no man with those feelings of sympathy for sorrow and suffering which the Divinity has planted in the human breast, and who was not deterred by an unworthy though not unreasonable fear of consequences, or blinded by the heat of party feeling, would have acted otherwise; and when to this we add a personal friendship with many of those unfortunate men whose talents and personal worth endeared them to all who knew them, and bear in mind the state of the country when, as Grattan said, "I could not join the rebel—I could not join the government—I could not join torture—I could not join half hanging—I could not join free quarter—I could take part with neither. I was therefore absent from the scene where I could not be active without self-reproach, nor indifferent with safety,—” remembering this, we have little fear for the verdict which posterity will pronounce upon Cloncurry.

Without at all impeaching the title of the Cloncurry family to trace their descent from Sir Hugh de Lawless of Hoddesden, County Hertford, who came over to this country with Henry the Second in 1172, we may say that the writer leaves a very considerable gap in the line to be filled up, and that with the exception of similarity of names, we cannot see any connection between the barefooted boy, Lord Cloncurry's grandfather, who brought his brooms for sale into Dublin, and the chieftains of ancient lineage. This, however, is a matter of interest rather to the immediate family of Cloncurry, and that limited number of the community who cannot appreciate worth unless in one of an ancient family, than to the great mass of readers.

To trace the gradual advance of each of the three generations of this family, is very interesting. Robert Lawless, the grandfather of the late Lord Cloncurry, made his first appearance in Dublin leading an ass with a load of heather tied into

brooms, which he had made up in the adjacent county of Wicklow, in which he had been born and reared. The boy continued his broom-selling trade for some time, principally in the liberties of Dublin, and amongst his customers was a woollen draper who conducted a respectable establishment in High-street, which was at that time (1720), one of the principal streets of the city. The intelligence of the boy attracted the draper's attention, and an offer was made to take him as a messenger and assistant in the shop, which was gladly accepted. Robert Lawless rose steadily, until he became foreman to and finally a partner with his master. After his old employer's death, he married the widow, who was of a highly respectable citizen family. Of this marriage, Nicholas, first Lord Cloncurry, was the first fruit. Robert's worldly affairs thrived apace, his business became very extensive, and he realized so considerable a fortune, that the close of his life was spent in his private residence in Chancery-lane, which was at the time one of the most fashionable localities in Dublin. Before he died the old man was gratified by the elevation of his son to a baronetcy, although he did not live to see him a peer. Nicholas, thanks to the penal laws which then and for many a dreary year afterwards existed, received his education abroad, like most men of his creed; on his return he turned his accomplishments to advantage, by gaining the affections of a Miss Brown, the only child of one of the wealthiest merchants in Dublin, and knowing how high were the expectations of her father in marrying the young lady, he succeeded in inducing her to elope with him, and they were married. By the liberality of his father, Nicholas had been enabled to purchase the manor of Galleville, near Rouen, a Catholic being at that time incapable of purchasing real property in this country, and he retired thither with his wife. After the lapse of about five years from their marriage, during which they were childless, a daughter was born, Mary, afterwards married to a gentleman of large fortune, known as "Jerusalem Whaley;" after her came Valentina, afterwards Lady Barton, and Charlotte, afterwards Lady Dunsany; and on the 19th of August, 1773, was born to them their fourth child, Valentine second Lord Cloncurry, the subject of this biography.

After the birth of their two first children, Nicholas and his wife returned to Dublin. When the reconciliation between old Brown and his daughter and son-in-law took place does not appear, but that such took place was evidenced, much more

satisfactorily than by any friendly intercourse, by the large fortune which Nicholas Lawless received from the old man. Nicholas was a close and attentive trader, like his father, and too prudent to throw up the establishment in High-street when his father retired. Accordingly he took upon himself the management of the business, and as we are told might be seen for many years after his elevation to the baronetcy, at the several country fairs, engaged in purchasing wool for the purposes of manufacture and sale. His private residence, however, was in Merrion-square, then and still the most fashionable locality in Dublin.

We shall not pause to detail by what gradual steps the considerable fortunes which he inherited, and obtained by marriage, became enormously increased by the care and diligence of a clever man of business, or how he became successively a banker, a Protestant, and a lauded proprietor. Neither shall we enter upon the merits of the scandal that Nicholas became a Protestant, not from conviction of the superiority of the Protestant religion over that of Rome, but simply to enable himself to become the holder of landed property, and to advance in his progress towards the coronet. Nicholas went into Parliament, became one of the supporters of government, *per fas et nefas*, and was by Pitt created successively baronet and peer, in the regular course of shameless and profligate bribery, by which, with other still more guilty practices, the Legislative Union between England and Ireland was effected. We cannot take our leave of His Lordship without giving the following clever lines, referring to his original trade of woollen draper, ascribed to Lady Cahir, and written on seeing his Lordship laughing immoderately at a pantomime in which *Sancho Panza* was being tossed by the villagers in a blanket :—

“ Cloncurry Cloncurry,  
Come here in a hurry,  
And tell why you laugh at the squire ;  
Now altho' he's tossed high,  
I defy you deny,  
That blankets have tossed yourself higher.”

VALENTINE LORD CLONCURRY was born at his father's residence in Merrion-square, on the 19th August, 1773. At the age of eight, being then only a younger son, (his elder brother Robert was alive) he was sent to school to Portarlington in the Queen's County. From his infancy he had been delicate and ailing, and the rough treatment which was then customary to inflict on young boys at public schools, forced

his family after a time to bring him home. When his health and strength became somewhat restored, principally by the unceasing care and nursing of his mother, he was sent to a very fashionable school near Maretimo, the family villa, which was presided over by a clergyman named Dr. Burroughs who may be truly styled an eccentric school-master as "a capon smothered in oyster sauce presented far greater attractions to the Rev. pedagogue, than the choicest stanzas of Homer or Euripides; and the rattle of roulette or the tumult of the dice box, were sounds that fell far more joyfully upon his ears than even the creditable answers of his own pupils at the annual scholastic examination at Prospect." Valentine after remaining two years with this gentleman, was removed to the King's School in Chester, where he resided chiefly with Bishop Cleaver. That prelate having been appointed principal of Brazennose College, Oxford, wished the Hon. Valentine Lawless, for whom it seems he entertained a great friendship, to enter himself at that university; with a national pride, however, as rare as creditable, the young man gave the preference to the university of his own country, and accordingly entered himself as a student of Trinity College, Dublin, in 1790, and after three years took his degree of Bachelor of Arts.

It must be a matter of regret, that the biographer has not made more extended inquiries as to the college career of Lord Cloncurry. One might expect from the length at which some incidents are entered on that Mr. Fitzpatrick possessed the necessary industry, and surely inquiry into this subject would throw some light on that important era in a man's life, in which he forms connexions and acquires opinions which materially influence his entire career. We find, however, that Valentine Lawless was a member of the College Debating Society, which the bigotry, and intolerance of everything national, of Dr. Elrington and the other Fellows, could not suffer to exist within the walls of the university. In 1792 he was on the continent for some time, and remained a few months at Neufchatel, where he was a good deal thrown into the society of officers of the Irish Brigade in the service of France. The national tendencies and liberal opinions of Lord Cloncurry must have been strengthened considerably by his intercourse with those brave and distinguished men, whom a misguided Legislature had driven to seek fame and fortune in the ranks of a foreign service. After spending some time at

Lausanne, and visiting the principal places of interest on the Rhine, he returned to his own country to enter upon scenes in which every man who took an honest part, in resisting the encroachments of Pitt upon the liberties of Ireland, was destined to be victimized if not ruined for his independence.

The condition of the Irish people, when the Honorable Mr. Lawless returned to his native country, was most deplorable. The rudeness with which the humble petitions of the great masses to be admitted to an equality of civil and religious rights with their fellow subjects, were rejected, the apparent fruitlessness of their just remonstrances, the recall of every governor who was disposed to act with fairness or liberality, had driven the people almost to a state of frenzy. The French Revolution, which produced such marked effects on most countries, elevated, especially, the hopes of the popular party in Ireland. The society of United Irishmen, of whose original intentions and objects so little is known, had been formed, and was receiving immense additions to its ranks, though many Roman Catholics of the higher classes held aloof, hoping beyond all hope for a consideration of their claims, and fearing to afford a pretext for the denial of concessions. When to all these is added, that the underhand means of driving the people to open insurrection employed by the government were a work, and that rebellion, which as a modern statesman,\* was taking no part in those scenes, could refer to them without passion or prejudice, writes, "was wickedly provoked, rashly begun, and cruelly crushed," was in progress, it will be difficult to realize the popular excitement, or the troublous condition of the times.

One of Mr. Lawless' first acts on his return was to join the society of United Irishmen. As this step constitutes the chief portion of the evidence against Lord Cloncurry, to convict him as a traitor and a rebel, it will be necessary to offer a few observations on the formation and objects of this society, which, legitimate in its inception, was ultimately used, when all hopes of legitimate redress were despaired of, to effect the subversion of British rule, and to wrest by force of arms rights which were refused to constitutional agitation.

The society was formed by Theobald Wolfe Tone, and a few other young men of respectability, and of very considerable

\* Lord J. Russell, Preface to Memoirs of Thomas Moore, page 18, vol.

talents, in the October of 1791. Some idea may be formed of the social position of its early members, from the fact that twelve of the citizens of Belfast, where the society was originated, subscribed a sum of £250 each, (in all £3000,) to purchase a paper (*The Northern Star*) for the promulgation of their opinions. The society spread rapidly, and, after some time, their paper had an immense circulation. The watch-words of the society were—"Emancipation—Reform—We ask no more and will have no less." Dr. M'Nevin, Thomas Addis Emmet, and Arthur O'Connor, men whose integrity and honor are unsullied, however we may deplore the rashness of their conduct, have told us that its views were purely and in good faith, what the test of the society avowed, and that test, which was offered to every member, was as follows:—"I promise to aid in promoting a union of friendship between Irishmen of all religious persuasions, and to forward a full, fair and adequate representation of the people in Parliament." Such was the society quitted by Cloncurry, when it began to abandon its original purpose, and to essay unlawful objects, for joining which, so much opprobrium has been cast upon him.

In the latter end of 1795 Lawless went to London, entered the Middle Temple as a law student, and from that time forward resided by turns in either capital. It was, as we are told, upon the occasion of this visit to London that Mr. Lawless renewed an acquaintance which he had formed at Neuchâtel in '92 with a Mr. John Macnamara, who seems to have been one of the under strapper political agents, who were made use of by ministers in a variety of ways, and one of whose duties seemed to be keeping a good table where their chiefs occasionally condescended to appear as guests. Macnamara invited young Lawless to a dinner, at which, amongst other company, was no less a personage than The Right Honorable William Pitt, Prime Minister of England. It is to be presumed that either for the purpose of sounding Lawless, or from the flow of wine in which the great man indulged pretty freely, the projected union between England and Ireland was broached. Be that as it may, many weeks did not pass over before Lawless gave vent to his honest indignation at the project, and hastened to point out the ruinous consequences to his country of such a connection. This, his first essay in pamphleteering, was entitled, *Thoughts on the Projected Union*, and had an immense success. The sale of copies was

extremely rapid, and Mr. Under Secretary Cooke thought it so worthy of his notice as to devote fifty pages of a counter paper to neutralize its effect. From this day Lawless was a marked man, and such was the jealous fear entertained of any accession to the popular ranks, especially of men of rank and position, and such the anxiety to crush the offender, that from that time forward Mr. Lawless was continually dogged by spies, to whom was confided the special task of supervising his every movement; when and where he went and with whom he visited him, and in fact in every movement, from his rising to his lying down, his every act was noted. Yet we find that the man who was thus dogged had written nothing more objectionable than such passages as this—"I would, therefore earnestly recommend every Irishman to put aside religious distinctions: but I would particularly conjure all those who are present, in city, county, or borough, enjoy the shadow of elective franchise, to instruct their representatives to oppose with all their might so disastrous and degrading a measure as an union. This will be the only effectual way to save the country, and to counteract the designs of the British Ministers for every freeman should know that the Parliament is only a delegation of the people. The people speaking thus to their representatives cannot fail to be obeyed; for no Parliament that sought its election from the people can cease to obey the voice, the uncorrupted voice of its electors." This is not the language of a rebel; never was a more constitutional mode of redress pointed out than this, and let it be borne in mind that this sensible and temperate advice was not that of an experienced politician, whose sensibilities have been blunted by the harsh realities of life, but of a very young and enthusiastic man who felt that his country's liberties and interests were threatened by unscrupulous and powerful men.

The jealousy with which Lawless was regarded by government, on account of the pamphlet which he had dared to write against the union, was inflamed to the highest pitch, by the part which he took in the defence of O'Coigly, the Roman Catholic Clergyman, who was arrested and tried, with Arthur O'Connor, for high treason, at a special commission held at Maidstone in 1798. Government had marked Lawless as an objectionable person, to be disposed of and punished for his independence when he wrote his *Antetimon* pamphlet, but the part he took in O'Coigly's affair, and the company with which



he associated in Furnival's Inn, caused them to look upon him as positively dangerous. O'Coigly was the son of a respectable farmer, of the yeoman class, and was intended for the church. Their ill fortune had located his family in Armagh, the very hot bed of Orangeism, and the O'Coiglys presented an excellent mark upon which that party could wreak their hatred of the religion of the family. A number of Peep-of-Day boys, an organised banditti of orangemen, attacked the old man's house, broke open the doors, smashed the furniture to pieces, and then burned them, and dragged the old man and his wife out after sacking the house. The aged woman sank lifeless with terror before the ruffians, who with muskets pointed at her husband's head, commanded him to abjure the errors of Romanism. Their threats were ineffectual, yet they spared the old man's life, and retired from the scene of devastation. In vain were all attempts to bring the offenders to justice. It is well known that the magistracy of the county were all of the opposite religion. Education and intelligence had not done for the Protestant Gentry of that day, what it has accomplished for most of those of the present. Party spirit prevailed over every thing, and a complaint by a Catholic, especially if against an orangeman or a protestant, then synonymous terms, would be scouted by *the ministers of justice*. These cruelties and outrages, for which there was neither redress for the injured nor punishment for the offenders, rankled in the mind of young O'Coigly who could have, it may be presumed, but little attachment to a constitution or laws which left unprotected a class whose only offence was, that they belonged to a particular religion.

The O'Coigly family was broken up, and the young clergyman who was distinguished equally for the propriety of his life and the amiability of his character, took refuge in flight from a country where he was exposed to such outrage: we are left in considerable doubt as to his movements between the occasion of the wrecking of his father's house, and his arrest; it is enough that in passing through London for the last time, on his way to France, he was the bearer of a letter of introduction to Lawless, who with that liberality and kindness which characterised his entire life, when he heard the sad story of O'Coigly's early days, and that he was at the time in considerable distress for want of money, not alone assisted him with his purse, but invited him to his table. We know not

how far O'Coigly was animated with treasonable intents, and we may safely state, that no overt act of his was in evidence, and that if he is to be judged according to the rule of British law which says, that every man is to be considered innocent until his guilt is established, O'Coigly was an innocent man, but be that as it may, Lawless knew nothing of his secret purposes if such there were. O'Coigly was arrested at Margate, in company with Arthur O'Connor, as they were proceeding to take shipping for the French coast. After he had been arrested destitute as he was of friends, he wrote to Lawless, who had before showed him so much kindness, for pecuniary aid ; his appeal was not in vain. Lawless was not like the masses ready to associate guilt with a mere accusation, and he well knew the efforts which would be made to put out of the way an obnoxious person ; he responded to O'Coigly's appeal and sent him a small sum, (he was then depending on the allowance made him by his father) engaged an attorney to conduct O'Coigly's defence, and to secure his services, guaranteed that he should be paid.

No man who reflects for a moment on this passage of Lord Cloncurry's Life, we care not what or how violent may be his political tendencies, can look with other than admiration upon his conduct in the matter. This unfortunate clergyman was innocent, as far as Cloncurry knew, he was just the person to be seized on, and made an example of by government, who could console themselves with the thought, that if he were not guilty of high treason, he was a disaffected dangerous kind of person ; there was little doubt but that a conviction could be procured and the jury could not go very far wrong, as if he had not actually been guilty of the offence laid to his charge, it was likely he would before long engage himself in some treasonable matters. He was without money, without friends. O'Connor who had a large bar retained for his own defence, threw his completely aside ; previous and subsequent acts of the government shewed the danger of assisting an accused person and to render assistance to a man in his situation, was not alone dictated by humanity, but deserving of the highest admiration for the intrepidity which it exhibited.

O'Connor, O'Coigly and three others who were, as it was alleged, connected with the deputation to France, were tried and O'Coigly alone convicted. Every attempt to persuade as well as to terrify him into making disclosures was essayed

but in vain ; O'Coigly either had nothing to tell, or would not betray whatever secrets had been confided to him, though his life might be purchased by actual or feigned discoveries. Before passing from this incident in Lord Cloncurry's Life, we shall introduce the opinion of Lord Holland, as to the innocence of this priest, for defending whom Lord Cloncurry suffered so much both in character and person.

"O'Coigly was condemned on false and contradictory evidence. I do not mean to aver, as Lord Thurlow assured me he did to Judge Buller, who tried him, that, '*if ever a poor man was murdered it was O'Coigly*,' but simply to allude to a circumstance which in the case of a common felon would probably have saved his life. The Bow-street Officer, who swore to finding the fatal paper in his pocket-book, and remarked in court the folding of the paper as fitting that pocket-book, had sworn before the Privy Council that *the same paper was found loose in O'Coigly's great coat, and I think had added that he himself had put it into the pocket book*. An attorney of the name of Foulks, gave me this information, and I went with it to Mr. Wickham, then, I think, under secretary, who assured me that the circumstance should be carefully and cautiously investigated before the execution. But the order had gone down, and while we were conversing, the sentence was probably executed."

Let those who are so destitute of humanity as to blame Lord Cloncurry for assisting to defend this unfortunate clergyman, should bear in mind that when a prisoner who is indicted for a capital offence, is from poverty unable to procure legal assistance, the court will assign counsel for his defence, and that such is now the well settled practice, at least in this country.

About this time it was usual for a number of young Irishmen, who, like all not interested in the continuance of abuses, were dissatisfied with the condition of their country, to assemble in a kind of club-room in Furnival's Inn, where the most violent of the liberal papers, *The Press*, was taken in. Many English men of the same way of thinking, occasionally attended to hear the news and discuss the position and prospects of the movement party. As most of these men were naturally obnoxious to government, a close espionage was maintained over the frequenters of this room, in which, though on the surface it appeared its habits merely came to pass away an hour in chat, there was reason to believe there was many a serious and dangerous project broached, Mr. Lawless was one of this knot, and possessing many sentiments in common with his company, and as wit and wine were discussed as freely as politics, there can be no

reason for disbelieving Lord Cloncurry, when he told friends that of the more serious business transacted he knew nought, and that he dropped in there so frequently the evenings after a dinner party or leaving the theatre, young men of the present day resort to their clubs.

In the meantime affairs were coming to a crisis in Ireland. The insurrection, of the progress of which government was instructed, began on the 23rd of October, 1798. Information though the Castle officials were of the appointed time for rising to which they had led the people, their own credulity would have destroyed them, had it not been for the wretched blundering of the few leaders who were left at large. A population of three counties were in arms, Kildare, Wick, and Dublin; and such was the wide spread feeling of intolerance suffering amongst the peasantry, that were it not for their own fatuity, and the utter worthlessness and incapacity of the great body of their leaders, it would be difficult to say what would have been the result. The details of that wretched break we shall not enter on. Ministers were panic stricken and were especially fearful lest any man of rank or intellect should join the insurgents. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who in all human probability would have brought the popular struggle to a successful issue, was gone. The bare possibility of Lawless taking part in the movement caused them to tremble, and accordingly we find that on the 31st May, the Hon. Valentine Lawless was arrested on suspicion of high treason. Mr. Secretary Wickham took it upon himself to state in a letter to Lord Castlereagh informing him of several articles that "There are some papers found in Mr. Lawless' possession that tend directly to shew his connexion with some of the most desperate of the republican party here, as well as those who are in habitual communication with the French agents at Hamburg;" and earlier in the same letter it appears as well from the secret information, etc. etc., the fact confirmed by the testimony of the two gentlemen recommended to Mr. Cooke, that all these persons were more or less implicated in the memorable conspiracy in Ireland. No other first accusation and the last are equally destitute of truth. The only treasonable documents found on Mr. Lawless or connected with him, were a visiting card of Arthur O'Connor's and a short note from O'Coigly, totally unconnected with the public affairs or private intrigues, and most likely an acceptance

of a dinner invitation. We have Lord Cloncurry's word for the truth of this last statement. The course, however, adopted by government with Mr. Lawless established the falsity of the two charges. If they were true there could be no difficulty in convicting one against whom appearances and associations were so strong; and Pitt, who feared not to strike down a Fitzgerald, and blushed not in attempting to strip the orphan children of the rebel chief of their patrimony, who afterwards, at a time when vengeance and not precaution must have been his object, subjected Lord Cloncurry to a long and cruel imprisonment, Pitt was not the man to have spared Lawless, either for his rank or his connections, if he could have proved these charges which Mr. Secretary Wickham so flippantly makes in the above letter.

Almost immediately after his arrest, Mr. Lawless was conducted before the Privy Council for examination. Amongst the Councillors present were the Lord Chancellor Loughborough, afterwards Earl of Rosslyn, the Duke of Portland, and William Pitt. Indignant at the treatment which he had received, Mr. Lawless declined answering any questions or giving any satisfaction to his interrogators. He was remanded, and although an intimation was made to him that he would be liberated on bail, he with more hauteur than prudence declined the offer, replying that he was imprisoned without any reasonable cause, and that he would not even by implication afford grounds for justifying the arbitrary conduct of the government, or giving a color to their suspicions. The attempt to extort information from him was repeated several times, but all without effect, and when it was found that they could make nothing of him he was discharged, Mr. Reeves, one of the Bow-street magistracy, who was a friend of his, becoming bail for his appearance, without, however, the concurrence or approbation of Mr. Lawless. When he was informed that he was at liberty, Mr. Lawless hastened to anticipate any insinuations which might be offered, that his silence was that of conscious guilt, and that he was afraid of betraying himself. He at once stated to the Chancellor, candidly and fully, everything within his knowledge; his conscience was free of offence, and his statements consequently tended neither to criminate himself nor any other person. He admitted having been a member of the society of United Irishmen, before that body had rendered themselves offensive

to the law, that he had furnished money to O'Coigly, and the nature of his relations with him and his connexion with the society of Furnival's Inn. The matter terminated with Lord Loughborough assuring him that he was to be considered incautious rather than criminal, and advising him to be more careful for the future. In these remarks, both the Duke of Portland and Pitt who were present concurred. We are thus enabled to fasten upon the ministers by their own confession, the odium of having imprisoned an unoffending man of whose innocence he was fully conscious.

Although only three weeks in confinement, Mr. Lawless's health had been somewhat impaired, and upon his release he set out on an equestrian tour through England. Among the other scenes of interest or gaiety visited by him was Scarborough, at that time one of the most fashionable watering places in England. Here he met for the first time Miss Ryal, the daughter of an eminent Irish banker. The lady was possessed of considerable charms, both of mind and person, and intimacy soon ripened into a feeling of warm attachment. He paid his addresses to the lady, was accepted, and as far as her family was concerned everything necessary for their union was satisfactorily arranged. Mr. Lawless, however, had considerable difficulty in obtaining his father's consent to the match. After a lengthy and protracted correspondence, and the interference of several friends in favor of Mr. Lawless's views, an unwilling consent was obtained from his Lordship, on the condition of Lawless keeping his terms and being called to the bar. It was not, however, until early in the summer of 1799, that Lord Cloncurry consented to his son's marriage, and the period which all obstacles were to be at an end was approaching, when an event beyond all human expectation interfered to blast his hopes—he was arrested on the 14th of April, 1799, on a warrant issued by the Duke of Portland, and committed to the tower, where he was detained for two years.

The rebellion in Ireland had been crushed with a sanguinary ferocity, such only as we read of in the darker ages. The great obstacle to the prime object of Pitt's ambition, "The Union," had been removed—the public spirit had been crushed; and there being nothing to fear from popular manifestations, there remained but one thing further necessary to secure majorities in the two houses of the Irish Parliament. The

shameless bribery, the traffic in places, pensions and titles, by which this was effected, are too notorious to require a single line of detail. The only wonder is, that in an age when political corruption was so rife, and when opinions upon this subject were so much less strict than those of our day, such extensive measures of demoralization were found necessary, and that so many resisted every temptation. There were a few who, as ministers feared, could neither be bribed nor intimidated, and of these was Lawless. His influence and example might materially assist the national party; no precaution to insure success was to be spared, and a paltry and disgraceful spite for his opposition to the minister's favourite project was to be gratified. Lawless was consequently arrested, and his imprisonment was embittered by a refusal of comforts and necessities, which displayed a petty malignity, which is almost incredible. Few men have passed through such an ordeal as Lawless during his imprisonment, fewer still, without becoming misanthropes or maniacs. Heir to a peerage and noble fortune, reared in luxury, he found himself immured without the means of seeking refuge from sorrow either in society or books; he had not even the means of communicating freely with his friends or family. The effect of his imprisonment on his betrothed wife was fatal. She saw that every entreaty for his liberation was in vain, that his health, always delicate, was breaking—the blow was too heavy—she languished for a short time, and died of a broken heart. His father used every exertion to procure his release in vain; his prayers were met, either by an offensive neglect, or an equally cruel official reply, which meant nothing, and the declining old man was hurried to his grave, by the cruelty inflicted on his son, and the indignity with which he was treated.

Valentine Lawless succeeded to his title and property, a prisoner in the Tower, and again was relief solicited, but still in vain. His extensive property was going to ruin, and but for the energy of his noble sister, Charlotte, his affairs would have been involved in inextricable confusion. At length in February, 1801, the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act, which had empowered ministers to detain him in custody, expired. It was found impossible to obtain its renewal, and consequently on the 3rd of March, 1801, Lord Cloncurry, on giving personal bail to the amount of £5,000, and two sureties in £2,000 each, was liberated. Rank and fortune were his, but what



elasticity of mind must he not have possessed, to recover blo such as had been inflicted on him. Enfeebled in frame, and broken in spirit, his property wasted, his country sunk in wretchedness and degradation, chaffing beneath the sense of a cruel wrong for which he could obtain no redress, his fair fame tarnished, his father passed away without one word of adieu, his promise wife, the woman he loved, lost in the prime of her youth and beauty, crushed with care and sorrow, sunk into an early grave—thus he came forth from his prison. His sufferings had no other effect upon him than to confirm that sympathy for the distressed, to expand that generosity with which he had been so especially endowed.

Thus terminated his lordship's unhappy career in the political world. His long and useful after life, devoted to the discharge of the duties of his station, has passed in an even tenor of almost private station ; he never emerged from retirement, save when some project for developing the resources of the country, or improving the condition of her people was broached ; however, until the Catholics of Ireland were freed from the degrading restrictions to which their religion exposed them, Lord Cloncurry was ever their advocate. His influence was generally exercised rather by representations than by interference in his individual capacity, than by taking an active part in public agitations. One event only occurred to mar the bitterness of his home : his first wife, to whom he had ever been an indulgent and considerate husband, fell a victim to the arts of a man who availed himself of his intimacy with the family, and of the hospitality of Lord Cloncurry to destroy his friend's domestic happiness, and such was the cold-blooded profligacy of the villain, that it is credibly reported he had wagered a large sum on the success of his intrigue. He succeeded, and such was the unsuspecting nature of Lord Cloncurry, that it was not until his wife, in an agony of repentance at having betrayed a kind and confiding husband, revealed her infamy to him, that he became aware of his dishonor. It is said, we know not to what accuracy, that Lord Cloncurry, such was the tenderness of his disposition, would, were it not for the interference of his friends, have again received his wife, who fell by a momentary weakness, before the carefully planned, and deliberately executed artifices of her seducer. ~ We care not to enter into the discussion of the question, as to whether it would have



were fatuity to have taken to his arms again a faithless wife, or whether, bearing in mind her love for him, the temptation and arts to which she had been exposed, her confession and repentance, he would not have acted the part of a christian man, to have restored to her place the mother of his children. Lord Cloncurry, acting still by the advice of his friends, determined to punish the paramour by the only means of reaching so heartless a ruffian—through that fortune which he had made use of for the purpose of gratifying his wretched passions. An action was accordingly brought, and damages, perhaps the largest ever given by a jury, were assessed at £20,000. Time, which effects such mighty changes, healed the wounds inflicted on Lord Cloncurry's heart. A divorce had been obtained shortly after the trial, and the marriage dissolved by an act of Parliament. Lady Cloncurry returned to England, where she continued afterwards to reside, under her maiden name, (Miss Morgan,) until, by the death of an uncle, she received a considerable addition to her fortune, soon after which, she married a clergyman of the Established Church. His lordship espoused in second marriage, a widow, Mrs. Emily Leeson, mother of the present Earl of Miltown, by whom he had issue the present Lord Cloncurry, and a large family, Valentine, his eldest son, (being by his first wife,) having died in 1825.

The long and useful after career of Lord Cloncurry, devoid though it may be of that interest attaching to the stormy period of his early life, is well worthy of perusal. The business of his existence seemed to be, to support every government and every ruler disposed to act honestly and fairly by this country; to unite men of every sect who loved Ireland; to soften the acerbities of religious and political party spirit; to ameliorate the condition of the people; to educate the rising generation; to protect the poor man; to administer the duties of the magistrate, the peasant's judge, with conscientious impartiality; to relieve want and misery; to screen the weak from oppression and bring the offending to justice. His charity was munificent as it was unostentatious. He used his rank and his wealth, not for the purposes of display, not as a means of obtaining and wielding power and patronage, not for self-aggrandizement, but as one to whom they had been entrusted as a steward to shield the lowly and relieve the poverty-stricken. His contributions to public charities were private, and they were generally conveyed with an intimation that the name of

the donor was not to be made public. No tale of woe reached his ears that he did not unsolicited hasten to relieve.

Though we have written his political life terminated early, we were hardly correct in the statement; certainly his public life did not. His attention, however, was rather devoted to social reforms than to national questions; but to enter on the details, which would occupy an immense space, is beyond our purpose; the reader will find the history ably, zealously and honestly recorded by Mr. Fitzpatrick.

After an illness of a few days Lord Cloncurry expired on the 28th of October, 1853. Full of years and honours he passed away to render an account of his stewardship, and reap the rewards of his good deeds. Happy would it be for the country if we possessed many like him, and none who knew him would read the narrative of his life, but will feel the correctness of the sculptor's taste, when he placed the figure of Hibernia beside the bust of Cloncurry, resting an arm on his shoulder as would a mother in embracing a dutiful and loving child, conscious of his affection and proud of his protecting manhood.

Let those to whom God has given wealth and power study the Life of Cloncurry and follow his example, if they desire, with the last debt is to be paid, to sink into an honored grave, confiding in their own rectitude when about to stand before the Eternal Judge, with the regrets of good men and the tears of a nation, bequeathing to their family the proud inheritance of a revered name.

## ART. VII.—THE MILITIA AND THE LINE.

1. *Acts 15th and 16th Victoria, Chapter 50 : 17th Victoria, Chapters, 13, 16, 107, and others being the Acts of Parliament, Regulating the present Militia Establishment of the United Kingdoms.*
2. *War Office Circulars of March, 1855. Being those Relating to The Militia.*

Startling and terrible as have been the incidents of the Crimean Expedition, they have as yet but barely awakened the English public mind to the fact that we are in a state of war. The long, long peace—the many instances in which the gathering of storm clouds in the political atmosphere dissipated and passed away without explosion—the huge self-contentment which England's commercial prosperity, and the adulation it won for her, from foreign visitants and writers, had tended to foster and augment—all have contributed to lull her people into a false security, and to render it difficult for them fully to realize even now the fact, that their triumphs of peace are interrupted, and that hard blows, and stern and bloody, and widewasting contention in arms are displacing, and replacing, the pacific strivings and gainful and accumulating enterprizes of trade.

When this has been and is the case—as any one with the most ordinary opportunities of knowing the English mind will at once admit it to be—there is no longer much room to wonder at the defects and blunders so notoriously and lamentably manifested in our military arrangements. It was but natural that a state of things so entirely unexpected and undreamt of, should not have been prepared for; and that on the contrary, even the ordinary military establishment of the country should have become the object of cavil and attack, by reason of its apparent want of necessity and indisputable expense.

We shall not stop here to enquire and determine to what degree that kind of *dilettante* republicanism, so often noticeable in the sayings and doing of the potential middle classes of England has contributed to stimulate the attacks in question, and to render them, partially indeed, but still only too

extensively successful. As it would not altogether be very consistent with the reforming professions and reclamations of these classes, to seek to lay hold for their own use and benefit of the patronage afforded by military expenditure, the next best thing in their opinion, was to deprive the aristocracy of it; and to this object then every effort has been sedulously and constantly directed. The platitudes about the unconstitutionality of a standing army—the more plausible, and to a certain extent reasonable, diatribes against the system of promotion as existing; the furbishing up, and where thought required, the exaggerating of every case of alleged, or proved misconduct of military authorities—these and other such auxiliary means have been industriously and perseveringly employed; and the result of the whole has been, that restrictions and reductions have from time to time been carried in Parliament, which have undeniably and with deplorable effectiveness, operated to diminish the efficiency of our army, and thereby not very indirectly to occasion much of the heavy disasters we have had to lament.

There were many warnings of this. Experienced Officers in and out of Parliament, frequently labored to impress upon the public mind the danger of so ill-advised an economy, and foretold, what has been unhappily proved in the most overwhelming manner by the events of the last twelve months, that the comparatively paltry savings and clippings of the thirty or forty years of peace would be found not only to have a most injurious and crippling effect on our first efforts in our next war, but would then necessitate a new and immediate expenditure, far outbalancing in money amount, to say nothing of other considerations, the aggregate of the long series of reductions.

The Duke of Wellington, on more than one occasion, urgently remonstrated in his place in the House of Lords against the general impolicy of these progressive reductions, and forcibly pointed out the particular hardships they inflicted upon the army; in depriving it of adequate reliefs in the tour of colonial duty, and altogether so weakening it, that to use his own strong expression, England had altogether not more men in arms than barely sufficed to supply the sentries on her post throughout her wide dominions.

All idea of a reserve force was long abandoned and forgotten. It really seemed as if the ruling powers of the British Empire

expected and believed that either the peace of Europe, or the lives and vigor of their existing number of soldiers would be perpetual. Even the occasional "little wars" in Indian or Caffre territory no further disturbed their quietism than to cause a few scanty additions to be made to the battalions actually employed at the scene of conflict; and where the casualties of service did not suffice ere the end of these "little wars," to nullify the additions so made, a positive reduction to the previous *statu quo* was sure to follow.

When such was the manner in which the regular army was treated, the most uninformed person in military affairs will readily have surmised that the old constitutional force of the country, the militia, were very early put out of question altogether: such was the haste with which its services were sought to be dispensed with, that some regiments were disembodied and disbanded, almost before Napoleon Buonaparte had reached the scene of his first exile, the Island of Elba, in the year 1814. But no partial concession upon this point was of avail to stay the hasty hands of the economists or constitutionalists, as they assumed to be, of the day; and accordingly, the winter of 1814-1815 was marked by several efforts on their part to compel the then government to get rid of the militia at once. The celebrated Sir Samuel Romilly capped the climax of these efforts on the 28th of February, 1815, scarcely more than a month before it was announced to the same House of Commons that the dogs of war were let slip again, on the escape of Napoleon from Elba and his landing in France. Sir Samuel's motion was as follows:—

"That nine months having now elapsed since the definitive treaty of peace with France was signed; and this country having during the whole of that period been at peace not only with France, but with every power in Europe; and no cause whatever having existed or existing now, for apprehending invasion by a foreign enemy, or any insurrection or rebellion within the realm, it is contrary to the spirit and true intent and meaning of the Act of 42 Geo. 3, c. 90, to continue any part of the militia force of this country still embodied."\*

The arguments with which he supported his motion may be thus summarily stated. First, the absence of Foreign War, (that with the United States being considered on the eve of settlement)—and similar absence of domestic disturbances or

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\* *Hansard*, Vol. 29, p. 1095. 1815.

insurrection. Secondly, the severe sacrifices which service in the ranks of the militia imposed upon the lower orders, in their separation from their homes and families,—their necessary total abandonment of all civil occupations and habits, their deprivation of civil rights and subjection to military law. Thirdly, that neither the Constitution, nor the Act of Edward the Third, which first gave organization to the militia, conferred upon the sovereign any power to call for the personal services of the subject, excepting in the cases of actual invasion of the realm, or of rebellion; and that the Act of 42nd of George the 3rd, chapter 90, (quoted in the terms of his motion) recognized the royal authority to that extent only, and expressly under the specified limitations. Finally, he appealed to all precedent to justify the proposition he had made.

The answer to him from the ministerial side of the House comprehended the following observations:—

First, that the war with America was not entirely at an end; and that even if it were, the state of Europe was not yet so settled down as to warrant a diminution of the military force of Great Britain; especially considering that a portion of her regular army has, according to the arrangements between the allied powers, to remain for a time in France as an army of occupation. Secondly, that the Acts referred to, while providing specially for the levying of the militia force, were silent as to the manner and time of its disembodiment; and that a discretion on those points was therefore to be inferred as being left to the government of the day. Thirdly, that there were precedents, as in 1760 and 1761, when the militia were retained in arms although all danger of invasion had ceased; in 1805 when the situation of affairs that had required their being called out no longer existed, and in 1813 when the French army was totally ruined in the Russian campaign and therefore the danger of invasion could no longer be said to exist.

The best comment upon this debate, is by simply calling attention to the fact before alluded to, that in less than six weeks after it the country was again plunged into the vortex of war. It is true the latter was brief; but only by reason of the promptitude with which England was enabled to bear her part by the dispatch of troops to Belgium. Had the militia been disbanded, it would have been utterly impossible

for her to have dispensed with the presence of her regular army—the battle of Waterloo would not have occurred—the Prussians would have been beaten in detail—the junction of the Russians and Austrians prevented, and the whole face and destinies of Europe would have been changed, and certainly to the disadvantage and heavy detriment of Great Britain.

No warning however, was taken from this narrow escape, as we have already remarked, and shall presently have to shew more in detail. Meantime it cannot be out of place here to give a brief summary of the history of the militia force of these countries, in illustration of the statements and arguments to which we have been alluding, and several of which are beginning to re-appear, in the reports and speeches, and in the leading article columns of newspapers, in our own day.

We are not about to waste time with a dissertation on the early military systems established in England by the Danes, Saxons, and Normans. It is sufficient to say, that most authorities are now agreed, in considering the ancient "Fyrd" of the Saxons as the first foundation of our army. According to Sir Francis Palgrave, in his *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, this "Fyrd" seems to have been a general levy in arms, of all classes of subjects, in the field, under penalties proportioned to the rank and fortune of each. This system was modified and regulated in some of its parts by Alfred the Great, and King Edward the Confessor. The Norman conquest superadded the institution of a feudal army, furnished by the tenants of Knights' fees: which really had some of the features of the modern system of a standing army, inasmuch as many of those composing the array remained for long periods together in arms, and received a money remuneration, or regular pay. But the old Saxon "Fyrd" was not the less carefully kept up with its limited and periodical terms of service, and its annual "exhibitions of arms" of the nature of the "wappenschaw," so graphically described by Sir Walter Scott, in his admirable *Old Mortality*.

Attempts, happily unsuccessful, were made from time to time in the long interval of centuries from the Norman Conquest down to the Revolution of 1688, to destroy the separated and independent character of this "Fyrd" or "militia" force, and blend it with the regularly hired and paid forces of the crown. But the stubborn constitutional spirit

of England steadily resisted and repelled these attempts, and carefully embodied provisions against them in various acts of Parliament. Thus we have the statute 1st Edward 3, c. 5, which declares that "The King wills, that no man shall henceforth be charged to arm himself otherwise than was wont in the times of his progenitors, Kings of England; and that no man be compelled to go out of his shire but where necessity requireth and sudden coming of strange enemies into the realm; and that it shall be done as hath been used in times past, for the defence of the realm."

In the same year of Edward the Third, the second statute of that year, chapter 15, was avowedly passed for the relief of individuals who, "at the suggestion of false and evil counselors and by duress," had been prevailed on to come under burdensome obligations to perform military duties.

Several years later, in 1351, the fifth statute of the 25th of Edward the Third, chapter eight, enacted "that no man shall be constrained to find men of arms, hobelers, nor archers other than those who hold by such services, if it be not by common assent and grant made in Parliament."

In the 5th year of Henry the Fourth a statute, limited, but defining more clearly than before was the case, the powers assumed by the "Commissioners of Array," whom the Crown had from time to time appointed with a view of enlarging its military authority by gradual encroachments on the old military system. This statute assumed, as a necessary preliminary, foreign invasion, and then went on to authorize the Commissioners of Array under such circumstances, to array and train all men at arms;—to cause all able-bodied men to arm themselves according to their substance—to amerce those unable to bear arms in what might be judged a money-equivalent for armed service, and finally to require persons so armed to attend on the sea-shore, or elsewhere, in the case of danger.

The long contest between prerogative and constitutional law in these matters, came to a head in the reign of Charles the First. His father, James the First, had by statutes of the 1st and 21st years of his reign repealed the old act commonly called the Statutes of Armour, namely, the Statute of Henry the Second and the 13 Edward the First, chapter six, which was modified and confirmed by the 4th and 5th Philip and Mary, chapter two, which obliged every man to keep a certain supply of the arms in use at the periods respectively of the



enactments in question. But through some inadvertence the repeal of these acts also included the repeal of the power which they declared to be in the monarch of these realms to command the military array of the country. And on some of those powers being used by Charles the First in the issue of commissions of lieutenancy and otherwise, the Long Parliament eagerly raised and maintained the argument, that those powers had ceased to exist, and that the command of the militia could only be rightfully assumed and exercised by the King, with the consent and permission of Parliament. On this among other weighty constitutional points, the bloody issue of the Civil War was joined.

Serjeant Stephen, in his *New Commentaries on the Laws of England*, 3d Edition, 1853, p. 570, thus epitomizes the resumption by the Crown of the position from which it was forced in the wild tempest that overwhelmed its holder in 1649, and flung the crown itself down in the dust for years, under the feet of an ambitious and successful soldier.

"Soon after the restoration of Charles the Second, when the military tenures were abolished, it was thought proper to ascertain the power of the militia, to recognize the sole right of the Crown to govern and command them, and to put the whole into a more regular method of military subordination ; and the order in which the militia now stands by law is principally built upon the statutes which were then enacted. It is true the two last of them are repeated ; (13 and 14 Car. 2, c. 3, and 15 Car. 2, c. 4) but many of their provisions are re-enacted with the addition of some new regulations by the present militia laws ; the general scheme of which is to discipline at stated periods for the internal defence of the country, a certain number of the inhabitants of every county, chosen either by voluntary enlistment or by lot for five years, and officered by the Lord Lieutenant, the deputy lieutenants and other persons with a certain qualification in point of property, under a commission from the Crown."

The words of the statutes of Charles the Second were—"That the sole supreme government, command and disposition of the militia, and of all forces by sea and land, and of all forts and places of strength is, and by the laws of England ever was, the undoubted right of His Majesty and his Royal Predecessors."

These Acts then went on to provide for the levying of the

militia by the Lieutenants and Deputies of Counties, and the system they established, or re-established and defined, forms the main groundwork of the Militia System of the present day. In its details, however, it has been considerably modified, altered and amended by nearly fifty subsequent acts, of which about twenty date from the reign of our present gracious Sovereign.

Not to weary the reader with details, technical or otherwise, it is sufficient, as regards the existing position of the law, to state what follows.

By the Act 15th and 16th Victoria, chapter 50, section 1, Her Majesty is empowered, by advice of her Privy Council, to raise and keep up in England and Wales a force of eight thousand privates of militia; which in the event of invasion or imminent danger thereof, she may increase to the number of 120,000—the enrolment to be voluntary: but reserving the power of resorting to the Ballot.

By the 17th Victoria, chap. 13, she has been empowered to call out and embody the militia of the three countries, whenever a state of war exists, without reference to the conditions of the danger of foreign invasion or domestic rebellion.

By the 17th Victoria, chapter 16, she received power to cause to be raised and embodied 10,000 privates in Scotland to serve as the militia of that kingdom.

By the 17th Victoria, chapter 107, a similar power is given to raise 30,000 privates to serve as a similar force for Ireland. And the four Acts we have mentioned provide for the enrolment of these forces by voluntary enlistment, leaving untouched, however, the power of resorting to the old plan of ballot, in case of necessity.

In the short Session of December last, another Act was passed, enabling Her Majesty to accept the services of Militia Regiments volunteering to serve out of the country in any of her Majesty's Colonial Possessions and Dependencies abroad.

Under these Acts the following Regiments are on the Militia List, according to the latest returns that are accessible to

1st Regiment of Militia, designated the 3rd West York (Light Infantry).  
2nd. Huntingdonshire Rifles.  
3rd. The 1st and 2nd Durham Infantry, and the Durham Artillery.  
4th. Rutlandshire Rifles (not embodied).

5th. The Regiment designated as the West York Regiment.  
6th. The 1st and 2nd Royal Cheshire.  
7th. The Royal Berkshire.  
8th. The Royal North Lincoln Regiment.  
9th. The Royal Cumberland.

- 10th. The West Suffolk.  
 11th. The 2nd Royal Surrey.  
 12th. East York.  
 13th. North Hampshire; also, Hampshire Artillery, and Hants (Isle of Wight) Artillery.  
 14th. The East Essex.  
 15th. The Devon Artillery.  
 16th. The 1st Somersetshire.  
 17th. Royal Westmorland Light Infantry.  
 18th. Bedford Light Infantry.  
 19th. The West Essex.  
 20th. 1st Royal Surrey.  
 21st. 2nd West York Regiment.  
 22nd. North York Rifles.  
 23rd. Royal South Gloucester Light Infantry.  
 24th. Royal Caermarthen Rifles.  
 25th. South Devon.  
 26th. The Leicester Regiment.  
 27th. The Northumberland Light Infantry; also the Northumberland Artillery. The latter Regiment, however, does not appear to have been as yet embodied, or called out.  
 28th. The Royal Pembroke-shire Artillery.  
 29th. The Royal South Lincoln Regiment.  
 30th. The Hertfordshire Regiment.  
 31st. Royal Brecknock Rifles.  
 32nd. Royal Flintshire.  
 33rd. Royal Wiltshire.  
 34th. Suffolk Artillery.  
 35th. The Royal Bucks, or the King's Own.  
 36th. The 1st and 2nd Warwickshire Regiments.  
 37th. The West Kent Light Infantry.  
 38th. The Duke of Cornwall's Rangers; also, the 2nd Cornwall Rifle Regiment (not yet embodied).  
 39th. The 1st or West Norfolk.  
 40th. The 2nd, or East Norfolk; also, the Norfolk Artillery.  
 41st. The 1st, or East Devon.  
 42nd. The Dorset Regiment.  
 43rd. The South Hants (not embodied).  
 44th. Royal Glamorgan-shire Light Infantry.  
 45th. 1st Royal Lancashire, or Duke of Lancaster's Own; also, the 4th and 5th Royal Lancaster, and the Royal Lancashire Artillery. A 6th and 7th have recently been added and embodied, but without the designation of "Royal." The 2nd and 3rd Royal Lancashire are numbered lower down.  
 46th. Royal Denbighshire Rifles.  
 47th. The Second Somersetshire Regiment.  
 48th. The Northamptonshire.  
 49th. The East Kent; also, the Kent Artillery.  
 50th. Royal Radnorshire Rifles.  
 51st. Oxfordshire.  
 52nd. The Herefordshire.  
 53rd. Royal Sussex Light Infantry.  
 54th. The Shropshire Regiment.  
 55th. Royal Westminster Middlesex Regiment.  
 56th. Royal Carmarvon.  
 57th. Royal Montgomeryshire.  
 58th. Edmondston Royal Middlesex.  
 59th. Nottingham or Royal Sherwood Foresters.  
 60th. Royal Merioneth Rifles.  
 61st. Royal Anglesea Light Infantry.  
 62nd. Derby Regiment.  
 63rd. Isle of Wight Light Infantry.  
 64th. Royal Cardigan Rifles.  
 65th. Royal East Middlesex.  
 66th. King's Own Staffordshire.  
 67th. Worcester.  
 68th. Cambridgeshire.  
 69th. Royal North Gloucestershire.  
 70th. County Carlow Regiment.  
 71st. County Fermanagh Regiment.  
 72nd. Kirkcudbright Light Infantry.  
 73rd. Berwick, &c., Regiment.  
 74th. Royal Lanarkshire.  
 75th. Armagh County.  
 76th. Inverness, &c., Regiment.  
 77th. Royal North Down County.  
 78th. Fifeshire Regiment.  
 79th. Antrim Queen's Own Royal Rifles.  
 80th. Royal Tyrone.  
 81st. Dumfries, &c., Regiment.  
 82nd. County Mayo (South).  
 83rd. Or 2nd Tower Hamlets' Regiment.  
 84th. Tipperary, or Duke of Clarence's.  
 85th. Prince of Wales' Royal Longford.  
 86th. Royal Perth.  
 87th. South Cork Regiment Light Infantry.  
 88th. Kildare Regiment.  
 89th. Aberdeenshire.  
 90th. Stirlingshire, &c., Regiment.  
 91st. Galway Regiment.  
 92nd. Wicklow Regiment.  
 93rd. Roscommon Regiment.  
 94th. Clare Regiment.  
 95th. Londonderry Regiment of Artillery.  
 96th. Ross and Calthness Regiment.  
 97th. King's Own Light Infantry (Middlesex).  
 98th. King's County Regiment.  
 99th. Wexford County.  
 100th. Royal Dublin City Regiment.  
 101st. Cavan Light Infantry.  
 102nd. Prince of Wales' Donegal County.  
 103rd. Limerick City.  
 104th. Queen's County Regiment.  
 105th. Forfar, &c., Regiment.  
 106th. Royal London.  
 107th. Kerry County.  
 108th. Louth County.  
 109th. Dublin County.  
 110th. City of Cork.  
 111th. Leitrim.  
 112th. South Down.  
 113th. 2nd Duke of Lancaster's Own.  
 114th. Westmeath Regiment.  
 115th. Prince Regent's Royal Ayrshire.  
 116th. Royal North Cork Rifles.  
 117th. Argyle Regiment.  
 118th. Royal Cornwall and Devon Miners Light Infantry.  
 119th. Royal Meath.  
 120th. North Mayo.  
 121st. Monaghan.  
 122nd.  
 123rd. Royal Limerick County.  
 124th. Sligo Regiment.  
 125th. 3rd Royal Lancashire.  
 126th. Edinburgh.  
 127th. Kilkenny.  
 128th. Waterford Artillery.  
 129th. Renfrew.  
 130th.  
 (Besides the Channel Islands Militia)

The strength or numerical total of each of the Regiments on the foregoing list, we have not at present the means of stating save with regard to so few of them, that it would be useless to observe upon the subject.

Any person who looks over the army list will see that many Regiments of the line bear the same, what we may call *County, designations* as many of the Militia Regiments, and in some few cases, the numbers on the Roll are the same. Thus the Northamptonshire Militia are numbered as the 48th, on the Militia Roll, and the 48th Regiment of the line is entitled, "the 48th, or Northamptonshire Regiment of Foot." In the majority of cases, however, the numbering is different, while the names are similar; the fact is, that the line Regiments with local designations, were originally raised in the localities whose titles they bear, and the difference or coincidence of numbers between them and certain Militia Regiments is, in a great measure, accidental.

From a work entitled *The Royal Militia and Yeomanry Cavalry Army List*. By Arthur Lleigh, Esq., late Lieutenant in Her Majesty's seventy-seventh Regiment of the line, now Cornet in the Uxbridge Regiment of Yeomanry Cavalry, we take the following record of events, affecting and connected with the militia during the French war, as also, on one occasion, some 13 years previous to the commencement of the same. As that force, from the tremendous dimensions the present war is beginning to assume, and the precariousness that always attends alliances, amid the casualties and changes of a European struggle, is likely to become of very considerable importance ere long, in the minds of the most superficial observer of current events; what follows may, if not at the moment, yet before many months, prove of immediate interest and relevancy, and is, at any rate, very pertinent to our subject:—

**SUMMARY** of the general orders issued from the Horse Guards, from 1793 to 1816, with reference to the Militia—Services of the Regiments of Militia, and volunteering to the Line during the war—Votes of thanks from the Houses of Lords and Commons, 1800 and 1814—War office circular, 1st December, 1845—ditto, Home office—Militias of Scotland and Ireland.

The general orders issued from the Horse Guards from time to time, have contained various provisions for the equipment and discipline of the Militia. In 1793, the officers of Militia were ordered

to provide themselves with Camp Equipage—1793: General order, granting certain allowance of baggage and forage money to officers of Militia, at the following rate:—a Colonel, baggage and forage money £35 per annum—Lieutenant Colonel, £30—Major £25—Captain, £20. Forage allowance for officers' horses when encamped—a Colonel, 9 horses—Lieutenant Colonel, 7—Major, 5—Captain, 3—Captain Lieutenant, 2. A circular, dated, War office, 18th September, 1793, respecting pay:—pay for Serjeant Major and Quartermaster Serjeant, 1s. 6d.—Serjeant, 1s.—Corporal and Drummer, 8d.—Private, 8d. Total of a Private's pay and pecuniary allowances:—Pay, £9 2s. 6d. per annum—Bread, £2 5s. 7 d. for necessaries, £1 5s. 4½d.—total, £12 13s. 6d. 1795—Several men of the Oxford Regiment of Militia were tried by Court Martial, for mutiny, and found guilty—two were executed—one received 1500 lashes—one, 1000—one, 500 lashes. A general order was issued this year, permitting the men of the Militia to assist the farmers to thresh the corn, as also, several orders to regulate the price of bread, meat, and necessaries. 1796—A general order was issued, ordering the Militia while embodied, to be subjected to the articles of war, Courts Martial, &c., the same as in the Regular Forces. General order—The names of officers and Corps of Militia, published by War office authority. General order—"No resignation will be accepted at this critical time." 1797—A general order for returns to be made of the accommodations and prices of provisions at the various quarters, for the use of the Militia, to be sent to the War office, together with a description of the Roads, Bridges, Ferries, &c. 1797—General order:—The Militia to be increased by a supplementary Battalion, to 1,000 rank and file—general order, relative to the baggage and marches of the army: a very important order, shewing how an enemy should be attacked, and prevented from invading the country, &c. 1798, Feb.—General order:—A supplementary Militia to be embodied and added to the Regiments of Militia—General order, April, 1798:—The supplementary Militiamen are to have the option of enlisting into the Line; the Officers to use their influence with the men to induce them to enter the Line; they are to receive for so doing, 7 guineas bounty. The men to serve during the war, and 6 months after the conclusion of a general peace, and not to be liable to serve out of Europe. Several general orders between April and October, respecting the embodiment of the supplementary Militias with the Militia Regiments, augmentations and distribution of the Officers, &c. 1807—At a general Court Martial—one more sentenced to receive 500 lashes, for being absent from June, 1806, to April, 1807. 1809—General order:—The men of the local Militias not to be tampered with to enlist into the Line—in one Regiment this year, 2,800 lashes were inflicted; no other punishment awarded but corporal punishment. 1810—General order:—Men of those Militia Regiments that have not completed their quota of volunteers to the regular army, are at liberty to enlist into the 1st Royals, or any other Regiment they may desire. 1811, July 9th—General order—Empowering Lieutenants, or Deputy Lieutenants of Counties, Colonels, &c., of Militia, to raise volunteers

by beat of drum, for the Militia Regiments of their respective counties. 1812—General order—Horse Guards, March 25th, states:—That on no pretence whatever is a Regimental Court Martial to award more than 300 lashes. 1813—General order:—Officers, Non-commissioned Officers, and Privates, allowed to volunteer into Regiments of the Line, for the purpose of prosecuting the war—with every 100 men, a Captain, Lieutenant, and Ensign, will be transferred from the Militia into the Line. Volunteers to the Line will receive a bounty of 16 guineas for unlimited service, and 12 for a limited period.

#### SERVICES of Regiments of Militia, and Volunteering to the Line during the War.

During the above years large numbers of men volunteered into the Line from the Militia. Amongst other Regiments conspicuous for their gallant devotedness, we find the 6th, or Royal Cheshire Regiment, sent to the Line up to 1813, 1598 men. The 17th, or Royal Westmoreland Regiment, very largely volunteered into the Line, and formed part of the 3rd Provincial Battalion of Militia, commanded by Sir Watkyn Wynn, Bart., which landed at Bourdeaux, and formed part of the division of the Duke of Wellington's army commanded by Sir Stapleton Cotton and Lord Combermere. The 21st, or West York Regiment, gave 1800 men to the Line during the war. The 25th, or South Devon Regiment, served in Ireland with great distinction during the Rebellion, as also the 26th, or Leicester Regiment. The 28th, or Royal Pembrokehire Regiment. This Regiment volunteered to go with General Moore, and he employed it in Spain and Portugal; to be attached to the 43rd Regiment. The 31st, or Royal Brecon Regiment, served in Ireland during the Rebellion. The 34th, or East Suffolk Regiment, volunteered during the war 1119 to the Line, the greater part of whom joined the 43rd Light Infantry; 83 more men volunteered for service in the Peninsula, in the Second Provisional Battalion of Militia, making a total of 1202 men to the Line, by more than twice its establishment, which was 521 men.

The 35th, or Royal Bucks King's Own Regiment, volunteered in 1798 with the Marquis of Buckingham to serve in Ireland during the Rebellion. This Regiment is said to have been the first English Regiment of Militia that landed in Ireland. In 1799 the Regiment volunteered 400 men to the Line, including serjeants, corporals and privates, with the regulated proportion of officers, all of whom joined the 4th, or King's Own Regiment. The Regiment afterwards furnished yearly, chiefly to the 14th Foot, its full quota of men during the war. In 1808 the Regiment volunteered to serve in Spain. The first Provisional Battalion of Militia which landed at Bourdeaux was formed chiefly of men of the Royal Bucks King's Own Regiment, who were commanded by the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos. The 36th, or Warwickshire Regiment, served in Ireland during the Rebellion. The 42nd, or Dorset Regiment, also. Of this Regiment 48 officers, with their quota of non-commissioned officers and men, volunteered to the Line during the war. The

46th, or Royal Denbighshire Regiment, in 1813 volunteered into the 3rd Provisional Battalion of Militia, and served with the Duke of Wellington's army in the South of France.

The 48th, or Northamptonshire Regiment, was of great service during the Lord George Gordon riots. The 58th, or Royal West Middlesex Regiment, volunteered for service in France in 1814. The 61st, or Royal Anglessea Begiment, volunteered in a body for foreign service in 1813. The 62nd, or Derby Regiment, a part of the officers, non-commissioned officers and privates, served in France in the 3rd Provisional Battalion of Militia in 1814. The 64th, or Royal Cardigan Rifles, opposed the landing of the French at Fishguard, 22nd Feb., 1797. The 85th, or Royal Longford Regiment, engaged the French troops at Castlebar, Aug. 27, 1798. The Light Company of the same served throughout the whole of the Rebellion of that year. The 87th, or South Cork Regiment, highly distinguished itself at the Battle of Vinegar Hill, June 21, 1798, which ended in the total dispersion of the Insurgent force. The 88th, or Aberdeenshire Regiment, furnished during the war 647 volunteers to Regiments of the Line. The 92nd, or Wicklow Regiment, served during the Irish Rebellion, and on June 24, 1798, retook the town of Castlecomer from the rebels. On the 26th of the same month this Regiment attacked 4000 rebels near Kilcomney Hill, killed nearly 1000, and took 14 pieces of cannon and a large quantity of stores. The 95th, or Londonderry Regiment, served during the Irish Rebellion, and was engaged with the rebels at Gorey, Arklow, New Ross, Folk's Mill, Blackmore Hill and Vinegar Hill: towards the close of the year the entire Regiment volunteered for foreign service. The 98th, or King's County Regiment, distinguished itself during the Irish Rebellion, and fought at Vinegar Hill: afterwards a wing of this Regiment successfully defended the town of Newtownbarry.

The 100th, or Royal Dublin City Regiment, served at the battle of Vinegar Hill, and in the Irish Rebellion. The 102nd, or Prince of Wales' Donegal Regiment, served in the Irish Rebellion, engaged the rebels at Three Rocks, County Wexford, May, 1798; at New Ross, June 5, and at Vinegar Hill. The Regiment was also engaged at Enniscorthy; two serjeants were presented with commissions in the Line for their bravery at Ross. The 103rd, or Limerick City Regiment, greatly distinguished itself by successfully opposing the entry of the French troops on the 5th Sep., 1798, into Sligo: the Regiment lost 27 killed and 40 wounded; the colonel, the captain and one Lieutenant wounded, one lieutenant and one ensign killed; the French and rebels about double that number of casualties. This Regiment has also had the distinguished honor of seeing an officer in the corps become afterwards one of the first generals in the British army; for Lord Gough commenced his military career as an Ensign in the Limerick City Regiment of Militia.

The 106th, or Royal London Regiment, performed very valuable services in the suppression of the Riots, 1780. The 115th, or Royal Ayrshire Regiment, unanimously volunteered in August, 1808, to serve with the regular army in Spain. During the period this Re-



giment was embodied it gave 11 officers and 694 men as volunteers to the Line. The 109th, or Dublin County Regiment, distinguished itself very much at the battle of New Ross in Ireland, and other engagements with the rebels. Its colonel, Lord Mountjoy, who killed, while endeavoring humanely to parley with the rebels, who were exasperated at the bearer of a flag of truce from them having been shot by the yeomanry. The 128th, or Waterford Regiment, served in Ireland with great gallantry during the Rebellion of 1798, and gave several hundred men as volunteers to the Line.

To sum up the eminent services of the militia, we use the words of a writer in a military journal, *The British Army Dispatch and West-end Courier*.

'And for their deeds and conduct in modern times, our fathers have told us how, during the Gordon riots in 1780, when they who should have protected the state and commonwealth, hesitated and looked coolly on, the Surrey Militia cleared with the bayonet the city and bridges, and rolling back the flood of anarchy and rebellion, saved the Metropolis of the Empire from pillage and fire.

Still later the County Regiments did good service in Ireland, and during the Peninsular War, they not only performed Garrison duty, but sent such a constant supply of trained recruits to our gallant army abroad as enabled the Great Duke to achieve his matchless victories.—To this last fact the late Lord Munster has borne testimony, by recording that at Talavera, an immense proportion of the army had been drafted from the militia so recently, that they still wore the uniform and knapsacks of their various County Regiments.

Many can recollect the Stafford (King George's Favourites) the Lancaster, the East Middlesex, (whose proud boast it was that they of all the regiments, always had most men on parade and fewest in hospital,) the West Middlesex, the York—but why particularize where all did their duty, all were efficient, English, Scotch, and Irish, as proved, by the Duke of York's order to them, before they were disbanded.

Votes of Thanks, for the services of the militia during the Continental war.—The House of Lords met on the 8th of April, 1802, and passed the following Vote of Thanks:—

*Militia*—Resolved nemine dissentiente, that the thanks of this House be given to the officers of the several corps of militia, which have been embodied in Great Britain and Ireland during the course of the war, for the seasonable and meritorious services they have rendered to their king and country.

Resolved, nemine dissentiente, that this House doth highly approve of and acknowledge the services of the non-commissioned officers and men of the several corps of militia, which have been embodied in Great Britain and Ireland during the course of the war; and that the same be communicated to them, by the commanding officers of the several corps, who are desired to thank them for their meritorious conduct.

Ordered—that the Lord Chancellor do signify the said Resolution by letter, to the colonel or commanding officer of each respective corps.



In 1814, a similar vote of thanks to the militia was adopted by the House of Lords, *nemine dissentiente*.

The House of Commons on the 6th of April 1802, passed a vote of thanks to the militia, for 'the seasonable and meritorious services rendered to their king and country.'

On the 6th of July, the Commons passed another vote of thanks to the militia—'embodied in Great Britain and Ireland during the war for their services.'

And having thus several times recorded its approbation of, and made its acknowledgments to the militia of the country, the House of Commons proceeded the moment the war was over, to get rid of that force as fast as possible, and never rested until the effort was so completely successful that when the panic of an invasion came over England a few years ago on the accession of a Bonaparte to the head of the government of France, it was found necessary to set about re-constructing the militia altogether, from the very foundations, nothing of it remaining but a few old purdy, corpulent veterans, calling themselves serjeants, some sexagenarian subalterns, who had retained their antiquated red-coats to wear at levees and drawing-rooms, and a few gentlemen of higher nominal rank, who having been born since their regiments were disembodied, had never even got as far as the *balance step*, and knew very far less of military matters than they did of quarter sessions law, and the business of a grand juryman.

There were some omissions and mistakes in details of the record we have transcribed just now, which we have, so far as the means of doing so were attainable, endeavoured to supply and correct in the proper place. It is much to be desired, that the task of collecting a fuller and more entirely accurate record of the kind were taken up by some properly qualified person, having leisure and opportunities for the task. The older officers, and the adjutants of the regiments embodied, would no doubt readily furnish what information might be in their possession; and we imagine there could be very little difficulty in finding in every corps some officer or officers having its honor sufficiently at heart to impel him or them to use their county influence in procuring whatever might be wanting from his or their county records, to complete the record in each case.

The little historical sketch which we have given insertion to, is sufficient however to prove, that during the course of the war, not only did the militia of the three kingdoms per-

form good service at home, but that of their own good will and consent, several regiments of them became almost as much "*mobilisé*," to use the French military term, as the regiments of the line. There is no doubt that the same will occur again, should, as unhappily is only too probable, the present war endure for any time. Already not less than twenty or thirty regiments, English and Irish, have volunteered for foreign, i.e. colonial service, and one of them, the 6th Lancashire, has actually arrived at its destination—the Island of Malta. Two or three others are on the point of embarkation, and one or two more who volunteered early, would certainly have left England ere this, but for the very untoward results of the discussions in Parliament at the commencement of this session in reference to militia enlistments. The flaw that was then discovered in the engagements under which the men in the English regiments, first embodied and called out, had taken service, has been most extensively disastrous to the, at least present, efficiency of a great number of those regiments. The nature of this flaw will be best explained to our readers by the following letters, addressed to officers commanding Militia Regiments by Lord Panmure, the present Secretary for War, in the month of March last:—

“ War Department, 23rd March, 1855.

“ Sir—A case having been submitted to the Law Officers of the Crown, to ascertain whether militia men, enrolled under the 15th and 16th Victoria, Cap. 50, can be required to serve beyond fifty-six days with a regiment embodied under the 17th Victoria, Cap. 13: I have the honor to acquaint you, that it is the opinion of those officers that the men can be so required to serve, &c., &c.

Signed, Benjamin Hawes, Under Secretary.

This uncompromising looking epistle, however, was quickly followed by another, which very poorly disguises the admission of a heavy blunder, under the thin veil of a considerate and magnanimous concession:—

(Second Circular.)

“ War Office, March 27th, 1855.

“ Sir—I informed you, in my circular of the 23rd inst., that no doubt existed as to the legal obligations of all men in the ranks of the embodied militia to complete their term of service under the act of 1854, although they may have been enrolled under a previous act of parliament. Still, an impression appears to exist in many regiments, that a different expectation was held out to the militia men at the period of the passing of that act; I hold it to be o

essential importance to keep faith with the soldier in all cases, as it tends to confirm his confidence in those by whom he is employed, and reconciles him to a cheerful discharge of the duties of his profession; and therefore, although I cannot recognise any claim of right on the part of any man in your regiment, enrolled previously to the 18th of May 1854, to a release from his engagement, I have to desire that you will cause all such men to be re-attested for the completion of their five years' engagement, with an offer of an additional and immediate bounty of twenty shillings to all such as shall consent to such re-attestation. All men who refuse to be re-attested, may on the completion of their term of service of fifty-six days, be permitted to return to their respective homes on leave of absence; but they will be required to attend the regiment for fifty-six days in every year, until the expiration of their original engagement. You are further authorised to discharge altogether any married men (with large families) so enrolled, whose presence may be essentially required as necessary for the maintenance of such families. Under the above act of grace there will, I have reason to believe, from the excellent spirit hitherto shown by the militia, in coming forward, not only for the defence of the country, but in volunteering for foreign service, be but few men who would wish to discontinue their embodied service.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

PANMURE.

To the Officer commanding——Regiment of Militia."

The vulgar proverb says, "a blot is not a blot till it is hit"—and the government and their law officers took care to be most prudently silent upon their blunder, until what they doubtless considered very intrusive and importunate "interpellations" in the Upper House of Parliament called their attention, and that of all parties interested, to it; certainly those "interpellations" were most inconvenient and troublesome, and the results of the step to which they compelled the military authorities have been little short of very disastrous. But at the same time, for the very reason assigned by the Secretary for War himself in his Second Circular just quoted, it was, after all, really the most prudent as well as most equitable course to acknowledge (at least practically), the mistake; and to add the most conclusive argument for this acknowledgment, it had become in truth a matter of necessity in order to avoid greater evils. The militia soldier of 1852, had learned from these parliamentary discussions, only a little earlier, what he would have been sure to find out later, that he was wrongfully detained beyond the annual fifty-six days; and having, once thus been taught

"His rights to scan,  
And venerate himself as (*a free*) man,"

he naturally enough sought to assert his newly found right by the only means open to him, a mutinous combination with such of his fellow soldiers as were in the same category himself. A few ill-judged attempts to put him down by the strong hand of military authority went near to have had most bloody consequences, and government thereupon wisely gave up the contest, and beat the retreat we have noticed.

We are entirely convinced that we very much underestimate the actual diminution thus caused in the Militia force of Great Britain, in stating it at from 25 to 30,000 men! And though it be it recollected, are trained soldiers—men, for the greater part, a year or more under arms, and quite as efficient as the men of the Regiments of the Line. The Garrison of Dublin alone in which there are three English Regiments of Militia, lost in one week one thousand men out of the 2,400 comprising those Regiments, and the Somersetshire Militia, the Garrison at Cork, lost more than half their number! Of the three English Regiments just mentioned, as forming part of the Dublin Garrison, namely, the Northamptonshire, the West York Regiment, and the Cambridgeshire, the two last were on the roster for Colonial Service, having volunteered under the Act of December last for that purpose. Unless a delay, unaccountable in itself, save inasmuch as it is consistent with the series of delays and blunders that have marred our whole military government since the war began, prevented the re-attestation in the West York Regiment, to some extent in the Northamptonshire, of the men volunteering for foreign service, and the postponement of this measure required to fulfil the conditions of the Act of December, the men who had not yet been re-attested, as they were bound simply under the operation of the Act of 1852, and therefore free to withdraw their offer of volunteering for the Mediterranean, and to return at once to their own homes, and to remain undisturbed except for the comparatively trifling liability under that Act, of fifty-six days service next year.

In the Northamptonshire Regiment, however, the re-attestation had not been nearly so much delayed as in the other, consequently it had embraced a very much larger proportion of that Corps, which in consequence has not been deprived of its efficiency, and has now actually got the route to Plymouth, to await there the final order for embarkation. But in the 3rd West York Regiment, the Colonial volunteers

ing has come to nought—the men being still free from the more stringent engagement of the re-attestation, and having at once elected to avail themselves of the nearly absolute release from all military service which the discovery we have been discussing has given them.

The history of the war, so far as it has as yet gone, has already come to be looked upon as little other than a continued *galette* of blunders of various magnitude and extent of disaster. Of course, only the larger and more strikingly important of those blunders come to the knowledge, or can receive the notice of the general Public. But those who have the means and take the trouble to enquire into the minor parts of our present military administration, will find a deplorable consistency of blundering carried out to the last and least. Amongst the instances of this consistency, one has direct reference to the very matter we have just been dealing with—the sudden reduction of the strength of the English Militia Regiments, under the operation of the 15th and 16th Victoria, c. 50, as now construed.

What would be the course that would seem likeliest to the reader to mitigate, and as quickly as possible to remedy, the evil thus occasioned? would it not appear, that the best and only course would be to offer the men something of a real inducement to re-enlist, and remain with their Regiments; especially when these Regiments must be made up again, somehow, to their original strength? Five pounds is the amount of bounty promised by the War Office Authorities to the rawest recruit that offers himself to be enrolled in the Militia. The trained soldiers (as for the most part they deserve to be called) who have got their discharge under the Act of 1852, surely are worth more than the raw, clumsy, stupid boy, just taken from the plough-stilts, or from idling or worse in the back lanes of a town. Accordingly, the reader may suppose that those soldiers have been at any rate offered the same sum to re-enlist; and our query at the beginning of this paragraph, will doubtless be answered, to the effect that a larger sum than the £5 must be held out to induce the trained men to remain. And this will appear even still more advisable and necessary when it is taken into consideration, that the men in question have in many instances been recruited in manufacturing towns in England, where they had previously been earning at their trades, one pound or thirty shillings a week.

Yet to these men, the only offer made has been of the magnificent sum of ONE POUND sterling.

We do not write from guess, or surmise, or report. We assert from facts that have come under our own cognizance and that are known, and can be attested by many. We know the answers made by the men—by many even of those who as being officers' servants, or otherwise, were better treated and more privileged than their comrades, and who were particularly argued with, and specially asked to stay. They reasonably—*most* reasonably replied, that they were worth at least as much as country bumpkins just caught, and could easily make far more than the amount of the bounty in private employment, long before their next legitimate period of fifty-six days annual service should come round again. Of course the superior officers of the Regiments, thus unfortunately circumstanced, represented all these matters at the War Office and urged the wisdom of securing, by an adequate bounty, the trained men, before they should become entirely dispersed and lost to the service in the ranks of civil life again. But the extraordinary blindness, or proneness to fall into and remain obstinately in stupid error, with which the managers of our Militia affairs seem so afflicted, exerted its evil influence in this critical case as in so many others—the *one* pound offer was persisted in and all but unanimously refused, the men demanded and received their discharges—they have all ere this reached their homes and not only has the Militia force been deprived of their personal services, but it has had actually to undergo the active enmity: numbers of them being known to have exerted themselves to dissuade the youth of their respective neighborhoods from entering the ranks from which they themselves had thus unexpectedly escaped.

Previous to this "untoward event," and indeed subsequently too, there have been, as before intimated, other occasions of diminution, regular and legitimate in their character. Each Militia Regiment in its turn is expected, or rather required, to furnish a certain annual quota of volunteers for the Line; such annual quota, at present fixed at one fourth of the whole strength of privates in such Regiment, to be the *minimum*, but by no means to preclude volunteering to a larger amount, provided only that the surplus volunteering, as we may call it, shall take place with the consent, and not otherwise, of the Militia Colonels. The debates in the early part of the pres-

session of Parliament, to which we have alluded as having brought out the defect in the continued engagement of the militia men of 1852, report observations and remarks extremely pertinent, not only to our subject generally, but to the particular part of it with which we have at present to deal.

Lord Panmure, Minister for War, having (on the 20th of February) spoken of some "coercive measures" meditated by him, in order to secure "a proper supply of men from the various Militia Regiments to the Line," the Earl of Malmesbury expressed alarm at the phrase, and deprecated the resort, at all events to the measures for the purpose adopted in the last war. He said, we quote from Haassard, first volume of the present Session, page 1618 :—

"Your Lordships must recollect that not very long ago, as was done during the last war, recruiting serjeants were sent out to enlist militia men for the Regiments of the Line. The consequence of this was, that all the militia regiments for a week or ten days, while these recruiting serjeants were at the different garrisons, were in a state of complete disorganization. This, for example, was the case at Portsmouth, where it was really no light matter, in an arsenal of such importance, that four or five regiments of militia should be so completely beyond the control of their officers as the men stationed in the town were, while the army recruiting officers were tempting them to enter the Line."

In the same debate Earl Grey said (page 1621) :—

"I differ from the noble Earl who has just sat down, (the Earl of Malmesbury) in thinking that the militia is the proper nursery for the army. The original intention in the establishment of the militia was not that of making it a nursery for the army, but a totally distinct force—a force for national defence. I think you have made a great mistake in departing from that intention. It is now neither the one nor the other. If it is a mere nursery for the army, how can you expect colonels, and other officers of the militia, to take any interest in disciplining their men, when directly they have made them efficient, their men are to be drafted into the regular army? It is utterly impossible you can expect this."

Earl Fitzwilliam in the same debate said (page 1627) :—

"He entirely concurred with his noble friend (Lord Grey) with respect to the injurious effect which would be produced upon the militia service of the country if it were to be converted merely into a nursery for the regular army. He had no objection to the 'volunteering' of the militia into the regular army; but then it must be a bona fide volunteering—it must be the free will and desire of each man, whether that man were a private, a subaltern, a captain, or a field officer."



He trusted, therefore, that the government would consider well before they called on the officers of the militia to enforce volunteering, if he might so speak, among the men of their respective regiments. He said, to 'enforce' volunteering, because what was termed 'volunteering' was, when managed in a peculiar manner, anything but real volunteering."

Lord Panmure replied (page 1629) :—

"When he had stated that other steps must be taken to obtain the quota of volunteers from militia regiments for foreign service, which had not yet furnished them, he did not mean that in any sense they should coerce the militia—all he meant was, that there should be no time lost in volunteering, so that the quota of *each* might be ascertained. He thought it was of the highest importance that every man should understand for what service he was volunteering, and that his volunteering should in no way be compulsory, but should be an entirely free and spontaneous offer on his own part, to perform the duty which was distinctly and properly explained to him. But he fully agreed that it was not for the credit of the service, the practice of sending down recruiting serjeants, and keeping militia regiments in a state of disorganization for a period of a week or ten days owing to the uncertainty that was left around the matter, and was not consistent with the efficiency of Her Majesty's service; and therefore, when he had spoken of taking a more stringent step, in order to obtain the due quota from each regiment, he merely proposed that a person of the rank of Field Officer should go down to communicate with the commanding officer of the Regiment, to ascertain why the quota had not been furnished, and to see that the men had fair opportunities for volunteering afforded them."

Having chanced to witness some scenes of "volunteering" among Militia Regiments, since the foregoing opinions and official declarations were expressed in Parliament, we shall be permitted to describe what takes place on such occasions, and what is permitted to take place, notwithstanding the official announcements just recorded.

The civilian reader may require to be informed that there are ordinarily three regimental Parades each day, in the Militia as well as in the Line: the regimental system in this former indeed being exactly copied from that in the latter. The second of these Parades, at half-past ten or eleven as the case may be in the forenoon, is usually known and designated by the name of "Commanding Officer's Parade"—being the chief occasion during the day when that dignified functionary, whether colonel, lieutenant-colonel, or major, is visibly by, and in view of, himself, sees the bulk of the Regiment.

A very admirable, practical, and instructive article



*Fraser's Magazine* of the present month, the month of May,—one evidently written not only by a “soldier” but a soldier of high capacity and experience, contains an account of what has been called in Parliament the “excellent Regimental system” of the British army, and describes these Parades in graphic detail. We shall not, therefore, attempt a description of them in general; but referring the reader for that information to the pages of the magazine mentioned, confine ourselves to the occurrences connected with volunteering.

It is then the “*Commanding Officer's Parade*,” but that sun of the Regimental firmament is not showing out. The officers indeed are there; but in the first place we remark that, contrary to usage at this parade, they are without their swords and the men without their arms. The usual inspection and “proving” of the respective companies is also omitted, for we cannot call the hasty opening, running through, and closing of the ranks, which has just been made in the most random and superficial manner by their captains, a regular “inspection,” and certainly no “proving”—i.e. putting the men through their facings, wheelings, and company formations, has taken place at all. The officers are now lounging about in little groups, evidently in no very satisfied mood, while the men, “standing easy,” are talking and laughing unrestrainedly, greatly to the manifest disgust of their grim looking serjeants, who, however, seem to be under a kind of unwonted duress, which prevents their giving the disorderly fellows “a piece of their minds” in common phrase and fashion.

Suddenly that man of all work, the adjutant, attended by his familiar, the serjeant-major, emerges from the largest group of officers, and the column is called to “attention!” The officers do not fall in, however, but remain listlessly gazing, while the color-serjeants, at a fresh command from the adjutant, march their respective divisions up and form square, facing the men inwards. The adjutant meantime accompanied not only by the serjeant-major, but by an officer in the undress of another Regiment, have got into the centre of the square, and when the men are steady, the former announces that the parade is for “volunteering,” as they were warned some days before—that the stranger is an officer deputed by the general commanding in the district, to attend and receive volunteers—that such and such Regiments (with possibly a neat little

encomium on each of the latter, especially if the orator's own old Regiment be amongst them) are open for the men's choice, and that such and such Bounty will be given. The square is then broken into column again, and the men disposed to volunteer are invited to "fall out" from their respective divisions, and go over to where a small knot of Line-serjeants, whom we have not observed before, are standing, and—

"Hushed in grim repose, expect their *soldier* prey!"

From that hour, until the week (or ten days as it most usually is where the volunteering is slack) be past, the Regiment is no longer a Regiment, but a disorderly and often a drunken mob. No Parades or but the name of them, none of the regular and careful inspections of the men's rooms and their persons—as no officer will choose or indeed be expected to run the chance of getting into collision with men half or wholly intoxicated, and even if sober likely to be insolent from the knowledge that they can escape the consequences by volunteering—the awful tribunal of the "Orderly Room" a mere sham—almost any "crime" short of murder, being pretty sure to be passed over with only a reprimand, solemn and severe indeed, but to the reckless soldier a matter of jest and mock. Even that "unpardonable sin" in military theology, of drunkenness on guard, (regimental guard of course, for garrison duty there is none,) is somehow or other condoned in the case of a "good man," or even in the aggravated case of a non-commissioned Officer, the regimental authorities not wishing to risk the loss, especially of the latter who are very much indeed in demand in the market, and whom the Regiment cannot afford to part with. Meantime the money supplies for all this drunkenness come, in some cases, from the extremely injudicious paying just at this time of some of the many "instalments" into which the men's original bounty has been divided, and as the volunteering goes on the means are increased, by the amount of new bounty given to the volunteers (with two or three days "leave" to enable them to spend it,) from the Regiment of the Line to which they have offered themselves. No restriction is put upon the return provisionally of these men to their old quarters during the period that their "leave" from their new Regiment endures, and they accordingly come and go amongst their old comrades at will and pleasure, giving the example and the means to get drunk.

What is the result of all this? Need we point out to the reader what, no matter how little acquainted with military matters, must be so clearly perceptible to him? The young volunteer is initiated into Her Majesty's Service with drunkenness; he perceives that the crime on which he has been occasionally lectured in the Orderly Room must on certain occasions be winked at—that the system adopted, and sanctioned, and enforced by the superior authorities renders null and void all the efforts hitherto of the Commanding Officer, however zealous and anxious for the right training in every way of his men, *and* he therefore, if he happens to think about it, comes to the conclusion that the lecturing he has received is all humbug, or, without taking the trouble of thinking at all, yields to the examples and all but irresistible temptation before him, and becomes a reckless drinker for the rest of his life!

Can it be wondered at when such things are known to occur and to be occurring every day around us, if the British Army remain obnoxious to the charge brought against it, by no foreigner, nor enemy, but by military writers from its own ranks, of being deeply stained with drunkenness. Would not the wonder rather be if matters were otherwise, under such circumstances, or if there were not all the heavy disadvantageousness of comparison which there actually is for us, between the non-commissioned officers of our service and those of the Continental Armies. Such a thing as a drunken and disorderly non-commissioned officer is scarcely known, and whenever known is not an instant tolerated in the French, the Austrian, and the Prussian Services. While in ours, unfortunately, the name of offenders in this guise is Legion, and the very designation of "old soldier" whether non-commissioned officer or private, is taken as implying among its attributes a tendency to immoderate indulgence in liquor.

How this deplorable state of things in its general aspect and bearing is to be remedied, is an enquiry far too large and wide to be taken up by us at this stage of the present paper, where it is merely an incidental discussion: in a future number of the *REVIEW* we propose to consider that subject with the singleness and entirety of attention which its grave importance most certainly demands. Meantime we proceed to treat of the Militia as the proper topic of this paper, and, as we have

hitherto done, shall refer to matters relating to the general condition of the British soldier only where such matters are of relevance and necessity to our subject.

Having alluded to the bearing of the Officers of a Militia Regiment when the latter is in the throes of "volunteering," it is but justice to those gentlemen to state, that on such occasions, as on all others of duty in what is to most of them an entirely new profession, they *do* their duty, however they may feel. It is true that for the most part, and as a general rule, they have taken pride in their men, and readily accepted and voluntarily added to the trouble of caring them in their Rooms and on Parades. It is true that it is most discouraging to see their best men now tempted away from them, and their worst men encouraged in licence; and that the restraints of military subordination and routine of duty to which they themselves have so willingly submitted, and continue to conform, press with more irksomeness than they have known before when all around is disorder and disorganization. Still those gentlemen have punctually obeyed even to the letter of the rather hard injunctions they have received, and not only scrupulously abstained from dissuading the "volunteers," but where necessary have, sorely against the will but not the less, decidedly, exhorted to it.

There is one matter affecting Militia officers in general which is assuredly deserving the attention of the heads of the Military Department, and that of the Legislature, if new and further legislation for the Militia be required to arrange it. We refer to the chances of promotion for those Officers. It is true that they have not paid for their commissions, and that even if likely to be called upon to serve for a more extended period, they are exempt from the kind of *Wandering-Jew*-life, which officers of the Regular army have to lead in compulsory service in turn in each of our widely scattered foreign dependencies, healthy and unhealthy alike. Militia officers are exempt too from the hardships and perils of war, unless it come to our doors by invasion. But in all the circumstances of separation from civil pursuits and habits, subjection to the absolutism, and to the often severely inconvenient restraints of military authority, discipline and duty, and to other incidents of a soldier's life, there is no difference between them and their brethren of the Line.

If they have not to pay for their commissions, neither are they to expect the benefit of half-pay at the conclusion of their service. If they are not *compelled* to accept colonial service, they are yet invited, and in a manner *expected* so to do, under the provisions of the Act of last December, authorizing Her Majesty to "accept," i.e., to invite—the volunteering of Militia Regiments to serve out of these kingdoms; and even when their service is restricted to these kingdoms, the change of place, the absence from home, the dull and oftentimes severe routine of garrison duty, and the still worse condition of being quartered in a remote, out of the way district, are matters which, when we consider that these gentlemen were civilians up to a few months ago, and formed and accustomed to all the unrestrainedness of will and entire liberty of personal disposition and action, incidental to that state of life, at least in the class from which Militia officers are taken, undeniably entitle them to favorable attention, when claiming as they do, that the small and restricted scope of promotion alone open to them, namely that within their own regiments, shall not be narrowed, or invaded, by the filling up of chance vacancies from outside.

In many regiments, we are glad to have to admit, that the Lords Paramount, the County Lieutenants, allow the promotion to go thus, (as it is phrased) *in* the regiment. But cases have also come to our knowledge, where the contrary principle has been acted upon, and a wanton slight and injury been thereby inflicted upon gentlemen deserving of better treatment upon every ground. The consequence of this practice, so far as it has gone, has been most injurious; as every high spirited man so passed over immediately resigns his commission, and none remain, or in the junior ranks consent to join the regiment, save those who have made up their minds to submit to indignity, and who thereby really disqualify themselves for the honorable position of an officer.

Having stated so much on behalf of the officers of our Militia force, we hasten to return to matters affecting the condition and welfare of the privates of the same. The chief of these matters, which we wish to deal with at present, is the payment of the "Bounty" promised to the men, to induce them to enter the corps. That bounty at present amounts, per man, to five pounds, being an increase of one pound, since the Militia

embodiment first began in 1852 ; and its amount, according to all precedent, is likely to be further increased ere long. However, the amount is not at present the question, but the manner of paying it.

In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, the volunteer reads the placard, or advertisement, of this bounty, just as every civilian does, namely, as promising the sum named to be given in hand at the moment of enlistment. The parents or family of the warlike youth have also so read it, and have thereby been much warmed in their support of his intention, or at any rate been much softened in opposition (if opposed they be) to it ; as they doubtless have conceived a hope that he will hand over to them the whole or the greater part of the bounty when received. To the credit of the youth of the country let it be recorded that *so far as any opportunity has been given or allowed* for testing their dispositions in this regard, they have for the major part, acted as their relatives expected. The same strength of family affection which has been so very largely and beautifully shown by the astonishing stream of remittances from young Irish Emigrants in America back to their parents, brothers and sisters at home, is being frequently exhibited also by a very large proportion of the young Militia soldiers when they get instalments of their bounty, or have by chance any small arrears of their daily pay due to them. Every officer commanding a company in our Militia Regiments is, we will venture to assert, familiar with the request of the poor lads under his charge, "we want to send the money home, Sir, and we'll leave it in the serjeant's (i.e. the pay-serjeant's) hands to send, if you'll let us."

Unfortunately the opportunity of doing service to their families is very limited indeed, owing to the over-prudent regulations controlling the issue of the bounty money, not more than one pound, at the utmost, is allowed to be given at once, and even this sum is the maximum instalment. The remaining instalments are much less ; and coming as they do at long intervals, they appear so insignificant that the young soldier gradually getting initiated in and accustomed to dissipated habits, easily yields to the temptation of the moment, and spends the pittance in drink.

Another evil consequence of this restricted system of issue must be especially noted. Almost universally the idea spreads amongst the young militia men that they have been cozened

and deceived. They enlisted they say for the £5 bounty, and ought not to be put off with these driblets, but should have got the whole amount in hand, as the advertisements and the fair words of the parties who brought them up to volunteer, had led them to expect. It is not pertinent to our present subject to discuss how far these impressions are shared by soldiers of the line, in reference to the similar doling out of the bounty offered to them on enlistment; and on that point we will limit ourselves in the present paper to observing that those impressions *are* shared—but to what extent must be matter for future examination and statement. It is enough for our purpose now to assert, (and herein as on other points we freely challenge contradiction and denial if they be possible,) that the impressions in question are *nearly universal* among the militia volunteers, and a further and ultimate evil is, that the discontent thus engendered becomes known outside the force, and contributes strongly to disincline the young portion of the male population from offering themselves to be enrolled.

It may be asked, as we have been asked in private, do we propose to give the young recruit so large a sum as five pounds all at once to be spent in drink? The answer is plain and prompt, and hitherto we have found it conclusive. Granting that the recruit would waste in reckless dissipation the money so paid, there would be but the one outbreak, and no periodical occurrences of the kind as now take place under the instalment system. But we have only momentarily conceded the point for the sake of argument. The probability—all the probabilities and the experience so far as it has gone, is the other way. The recruit would, in the majority of instances, hand over the whole sum, or the whole with some very trifling deduction, to his parents or family, and so benefit them, and by thus obviating the chances or opportunities of many future temptations, materially benefit himself.

Another point requiring attention, is what we may call, in order to be generally understood, the militia soldier's outfit—or what is, in a military parlance, known as his "Kit." In the line this outfit is, except in particular cases, supplied to the soldier at his own cost—that is to say, by deductions from his pay; and these deductions, together with the dilatory and dribbling instalment method of paying him his bounty, are grievances which he feels all the heavier by reason of his hav-



ing been quite unprepared for, and unaware of them till after the fatal moment when he gave up his liberty. It is little known we fear, and at any rate not properly considered in high places, how deeply and how long these apparently small matters rankle in his breast. In the militia the "Kit" supplied by government free of expense to the volunteer—after all no more than a very proper arrangement, but intended as a *great boon*. Unluckily the militia man, like the soldier, thinks he ought to be provided, as a defender of the State, at the State's expense, with everything belonging to his outfit, and therefore he by no means appreciates the boon, and certainly the nature and extent of it are not exactly such as to impress him with any very strong notions of gratitude, when he becomes aware that it is a gift. The material of the clothing supplied to him is of the very worst description—the cloth being little better in texture or strength than baize, and becoming almost immediately discolored and thereby, or from its fragility, compelling him to pay for a new jacket, coat, or trousers ordered for him without his being consulted or allowed an opinion.

The make-up of the clothing is quite as bad as the texture. Almost universally the seams are so carelessly sewn, that they open very soon, and the readier as each and all of the garments supplied are sure to be "tight fits," even for the half-starved rawboned recruit; much less for the same lad when six or eight weeks of good food have begun to develop his form.

If it be a right principle—as in our opinion it most undoubtedly is, that the government should furnish the soldier, whether militia man or regular, with his outfit free of expense to him, it surely ought to be fully and properly carried out by giving him good material and clothes that will fit. Not only are these last two matters unattended to, or deliberately neglected in the "*gift*" clothing—but they are equally so in reference to that subsequently supplied at the soldier's own cost.

The blunders and breakdowns in our military (and *civil*) departments in all matters relative to the Crimean expedition have acquired too great and afflicting a notoriety to render it anxious to dwell on them, even if properly belonging to the subject. But we regret to have to state, that even down to the smallest minutiae of military affairs at home, the system, astonishing system, or no system, of blundering and botch-



exists. The Militia of this Kingdom were, for the most part, ordered to be embodied in December, 1854, and during the last three or four months the force has been in all the throes and troubles of organization and drilling. It will be remembered how severe a season has been experienced during the period mentioned—a season such as Ireland has not known for many years, and only within the memory of that respectable individual the “oldest inhabitant.” The raw recruits, half starved boys just caught, were kept (very properly and necessarily) hard at drill during that time, unless when snow or heavy rain was actually falling, and the Regimental Guards were of course duly provided. Throughout the greater part, and certainly throughout the worst part of this period, the young volunteers were kept shivering in their first issue of wretched fatigue jackets, on night duty as well as on day, and this when, according to a generally received rumor, their stouter clothing and great coats were in many cases actually in Government stores—*somewhere* in Ireland.

A similar story is told about their arms, and one Colonel of an Irish Militia Regiment stated, in his place in the House of Commons, that his men were mounting guard and actually endeavoring to learn the rudiments of the manual and platoon exercise with sticks!

No blame whatever is to be attached to the commanding officers, adjutants, quartermasters, &c. of these Regiments for the delay. One and all, those officers have displayed the most marked zeal and anxiety to forward the efficiency and promote the well-being of their Corps: the fault attaches to some of the Civil Departments of Government, those departments filled by men whose appointments are only the anomalies of destiny, reminding one of that standard of qualification for place indicated by Beaumarchais when he wrote—“Il fallut un calculateur, ce fut un danseur qui l’obtint.”

In our enumeration of the Militia Regiments of the United Kingdom, we have not referred to what is called the Militia Force of the Channel Islands, Jersey, Guernsey, &c.. The reason of the omission was simply, that although called by a similar name, it is in fact and constitution very dissimilar. It is in truth a species of “National Guard,” not unlike, in its fundamental provisions at least, to that very troublesome, very inefficient and altogether delusive force so named, which first

took its ill-omened origin in France, and was at various periods copied in other countries, but happily without permanence any. In nothing has the present ruler of France, the Emperor Napoleon the Third, shewn more shrewdness and right judgment than in getting rid, as he has in all but the name, of this Prætorian Cohort of the Mob, as the National Guard might well have been called.

In the Channel Islands every male, from the age of sixteen to that of fifty is, with certain reasonable exceptions, in addition to the natural and obvious ones of deformity, or other physical unfitness, compellable to serve, when called upon, in the National Guard. The duty is not heavy—being only five days in the year, a period of “exercise” within which they may well be imagined they can learn very little of the duties of soldiers. The conscription, for such it is, embraces, already intimated, every class of society; and as *all* cannot be officers, it follows of course that a very large proportion not only of the non-commissioned officers, but of the private soldiers are persons of gentle birth.

This circumstance was brought under the public notice in England rather markedly, in the year 1841 or thereabouts, when a Mr. Guerin, a Captain in the Channel Islands’ Militia, was reported to have been regularly broken by a species of Court Martial, and in fact *reduced to the ranks*, or to use the delicate circumlocution of the finding of the Court, “dismissed from the service without prejudice to the claims” it had on him in any *other* capacity than officer! His offence was not, as never has been, very distinctly specified; for the allegation that he had forgotten, or compromised his rank, by associating with the privates, appears to have been triumphantly met by citing the cases, of two of his superior officers, who had followed him the example by attending at a kind of regimental banquet held by the men—a circumstance not really derogatory, as a very large number of the latter were, as before mentioned, gentlemen by birth and civil position—some his equals, and a few even his superiors in social rank.

The “Channel Islands” Militia cannot be called upon to serve out of their own Islands, save in the not very probable emergency of Her Majesty’s personal safety becoming imperilled; in which case the force in question can be summoned to England, and no doubt would come eagerly and gallantly to the rescue!

The following is the account of this force, as it appears in *Hart's Army List* for May, 1855 :—

"Royal Jersey Militia."		2nd. Or North Regiment of Light Infantry.
Royal Jersey Artillery.		3rd. Or South Regiment of Do.
1st. Or North-West Regiment (Infantry).		4th. Or West Regiment of Do.
2nd. Or North Regiment	Do.	"Royal Alderney."
3rd. Or East Regiment	Do.	Royal Alderney Artillery.
4th. Or South Regiment	Do.	Do. Do. Infantry.
5th. Beller Battalion	Do.	"Royal Sark."
6th. Or South-West Regiment	Do.	One Adjutant-General of Militia.
"Royal Guernsey Militia."		Two Inspectors of Do
Royal Guernsey Artillery.		Two Militia Aide-de-camps to the Queen,
1st. Or East Regiment of Light Infantry.		and nine aide-de-camps local.

In the article in *Fraser's Magazine* for May, to which we have before alluded, as well as in *The Edinburgh Review* of April, and some other of the periodicals, we find remarks on the general condition of the soldier whether of the Line or Militia, to short extracts from which we would briefly call the reader's attention, together with some comments of our own.

*The Edinburgh Review* of April last has the following paragraphs, at pages 544—546—547 :—

"The internal economy of a Regiment is very far indeed from what it ought to be. The officer holds no intercourse at all with the private except on points of duty, and these are so managed that they lead to no familiar acquaintance even with character. An officer—a Captain at all events—can generally tell which of his men is a drunkard or otherwise guilty of irregularities; but which of them is prudent, which reckless, which truthful, which a deceiver, which is far-sighted, handy at a pinch, or the reverse, he knows no more than if there were no bond of union between them. How, indeed, should it be otherwise? He has nothing whatever to do with the supply of the men's wants, and has therefore no means of judging of their capabilities to make a little go a great way. The clothes which the government supplies they put on, and continue to wear for the regulated season; while their bread and meat, supplied by contract, they carry off and prepare for consumption in fixed cooking places, after a fixed method. Whatever instruction they receive is from non-commissioned officers. All that relates to drill comes to them from the adjutant and the serjeant major through drill corporals. All that they are taught in the manner of cleaning and taking care of their arms and accoutrements they are taught under the serjeants of rooms by their comrades.

The private's labours in time of peace may be light, but his whole existence is one of order and routine. His barrack-room may be weather-tight, but it cuts him off from the most remote chance of privacy. It is truly a comfortless domicile—particularly in winter, at which season a scanty allowance of fuel, and still scantier supply of candles, often force him against the dictates of his better judg-

ment, to seek for light and warmth in the tap-room of a public house.

We do not attempt to instruct our soldiers in the art of bivouacking, fire-making or cooking. In the best managed of our regiments we believe that the men of each company take it by turns to do their own food and that of their comrades. In regiments not so well managed, best each company has its settled cooks, whom it would be considered injudicious to change. But, after all, such cooks learn nothing more than how to season a mess of broth with salt, and to cook quantities of meat and potatoes in fixed coppers, with good coal fire arranged under them. Take these men into the open fields, and give them only their mess tins and such sticks as they can gather, and you will find them helpless as children. Their meat will probably be broiled on the ends of their ramrods, and their vegetables (if any happen to be issued to them) either half boiled or blackened among the embers.

As to *hutting* themselves, few indeed of the lads whom we are shipping off by scores to the Crimea ever heard that such a proceeding might be necessary. They certainly would not know, were they carried to the edge of a wood on landing, to what uses poles and twigs are to be turned, or how excellent cooking places may be ranged out of a few large stones and turfs handily put together.

No pains are taken to instruct them in the use of pickaxe and shovel, and the tools issued to them when they take the field are of the worst description. We teach them to handle their arms, and to throw themselves at the word of command into all manner of positions; but the art of intrenching a position which is to be defended, or of making approaches to the attack of a place which is too strong to be carried at a rush,—that forms no part of the regimental system, nor consequently is it made known in any way to the soldiers.

The French soldier, on joining, is as carefully taught how to make soup and bake bread as to handle his arms; indeed several weeks are devoted to the most useful preparation for life in the field."

After these passages the writer goes on to quote a French author on the different state of the allied armies before Sebastopol, and the points of superiority of the French military system over ours. We can insert but two sentences of this quotation, which, however, will be sufficient to show its bearing and value:—

"Une armée française, on le voit, porte en elle tous les arts et tous les métiers : partout elle peut se suffire à elle-même, elle est toute organisation ! Le système administratif, militaire et industriel, les compagnies d'ouvriers, toute cette organisation en un mot, mise à l'armée anglaise ; et ses soldats si intrépides au combat n'ont pas la même aptitude que les nôtres pour les différents travaux de la guerre—surtout pour ceux d'un siège."

Our space will not allow us to give the extracts we had intended from *Fraser's Magazine* for May; and indeed the whole article so hangs together, that it would be difficult to extract a part without doing injustice to the evidently able and fully competent writer. The description of a day in Barracks, with the various circumstances and occurrences that illustrate what he desires to display—the present Regimental system in its general, in its particular, and individual action—is one of the best papers of the kind that has yet appeared, and amply gives the civilian reader the means of forming a sound opinion upon matters which heretofore have been to him a sealed book. There are exceptions doubtless, partially or entirely, in several regiments of the service, to the state of things he describes, but still no man really conversant with our existing “Regimental System” will deny that the picture on the whole is correct; and that the system is prone to be marked by such incidents, and defects or evils as the writer points out, that it has no inherent power of stopping or remedying them, or in any great degree diminishing their number.

Old customs are proverbially, and as we all know at one time or other, or many times in our individual and personal experience, very hard of alteration, or relinquishment. It may therefore and doubtless will be a heavy task to make changes for the better, as regards the matters we are considering, in the long established Line Regiments, with their corps of officers, and the bulk of their men trained up and inured to the regimental system as it is. But why not take advantage of the prime opportunity for experiment afforded by the embodiment, even yet not near completed, of the Militia-Army of the United Kingdom? The great bulk of the Regiments of which it is composed are quite newly come together, and as to the minority who have been a year or more under arms, and permanently embodied, the time they have so been is not long enough to have rendered their habits very strong and fixed. Let then a new system, comprehending remedies in more or less degree for each and all of the defects and evils so complained of in the publications we have been alluding to, and otherwise brought before the public notice within the last stirring twelvemonth, be forthwith promulgated by competent authority; and let the Militia force be at once called upon to adopt and put it in practice. Their example, and the successive draughts which, as the war goes on will undoubtedly and

constantly be made from their muster roll to the Line (under the volunteering system,) will speedily enough introduce into the latter force whatever shall have thus been tested and shown to be improvements in the real sense of the term; and as the transfer of Officers of a higher grade than that of Ensign (to which grade at the present early period of the war the granting of Line-Commissions on the volunteering of a certain proportion of Militia Privates with each Officer, is limited) will ere long, according to the precedent of all former wars, begin to take place on the more extended volunteering of the men; the Line Regiments will get Officers amongst the well trained and broken into the new system, and therefore capable of working it in the likeliest manner to ensure its final success and adoption.

But what should that new system be? First, with regard to the soldier—beginning with him just after he has entered the Militia, and before an opportunity has come for him to volunteer into the Line, if he be so inclined. What should be done with him and for him that is not done, asks some veteran *laudator temporis acti*, and how is time to be found to attempt to do more, if more ought to be attempted? A long question, but easily answered when its three divisions are quietly examined and dealt with, seriatim.

In the first place, as to what should be done *with* him. Every thing should be done *with* him that is done with the French soldier. He should be made to learn all the little handicrafts that enable the latter to minister not only to his own wants and little comforts on service, but to those of his comrades, and with which, as stated in the article we have quoted from *The Edinburgh Review*, the British soldier of the present is so totally unacquainted. Next, what should be done for him? Simply not half so much as is done at present. There is too much done *for* the private—he is not taught enough, or scarcely at all, to look to and use his own resources to have dependance upon himself. He has his good, comfortable, lightsome lodging provided for him—his bed and bed-clothing supplied, of a description far better than in most cases the soldier was accustomed to while yet in civil life. He has, as we have shown, his meals and his cooking provided for him. The Pay Sergeant of his Company sees that his clothing is regular, and if defective sends him to the tailor's shop of the regiment, where all repairs, great or little, are done.

him. The change and washing of his linen are similarly looked after without any trouble on his part, and even the cutting of his hair is a matter arranged for him by others, he having nothing to do about it, save to go, when ordered, to the party appointed for the purpose and submit himself to the operation.

What he does for himself is merely to keep his person, clothes, arms and accoutrements clean and in good order, and to make up his bed and fold neatly his bed clothes. Beyond these items he is in every other point as dependant and as cared for as a child ; and we may almost carry the comparison so far as to state that he is all but *put to bed* at night like a child, the non-commissioned officers of the rooms regularly seeing the men *in their* beds, and reporting them so, and the lights out, to the Orderly Officer who goes his round at night to ascertain those, amongst other facts important to discipline and order.

How is time to be found for the soldier to accomplish more than he does ? is the third question of the veteran regimental officer we are supposing. The answer is, that necessity, and the example of a few experienced handy comrades, carefully interspersed for the purpose among the raw recruits, will soon teach him ; none of his ordinary drills or parades need be dispensed with, nor any casual or periodical duty to which he is liable. But let him find that if he will not choose to think and act for himself a little more than he has been in the habit of doing, he will have to go without much of the comforts and some of the necessities of his life, and we shall speedily see him endeavoring to pick up the little useful arts of cooking, mending his clothes and apparel, constructing shelter for himself against weather, or against the enemy, as the case may be. The "Camps of Instruction" just about to be opened in England and Ireland respectively, on Aldershot Heath in the former country, and on the great plateau of the Carragh in the other, will give admirable opportunities for inaugurating the new experiment of which we write, if they be properly made use of. But we do not hesitate to assert, that unless the military authorities who prescribe, and who are to control and direct the course of proceedings at these camps be well-disposed to, and active in making the experiment in question, the grand opportunity presented by the assembling and maintenance for the summer and autumn of these camps, will, like that at Chobham, and pretty nearly from the same



obvious cause, turn out to be mere military spectacles, devoid of any permanent good or value whatever.

It is rumoured, but without any very evident foundation, that these Camps are to be maintained for a considerable time. In such case the opportunities for improving our military system might no doubt be much increased; but as the period for the stay of individual Regiments in those camps is already announced to be limited to one month, at least at a time, it is more than probable that those opportunities will in fact be seriously contracted, if not altogether nullified. We do not propose that Regiments should be detained there an hour longer than the requirements of service elsewhere, or the appearance of disease amongst them, would warrant; but we say, why confine the instruction to the *Camp*?—why not follow the soldier with it back to his barracks, or other quarters where he may be sent for the winter months, and continue with him *there* the experiment begun in the former local Hutting, camp-cooking, and other such mysteries, can be taught by Companies, as well as by Battalions and Brigades; and our post duty, night surprises, &c., can be practised upon a small scale as well as upon a large. In most Barracks, at least those built outside towns, there are spaces that could be appropriated to the temporary encampment of two or three Companies, without interfering with the mere parade ground, and where such a convenience does not exist, it is very seldom that waste ground, or even a suitable field, could not be found in the neighbourhood on moderate hire for the purpose mentioned. Through these little camps we would pass the companies of our Regiments in succession, just as it is intended to pass Regiments themselves in succession through the Camp of Aldershott and of the Curragh of Kildare—each Company in the one case, like each Regiment in the other, spending a month at a time in these temporary quarters; and practising all the expedients, and made liable to all the incidents of troops in actual campaigning.

Not pausing in the present paper, and at its present stage, to develop this suggestion, which many of our readers are doubtless most capable of following out for themselves, of much improving upon it, we content ourselves with having indicated and discussed it, and pass on to the branch of the original subject with which we purpose to conclude.

A "Field officer of Artillery of Militia," (as in the dedica-



of his little work dedicated to the Lieutenant General of the Ordnance, Sir Hugh Dalrymple Ross, he correctly styles himself,) Lieutenant Colonel Robert Alexander Shafto Adair, commanding the Suffolk Militia Artillery, and one of the representatives for Cambridge, has recently published a short treatise, at this moment before us, entitled, *The Militia of the United Kingdom, with Suggestions for the Permanent Organization of the Force*. It is with a brief consideration of this little treatise that we propose to terminate this paper.

The title is a little ambitious, and not quite borne out by the chapter of contents—the scope of the work having on the whole much more to do with the *artillery* division of the militia force of the United Kingdom, and with that particular portion of it under the immediate command of the gallant officer himself, than with the militia corps in general. Still there is much matter of general import and value, and Colonel Adair is at all events entitled to high credit for the zeal, labor and intelligence which he has evidently brought to his task; and has proved himself abundantly worthy the rather important position he has been called upon to assume.

The following extracts will give a sufficient outline of his plans and proposals:—

“The nucleus of supply to the current waste in the ranks of the Line, exists in the practice which partially obtains of recruiting for Regiments in the county to which they nominally belong, or in which they were originally raised. Make this theory practically a fact, and the consequence would be that men would commence their military lives by passing through the Militia ranks, and would proceed thence to join their previous comrades in the regiment of the county. The Limited Enlistment Act would enable them to pass the period of their military service in a regiment where the faces of their comrades were not unfamiliar; and they would proceed thither when their constitutions were formed, and themselves prepared roughly for a soldier's life. At the end of their period of service they would return to their county with still unbroken strength, having consummated the orderly and sober military existence, to which they originally gave themselves deliberately, by joining the Pensioner Force at an age seldom likely to exceed from thirty to thirty-five years. It would appear also, that the facility of raising men would be much increased by transferring the recruiting establishment to the Adjutants and permanent Staff of Militia regiments, thus restoring a large number of non-commissioned officers and soldiers to duty with their respective regiments, and effecting a saving in both ways in the public expenditure. And when the possible demand for an intelligent soldiery is considered; and that it must needs be of such a composition as to compensate smallness

of numbers by excellence; and when it is remembered also, that one large portion of the recruiting ground has been laid bare by famine and emigration, abundant reason appears for systematizing the process by which the materials of our armies may be regularly obtained.

And in raising these regiments of Militia, the proportion should be considered that the Militia force bears to the labourers, at weekly wages, principally low priced, of the community at large. And the question then arises; assuming that the Militia regiments on an average are, in ordinary times, embodied for two months in the year, whether the labour market is injuriously affected by a diminution of the Militia service, that special training should be given to the different regiments, reference being had to the special industrial pursuits of the district from which they are drawn. For example, the Yorkshire regiments may be considered to be the type of the agricultural portion of the Militia force. The Lancashire regiments represent a population endowed with the mixed character of agriculturist and of artizan. The mining districts might furnish their contingent of men adapted to the more scientific operations of Field Service; while the levies of the coast would contribute a contingent of men skilled in the management of boats, and useful for the transport of bodies of troops across estuaries and rivers, and more especially fitted for the Artillery duties, which the nature of the locality most obnoxious to invasion would indicate. And it is thus, in a reasonable application of the special qualities of each regiment in combination with such as are common to the whole body of the service, that that great amount of efficiency would be found, which the country has a right to expect.

To the Militia of Scotland, and of Ireland, a similar classification may be applied.

But it is not contemplated to limit the re-organization of the Militia force to these special applications. If the premises be accurately stated, then, on reasonable induction, the time has arrived at which the Militia should be dealt with as a substantive force for permanent employment, destined to contribute on all emergencies to the security of the country, in the manner in which, as we have seen, the Prussian Landwehr on the field of Lutzen, avenged the disaster of Jena.

The history of the awakening spirit of Germany; and the value of the Landwehr and Landsturm are well detailed by the historian Alison.

In Prussia, as contrasted with Spain, 'The national enthusiasm was not suffered to evaporate in detached efforts, or ill-directed expeditions. Previous preparation, prophetic wisdom, had prepared the fit channels for national fervour.\*'

The Prussian military system, to which Colonel Adair thus seems to incline, is a good deal complained of for the periodical, systematic, and ultimately very injurious interruptions it gives to the industry of the country. In the first place, the young

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\* p p. 32—35.

Prussian, when he has just reached the age for entering on the real business of life, and acquiring habits of application in the civil calling, profession, or business which offers the fairest promise to his energies, is suddenly called away by the inexorable and indiscriminating conscription, and forced to serve three years in the regular army—to all intents and purposes a common soldier. When he has reached the age of twenty-six, he is discharged from the standing army indeed, but only to be enrolled for six years in the "*Erster Aufgeböths*" or first army of reserve—subject to twenty-eight days annual military training and service, at the very best period of the year for agricultural employment. At the age of thirty-two he is again transferred, and takes his place in the "*Zweiten Aufgeböths*," which performs garrison duties in times of need : and after the age of forty-nine he makes yet another move, when he is finally enrolled, for the remainder of the time that he has any fitness for military service, in the "*Landsturm*," or Levy en Masse, in case of an invasion.

Such a system, found very injurious and oppressive in Prussia, where there is far less extent and complication of industry and commerce than in Great Britain, would cause a Revolution if attempted to be established in the latter. But there is no fear that any minister of this realm would so far stultify himself as a statesman as to propose anything so unsuitable, and in fact impracticable.

One more extract from Colonel Adair and we shall have given him space enough :—

"It has been assumed that the natural lines of defence of the United Kingdom are based on the river system. These rivers may generally be considered, although of no great volume or depth, as difficult of passage for stores and artillery. The moist nature of the climate keeps them full, and the slight inclination of the plains through which they flow, render them easily convertible to the purposes of inundation. And on reference to the map of England, it will be seen that the water-courses divide the surface of the country into districts of races homogeneous and of similar industrial habits ; a fact not without its significance.

It is therefore proposed to form the fluvial basins, into which England is naturally divided, into Militia districts, and the respective contingents into Militia Brigades. And in the internal composition of each regiment, analogous arrangements may be made by distributing the county from which each regiment recruits its strength, into separate sub-districts under the superintendence of the officers of the corps who would be thus responsible to the Commanding Officer for an accurate knowledge of the military capabilities of their sub-

districts, as he, in his turn, to the General Officer commanding the Brigade, in respect of the country placed under his regimental superintendence. For it is not too much to require from the Commanding Officer of each Militia Regiment, that he should be thoroughly acquainted with the military circumstances of the district in which his Regiment is raised.

"The country being thus divided into Militia districts, each having a separate organization, which is, however, capable of combination with the general body of the Militia force. To each is assigned its defensive system, based upon local circumstances. Its posts of intrenchment, whether in the open country or in the fortified towns, are determined beforehand, and prepared for the reception of troops. On the advance of an enemy, the stores of the country will be withdrawn, and received into the larger of the intrenched positions together with such of the non-combatants, as may not have the opportunity of a more distant flight. The superior military authority of the district will have moved the Lord-Lieutenant of the County to summon the Deputy-Lieutenants, as constituting the military staff of the Lord-Lieutenant. On their assembling, they will be furnished with detailed plans of the points on which intrenchments are to be thrown up, and of the works required. They will be instructed to procure the assistance of such a number of the labourers of the country as may be sufficient for the purpose, at the rate of forty men per day of twelve hours, for each field work capable of covering three guns. The towns, on their part, would furnish contingents for military labour on the intrenchments with which it is proposed to cover the buildings. It will be seen, by reference to the labour power of any given district, with what rapidity the surface of the country can be covered with these earthworks, formidable from their number and intricacy, and sufficiently perfect for their purpose. The intrenched posts of the first class would be, probably, the towns, which are already the head quarters of regiments, or which, from their importance, or military advantage of position, deserve special defence. The larger villages would form a second line of resistance, and the whole system would be completed by earthworks covering the passes of the rivers, whether at ford or bridge, or at the difficult points of the country. These suggestions necessarily infer a war of intrenchment and of position.\*"

For Ireland and Scotland, Colonel Adair proposes a similar system and organization, and for the three countries a large increase of artillery corps amongst the militia. He appends to his treatise two maps, one of all England, divided into the militia districts which he suggests; and the other of his own county of Suffolk, made out, naturally, in more detail.

We have not space for comment, and must content ourselves with recommending the work to general perusal, at least

\* pp. 37—39.

those in whom the startling circumstances of the present war have awoke a proper and creditable interest about the means of sustaining it with honor and valid effect; we trust we have done our part towards supplying such readers with the means of judging for themselves of the present state of that important portion of our national defences, the militia, and the measures to be adopted to make it more generally available, and secure its full efficiency.

At this moment indeed the chief, and almost the only use of the militia, in the eyes of the indifferent and superficial observer is, to supply men by periodical volunteering to the line. But every man who looks beneath the surface of things, and meditates upon the state of Europe, will easily foresee that events might very speedily and suddenly arise, when the present war would lose its merely offensive character, and assume to some degree at least that of a defensive struggle. Prussia is not with us—is in fact against us, at least passively, and only waits some disaster to our arms to throw away the thin veil now covering (not her purposes, for her king is too feeble to have a purpose)—but her tendencies, and to become actively hostile. Austria, crippled in monetary resources by the result of the red republican revolts of 1848, with her 300 miles of frontier exposed defenceless to the quarter of a million of soldiers, whom Russia has posted along it, and with Prussia and all Northern Germany, as well as revolutionary Italy threatening her in other directions, is unable yet to come to our assistance. France, our single powerful ally, is but the impersonation of one most remarkable man—the present Emperor—and were his life cut short by one of the innumerable accidents or ills that flesh is heir to, her suicidal factions would paralyze her action, if even they did not find a common though temporary ground of agreement in turning her arms against “*la perfide Albion*.” The real value of the militia would then be known, and the Militia would be found, ready and willing, nobly to do its duty.

## ART. VIII.—SHEIL.

1. *Memoirs of the Right Honourable Richard Lalor Sheil.* By W. Torrens M'Cullagh. London: Colburn, 1855.
2. *Sketches, Legal and Political, by the late Right Honourable Richard Lalor Sheil.* Edited, with Notes, by M. W. Savage, Esq. London: Colburn, 1855.

It is mournful to see the last of an ancient house; to think of the hopes and destinies that sleep for ever more in the family vault; to know that the career of adventure, mishap, success, ruin, and retrieval that have filled a thousand years with their memories, delighting and paining us even yet, have at length reached the term of all ambition and all existence, and that what kings, parliaments and headsmen, the blood that has been spilled by the axe or corrupted by the law—what the fall of dynasties and uprooting of religions had suffered to continue, has fallen away and mouldered of itself. It is sad to witness the decay and extinction of an old nationality, whether crushed by the heel of violence or wasted in the embrace of corruption; and it is almost equally sorrowful to see the character of a nation die out, though its geographical position survive—to look in vain for anything that gave it individuality or procured it interest, and to find that the old genius of the people, with its archetypal excellencies and anomalous defects, is without a home on the Earth. With a somewhat similar feeling of melancholy, we turn to the volumes before us—memorial of the life and death of Richard Sheil, one who for all that appears upon the surface of society, was the last of the Irish orators—the last of Irish dramatists, and perhaps the last specimen of what the Irish bar was once. It was reserved for him to close the brilliant series of orators and statesmen who preserved and transmitted so faithfully the peculiar features of the national intellect, embellished but not changed, who were purely Irish without being purely ridiculous, and whose works are not only the pride of their particular country but the classics of the tongue. Were we less disposed to see complacency in Ireland than is commonly believed, it would be impossible to overlook the fact that were it not for Ireland

the Empire would have no one orator to take his place beside the great of antiquity, or to match in later times with Mirabeau, Berryer or Montalembert. It is a strange and seemingly unaccountable circumstance, that England proper, the nurse of statesmen and patriots, the theatre of struggles as exciting as ever put men's blood into commotion, with every condition of existence favourable to the growth of oratory, and with splendid trophies from every field of literature, should be indebted to a country so singularly miserable as Ireland for all her orators, for Burke, Grattan, Sheridan, Plunkett and Sheil. It is not through inadvertence or disrespect we pass over O'Connell—He resembled *La Bridaine*—No one can rightly understand his reputation that did not hear his voice and watch his eye—but amongst those whose oratory was of more substantial make, Sheil appears to have been the last representative of the Irish school; and with all its faults, those of Sheil included, we cannot but regret that it has ceased to exist, and that Irish oratory is only too respectable when it does not sink below the dead level of English mediocrity or break in froth upon English impassibility. The House of Commons, as constituted at any time for the last forty years, is capricious, not fastidious, and the countenance it gave to Sheil was the result, not of interest or feeling, but of curiosity. He was regarded in that assembly as a kind of oratorical pyrotechnist, not in the best sense which would make him an artist of "words that burn," but rather as a brilliant and latterly a harmless exhibitor of rockets, wheels and bouquets, which though bright and many-coloured, were but squibs after all.

We cannot but think Sheil was by no means what he might have been. It would take us over a very wide field to speculate at large upon the secret of his failure so far as that failure extends, and in linking him on to the series of great names to which his unquestionably belongs, we are willing to forget his short comings in their merits and his own, but it is impossible to resist the conclusion, that he was capable of much greater things than he accomplished, and ought to have filled a far greater space in the eye of the public than he actually did. It does not appear that he ever quite realised his position, and though his individual efforts were so carefully elaborated, every thing was made up for parliamentary effect rather than enduring fame. Unlike Burke, he spoke for a



success, and lived but upon cheers—his speeches resembled those moving panoramas so popular of late, which must be seen by gas light and set off by orchestral accompaniment. He required to have taken a middle course between O'Connell and his own. The sincerity and heartiness which a vigorous though not violent participation in the struggles immediately subsequent to Emancipation must have given to his orator were greatly wanting to him. There was nothing to give strength to his vehemence or heat to his lustre. Right or wrong, there existed an almost universal persuasion that Sheil was not thoroughly in earnest, and we think his own conduct rather encouraged the belief. He made his election of office for life too early. He forgot that he had not been rocked and dandled into statesmanship, and that he should fare hard with those who had been, unless he made them feel that he overlooked him at their peril. Unfortunately he was satisfied to remain a convenience of the minister, to take some trifling advancement, just sufficient to save the principle that a Roman Catholic might be promoted, and instead of being a vessel of honour, to fill a place amongst the broken tea-things which were kept for show. The fact is (to use his own expression) he had been too long used to the yoke, and never recovered his perpendicular; he continued to slouch and stoop when the pressure was removed; his ambition did not teach him that whatever was nakedly possible might be converted into reality, and that within certain limits he ought to have the choice of his position.

It will be perceived we take the very lowest ground, and endeavour to ascertain what would have been the most judicious course for one who had regard to his own character and interest. We are quite willing to believe with Mr. M'Culgan that Sheil took higher ground himself, and that with no view to personal interest, he had an attachment to his country as romantic as it was ill requited, and innocently connected with the welfare of his country with the aggrandisement of his friends. What is most to be complained of in Sheil was an excessive humility, an ignorance of his own value, or an over estimation of the difficulties in his path. Indeed the modesty of his pretensions, or rather of the pretensions which he put forward in behalf of Roman Catholics generally, in his "Effects of Emancipation," will account sufficiently for the well disciplined quietude with which he took up any subaltern position assigned to



This was not quite judicious—what Sheil wanted in weight he ought to have made up in activity; he ought not to have kept so completely out of contact with this country, he should have condescended to ascertain the play of its pulse with his own touch; but he withdrew to a different atmosphere, and looking through a strange medium it is not surprising if his discernment was less faithful than it might have been. In such an assembly as the British Parliament, notwithstanding our boast of public opinion and public virtue, no man can reach the level of his own intellectual eminence, or secure a field for the exercise of his political abilities, unless, not having been born great, he has learned to make himself feared. It was not admiration of his eminent qualities, nor yet their poverty in what are called natural leaders, that compelled the protectionists to submit to the hardship of Mr. Disraeli. They accept him, not so much because they cannot do without him, but because he could afford to do without them, and on much the same principle as a prudent solicitor will often retain counsel, less to secure his services than to escape his opposition. Had Sheil been equally discerning, had he been as expert a tactician as he was an accomplished speaker, his place in the administration and his pedestal in history should have been far different from what one was and the other is.

There have appeared two works in connection with his name, by authors sufficiently well known to the public, the *Memoirs* by Mr. M'Cullagh, and the *Sketches, Legal and Historical*, Sheil's own production, for whose appearance in their present form the public in both countries should feel greatly indebted to Mr. Savage. In both works we have a picture of times we had almost said happily gone by, but unless we mistake the symptoms of the public mind, it is to be feared we should be premature in saying so. At all events the great actors in those scenes, the men who breathed their spirit into the passions of the period, have passed from the earth. Sheil was second to O'Connell only, and in the estimate he has given of the characters of his confederates, but especially of his leader, he is in no one instance ungenerous or disparaging, and though more than once in opposition to the latter, he maintained the struggle without bitterness, and seemed to have remembered it without rancour; the homage he rendered to O'Connell was uniform, ungrudging, and must have been disinterested; he never allowed himself to sneer when a sneer could have been

well paid, and his eulogy was warmest when the ear it could have gratified was closed for ever, and the support it might have conciliated lay scattered and demoralized.

Mr. M'Cullagh has done his own part well, and though interest may have been allowed to languish occasionally must be borne in mind that the author had no choice of materials and no scope for imagination. The serenity, not to the sluggishness, of the atmosphere in which Sheil chose to reside after he entered Parliament, though he hardly could have been said to climb what he himself calls the frosty summits of society, was yet sufficient to deprive the latter portion of his life of the dramatic interest that attached to his earlier movements. In truth it is greatly to be doubted if any of his efforts in Parliament, even those which have been entirely successful, at all equalled his early oratory; and the doubt is by no means confined to ourselves. After all it is no means unnatural that a reader should follow with more lively sympathy struggles so animated and so various, as those which preceded the great measure of '29, than the less exciting because less truthful contests in Parliament, where honourable gentlemen, like ancient Pistol on the bridge, "speak as brave words as ever were uttered," and do no dishonourable acts. There is no intention assuredly on our part to connect the name of Sheil with any of these dishonourable acts. On the contrary, we feel bound to express our own opinion, that his reputation, unlike that of some others, has come not only undamaged but rather mended, from the hands of a friendly biographer. And here precisely we are reminded of an episode in his parliamentary life which we have marked for extract. It bears upon those dishonest transactions that are more often imputed than brought home to public men, whose existence is felt rather than seen, which are matters of notoriety though seldom of proof, and from the imputation of which Sheil would seem to have been sufficiently vindicated by the proceedings detailed in the passage we quote which include the report of the Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to investigate the charge, and Sheil's speech in reference to the report:—

"Your Committee, in entering on the delicate and embarrassing duty imposed upon them, ascertained from Mr. Hill, that though he could not admit the entire accuracy of the above paragraph as a report of what he had publicly spoken at Hull, he nevertheless recollected

have publicly charged an Irish Member of Parliament with conduct similar in substance to that which the paragraph describes. The Irish Member so alluded to was Richard Lalor Sheil, Esq., Member of Parliament for the county of Tipperary; and Mr. Hill stated the charge to the best of his belief, to have been substantially as follows:—

‘That Mr. Sheil made communications respecting the Irish Coercion Bill to persons connected with the Government and others, with the intention thereby of promoting the passing of the Coercion Bill, and having a direct tendency to produce that effect, whilst his speeches and votes in the House were directed to the defeat of the Coercion Bill.’

‘Such was the substance of the allegation into which your committee proceeded to enquire. Two witnesses were called before them at the suggestion of Mr. Hill, and others were about to be examined, when Mr. Hill himself, finding the testimony already heard very different from what he had expected, freely and spontaneously made the following communication to the Committee:—

‘That he had come to the conviction that his charge against Mr. Sheil of having directly or indirectly communicated, or intended to communicate, to the Government, any private opinions in opposition to those which he expressed in the House of Commons, had no foundation in fact; that such a charge was not merely incapable of formal proof, but was, in his present sincere belief, totally and absolutely unfounded; that he had originally been induced to make mention of it in a hasty and unpremeditated speech, under a firm persuasion that he had received it on undeniable evidence; but that being now satisfied of the mistake into which he had fallen, and convinced that the charge was wholly untrue, he came forward to express his deep and unfeigned sorrow for having ever contributed to give it circulation.’ Mr. Hill added, ‘that if there were any way consistent with honour by which he could make reparation to Mr. Sheil, he should deem no sacrifice too great to heal the wound which his erroneous statement had inflicted.’

‘It is with the highest gratification that your Committee find themselves enabled thus to exonerate an accused Member of Parliament from imputations alike painful and undeserved. The voluntary avowal of an erroneous statement on the part of Mr. Hill, puts it now in their power to pronounce a decided opinion, and to close the present inquiry. Neither of the witnesses who appeared before the Committee deposed to any facts calculated to bear out the allegation against Mr. Sheil, nor did their testimony go to impeach his character and honour in any way, or as to any matter whatever. The Committee have no hesitation in declaring their deliberate conviction that the innocence of Mr. Sheil, in respect of the whole matter of complaint referred to their investigation, is entire and unquestionable.

‘Your committee feel bound at the same time to express their full confidence in Mr. Hill’s declaration, that the statement impeaching Mr. Sheil’s character was made by him at Hull, under a sincere, though mistaken persuasion of its accuracy. They derive this confidence as well from the tone of generous regret which characterized

his communication at the close of their proceedings, as from candid admissions, and the evident anxiety to avoid all exaggeration and mis-statements, which they have observed throughout his money, as he delivered it in their presence.' Upon the reading of report there were loud cries for Lord Althorp, who said, that man rejoiced more at its contents than he did. He was called upon to state what his opinion was, now that he had heard the report of the Committee. As to the facts to which the report referred he had no scruple at all in saying that he was satisfied with it. He since he last addressed the House, made inquiries respecting information given him on the subject, and he was then prepared to say if the honorable and learned member for Tipperary asserted distinctly that he had not done what he had stated him to have done, that he believed his assertion. He was in this position. He had certain information given him on the authority of gentlemen on whose veracity he entirely relied. They might have been mistaken in what they stated to him. But if the honourable and learned member would then come forward and say that it was untrue that he had ever used language in private, different from that which he had used in public on the Coercion Bill, he would not only say that he entirely believed him, but he would also apologise to him for the language he had used.

Mr. Sheil rose amidst loud cries of 'hear' from all parts of the House, which were succeeded by profound silence. After a short pause he said—

'I stood before this House a few nights ago, with no other pretence than the consciousness of my innocence; I now stand before it with that innocence announced, in the clearest and most unequivocal language, by a Committee composed of men themselves above all suspicion, to the world. I do feel my heart swell within me at this instant, and almost impede my utterance. Justice has been done me. It has been done not only by my judges but by my accuser—he preferred his charges in the House, he reiterated them before the Committee, and having gone into his evidence and failed, he then offered me the only reparation in his power; and with the frankness of contrition which mitigates the wrong he did me, he came forward and announced that not only could he not prove his charges, but that he believed it to be utterly destitute of foundation. The gentleman having made this acknowledgment, then turned, addressing himself to me, in the tone and with the aspect of deep emotion, asked me to forgive him. I had, I own, much to forgive him; he had wounded me to my heart's core; he had injured me, he had given agony to mine; he had committed a havoc of the feelings of those who are dearer to me than my life, and to whom my honour is more precious than my existence. He had furnished to the Secretary for the Colonies the occasion of addressing me in the language of rebuke, with the gesture of solemn admonition, and of pointing out the result of an inquiry, in the tone of prophetic warning. I had indeed much to forgive, but I forgive him. . . . We have heard much of denunciation from ministers respecting the disclosures of private discourse, and yet the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the rep-

representative of the Government, who entertains such a horror of a practice detested by all honourable men, is the very first to make reference to the babble of clubs, to declare his belief of information to which he gratuitously attaches an injurious importance, and to announce that he would not give up his author, but would take upon himself the responsibility. This defiance having been given, the House interposed; no resource was left me but to protest that I never expressed myself in favour of the Coercion Bill, and to demand inquiry. I insisted on it. The Secretary for the Colonies, out of regard no doubt for my reputation, pointed out the probable results. His suggestions had no other effect than to confirm me in my purpose, and to make me call more loudly for trial; that trial has proceeded, my private conversation at a Club-house has been given in evidence, and the Committee have declared me innocent of every charge which has been preferred against me. Did I shrink from the ordeal? Did I resort to chicanery? Did I make my honour a matter of casuistry and special pleading? No Sir; I invited, I demanded investigation; and my private conversation at the Athenæum Club having been detailed—a conversation after dinner, never recollected even by the narrator for eight months—the accuser declared that his charge was totally destitute of foundation, and the Committee at once resolved on my unqualified acquittal. One of the informants of the noble lord was produced—why were they not all brought forward? My accusers were welcome to have got together every loose phrase, every casual and giddy expression, uttered in the moments of thoughtlessness and exhilaration; they were welcome to have selected and collected every sentence uttered by me in convivial gatherings, and to have raked and gathered the sweepings of Club-houses, in order to have made up a mass of solid testimony, and to have cast it into the balance against me. They were welcome to have put me through an ordeal—such as not one of the ministers themselves could encounter. Which of you all would dare to stand the test? Which of you all would have the veil of his privacy rent to pieces, and all his thoughts uttered in the familiarity of common life divulged? But they were welcome to have got together all the whisperers and eavesdroppers of all their clubs against me; I should have defied them. I was prepared with proof to be given by my most intimate and confidential friends, the men with whom I have lived on terms of familiarity and of trust for upwards of twenty years, the companions of my early life, who know me as I do myself, and to whom my thoughts and feelings are almost as well known as their own. I should have been prepared with their evidence, and have established that wherever the Coercion Bill was glanced at, I condemned it in terms of unmitigated detestation. I denounced it as a violation of every one of those principles of liberty of which the Whigs were once the devoted but not unalterable champions. I did not once, but one hundred, times express my horror of the atrocities perpetrated in parts of the north of Ireland. I did say that to put ruffianism down, something ought to be done; I referred to the suggestions made by the Committee which sat in 1832, in the Queen's County, and which was composed of men of all parties; but never, I repeat with an

emphasis into which heart and soul are thrown ; never did I express myself favourable to a Bill which I reprobated in this House, which I denounced elsewhere in terms of equally vehement censure ; and in place of standing here I were lying on my death-bed and about to appear in the presence of my God, I should not dread, with utterance of these words, if they were to be my last, to appear before him.'

We have been considerably embarrassed in our choice of extracts, and if our space permitted we should gladly set out some of his early triumphs in juxtaposition with one of his parliamentary efforts, even the most successful ; and we think that comparison would be in favour of the view we have adopted. For this purpose we should have, perhaps, selected the address upon the deputation to England, as a specimen of his youthful eloquence ; and side by side with it, his famous speech in answer to Lord Lyndhurst's equally celebrated and admitted unfortunate proclamation, of the threefold alienage of the Irish. Not being able, however, to give both, our choice has at length fixed upon the latter, because we find it more prominently and at large in Mr. M'Cullagh's book, and accordingly we quote :—

"At last our enfranchisement was won by our own energy and determination ; and when it was in progress we received assurance that, in every respect, we should be placed on a footing with our fellow-citizens ; and it was more especially announced to us, that, as corporations and all offices connected with them, we should be once admissible. Pending this engagement, a bill is passed for the reform of the corporations of this country, and in every important municipal locality in England, councillors are selected by the people as their representatives. This important measure having been carried here, the Irish people claim an extension of the same advantage and ground their title on the Union, on Emancipation, on Reform, and on the great principle of perfect equality between the two countries, on which the security of one country and the prosperity of the other must depend. This demand on the part of Ireland is rejected ; that which to England no one was bold enough to deny, from Ireland you are determined, and you announce it, to withhold. Is this justice ? You will say that it is, and I should be surprised if you did not say so. I should be surprised indeed, if while you are doing wrong, you did not profess your solicitude to do us justice. From the day on which Strongbow set his foot upon the shore of Ireland, Englishmen were never wanting in protestations of their deep anxiety to do us justice :—even Strafford the deserter of the people's cause, the renegade Wentworth, who gave evidence in Ireland of the spirit of instinctive tyranny which predominated in his character—Strafford while he trampled upon our rights, and trod upon the heart of the country, protested his solicitude to do justice to Ireland."



What marvel is it then that gentlemen opposite should deal in such vehement protestations? There is however one man of great abilities, not a member of this House, but whose talents and whose boldness have placed him in the topmost place in his party—who disdaining all imposture, and thinking it the best course to appeal directly to the religious and national antipathies of the people of this country—abandoning all reserve, and flinging off the slender veil by which his political associates affect to cover, although they cannot hide their motives—distinctly and audaciously tells the Irish people that they are not entitled to the same privileges as Englishmen; and pronounces them in every way particular which could enter his minute renumeration of the circumstances by which fellow-citizenship is created, in race, identity, and religion, to be aliens—to be aliens in race—to be aliens in country—to be aliens in religion. Aliens! good God! was Arthur, Duke of Wellington, in the House of Lords, and did he not start up and exclaim ‘Hold! I have seen the aliens do their duty?’ The Duke of Wellington is not a man of an excitable temperament. His mind is of a cast too martial to be easily moved; but notwithstanding his habitual inflexibility, I cannot help thinking that when he heard his Roman Catholic countrymen (for we are his countrymen) designated by a phrase as offensive as the abundant vocabulary of his eloquent confederate could supply—I cannot help thinking that he ought to have recollected the many fields of fight in which we have been contributors to his renown, ‘The battles, sieges, fortunes, that he has passed,’ ought to have come back upon him. He ought to have remembered that from the earliest achievements in which he displayed that military genius which has placed him foremost in the annals of modern warfare, down to that last and surpassing combat which has made his name imperishable—from *Assaye* to *Waterloo*—the Irish soldiers, with whom your armies are filled, were the inseparable auxiliaries to the glory with which his unparalleled successes have been crowned. Whose were the arms that drove your bayonets at *Vimiera* through the phalanxes that never reeled in the shock of war before? What desperate valour climbed the steepes and filled the moats at *Badajos*? All his victories should have rushed and crowded back upon his memory—*Vimiera*, *Badajos*, *Salamanca*, *Albuera*, *Toulouse*, and last of all, the greatest—. Tell me, for you were there—I appeal to the gallant soldier before me (Sir Henry Hardinge)—from whose opinions I differ, but who bears, I know, a generous heart in an intrepid breast;—tell me, for you must needs remember—on that day when the destinies of mankind were trembling in the balance—while death fell in showers—when the artillery of France was levelled with the precision of the most deadly science—when her legions, incited by the voice and inspired by the example of their mighty leader, rushed again and again to the onset—tell me, if for an instant, when to hesitate for an instant was to be lost, the ‘aliens’ blanched? And when at length the moment for the last and decisive movement had arrived, and the valour which had so long been wisely checked was at last let loose—when, with words familiar but immortal, the Great Captain commanded the great assault—tell me if Catholic Ireland

with less heroic valour than the natives of this your own glorious country, precipitated herself upon the foe? The blood of England, Scotland, and of Ireland, flowed in the same stream, and drenched the same field. When the chill morning dawned, their dead lay cold and stark together;—in the same deep pit their bodies were deposited—the green corn of spring is now breaking from their commingled dust—the dew falls from heaven upon their union in the grave. Partakers in every peril—in the glory shall we not be permitted to participate; and shall we be told, as a requital, that we are estranged from the noble country for whose salvation our life-blood was poured out?"

The volumes give us an agreeable picture of Sheil's school-days, for which the author found most of his materials in Sheil's "Recollections of the Jesuits," published in the *New Monthly* and forming part of the *Legal and Political Sketches*, edited by Mr. Savage. He also drew upon his recollections of some of Sheil's schoolfellows, Mr. Justice Lushington in particular, and has on the whole succeeded in making a portion of the work not the least interesting of the entire. Sheil, like many other successful Irishmen, had to struggle with adversity in London. His dramatic efforts and their success, which was far from contemptible even as a money speculation, were more characteristic of the times than of the man. There was then a demand for dramatic literature whatever we may think of the supply. The decay of the higher order of dramatic literature is one of the features of the age; whether from a defect of intellectual or of historical ability it is not our business to inquire now. One thing is certain, that perhaps the noblest department of poetry has without a living and working representative in the language. There were, however, two other pursuits, both rather incompatible with his dramatic tastes, pressing themselves upon the young author, Law and Politics, and to both of these he gave his full attention. His practice at the bar was more respectable, and the silk gown was not as some imagine a bribe for political services. It is indisputable too that committed to the movement for emancipation, he embarked on it with a zeal and unreserve which we have ventured to affirm it would always have been desirable for him to keep in action. He has given a modest account of himself and his services in some of the papers in the *New Monthly*; and his attendance at the Penenden Heath meeting, shews how thoroughly he was imbued with the chivalry of the movement, and how little



calculated danger or trouble. His part in the memorable Clare election was only less conspicuous than that of O'Connell; and as we have an account of it in his own words, we shall borrow a specimen of his eloquence on that occasion, from the *Sketches, Legal and Historical*. :—

"But why should I have recourse to illustration which may be accounted fantastical, in order to elucidate what is in itself so plain and obvious? Protestant gentlemen, who do me the honour to listen to me, look, I pray you, a little dispassionately at the real causes of the events which have taken place amongst you. I beg of you to put aside your angry feelings for an instant, and believe me that I am far from thinking that you have no good ground for resentment. It must be most painful to the proprietors of this County to be stripped in an instant of all their influence; to be left destitute of all sort of sway over their dependents, and to see a few demagogues and priests usurping their natural authority. This feeling of resentment must be aggravated by the consciousness that they have not deserved such a return from their tenants; and as I know Sir Edward O'Brien to be a truly benevolent landlord, I can well conceive that the apparent ingratitude with which he was treated, has added to the pain which every landlord must experience; and I own that I was not surprised to see tears bursting from his eyes, while his face was inflamed with the emotions to which it was not in human nature that he should not give way.

But let Sir Edward O'Brien, and his fellow proprietors, who are gathered about him, recollect that the facility and promptitude with which the peasantry have thrown off their allegiance, are owing not so much to any want of just moral feeling on the part of the people, as to the operation of causes for which the people are not to blame. In no other country, except in this, would such a revolution have been effected. Wherefore?—Because in no other country are the people divided by law from their superiors, and cast into the hands of a set of men, who are supplied with the means of national excitement by the system of Government under which we live. Surely no man can believe that such an anomalous body as the Catholic Association could exist, excepting in a community which had been alienated from the State by the State itself. The discontent and the resentment of seven millions of the population have generated that domestic government which sways through the force of public opinion, and uses the national passions as the instruments for the execution of its will. From that body there has now been issuing, for many years, a continuous supply of exciting matter, which has overflowed the nation's mind. The lava has covered and inundated the whole country, and is still flowing, and will continue to flow from its volcanic source. But, if I may so say, the Association is but the crater in which the fiery matter finds a vent, while its fountain is in the depth of the law itself. It would be utterly impossible, if all men were placed upon equality of citizenship, and there were no exasperating distinctions amongst us, to create any artificial

causes of discontent. Let men declaim for a century, with far higher powers than any Catholic agitator is endowed with, and if they have no real ground of public grievance to rest upon, their harangues will be empty sound and idle air. But when what they tell the people is true—when they are sustained by substantial facts, then effects are produced, of which what has taken place at this election is a fine example. The whole body of the people being grievously alarmed and rendered susceptible, the moment any accident such as this election occurs, all the popular passions start simultaneously up, and bear down every obstacle before them. Do not, therefore, be surprised that the peasantry should thus at once throw off their allegiance to you, when they are under the operation of emotions which it would be wonderful if they could resist. The feeling which they are now actuated would make them not only vote against their landlords, but would make them rush into the field, scale the batteries of a fortress, and mount the breach; and, gentlemen, I now leave to ask you, whether, after a due reflection upon the motives by which your vassals (for so they are accounted) are governed, you will be disposed to exercise any measure of severity in their regard.

I hear it said, that before many days go by, there will be many tears shed in the hovels of your slaves, and that you will take a terrible vengeance of their treason. I trust in God that you will do so when your own passions have subsided, and your blood has had time to cool, persevere in such a cruel, and let me add, such an unjustifiable determination. Consider, gentlemen, whether a great alliance should not be made for the offence which they have committed. If they are, as you say they are, under the influence of fanaticism, I would say to you, that such an influence affords many circumstances of extenuation, and that you should forgive them, 'for they know not what they do.' They have followed their priests to the hustings, and they would follow them to the scaffold. But you will say, wherefore should they prefer their priests to their landlords, and have purer reverence for the altars of their religion, than for the counter on which you calculate your rents? Ah, gentlemen, consider a little the relation in which the priest stands towards the peasant. Let us put the priest into one scale, and the landlord in the other, and let us see which should preponderate. I will tell you an excellent landlord and an excellent priest. The landlord shall be Sir Edward O'Brien, and the priest shall be Mr Murphy of Corofin. Who is Sir Edward O'Brien? A gentleman who has a great fortune, who lives in a splendid mansion, and who, from the windows of a palace, looks upon possessions almost as wide as those which his ancestors beheld from the summit of their feudal towers. His tenants pay him their rent twice a-year, and they have their land at a moderate rate. So much for the landlord.

I come now to Father Murphy of Corofin. Where does he live? In a humble abode, situate at the foot of a mountain, and in the midst of dreariness and waste. He dwells in the midst of parishioners, and is their benefactor, their friend, their father. He is not only in the actual ministry of the sacraments of religion, but

he stands as an object of affectionate reverence among them. I saw him, indeed, at his altar, surrounded by thousands, and felt myself the influence of his contagious and enthusiastic devotion. He addressed the people in the midst of a rude edifice, and in a language which I did not understand; but I could perceive what a command he has over the minds of his devoted followers. But it is not merely as the celebrator of the rites of Divine Worship that he is dear to his flock; he is their companion, the mitigator of their calamities, the soother of their afflictions, the trustee of their hearts, the repository of their secrets, the guardian of their interests, and the sentinel of their death-beds. A peasant is dying—in the midst of the winter's night, a knock is heard at the door of the priest, and he is told that his parishioner requires his spiritual assistance—the wind is howling, the snow descends upon the hills, and the rain and storm beat against his face; yet he goes forth, hurries to the hovel of the expiring wretch, and taking his station beside the mass of pestilence of which the bed of straw is composed, bends to receive the last whisper which unloads the heart of its guilt, though the lips of the sinner should be tainted with disease, and he should exhale mortality in his breath.

Gentlemen, this is not the language of artificial declamation—this is not the mere extravagance of rhetorical phrase. This, every word of this, is the truth—the notorious, palpable, and unquestionable truth. You know it, every one of you know it to be true; and now let me ask you can you wonder for a moment that the people should be attached to their clergy, and should follow their ordinances as if they were the injunctions of God? Gentlemen, forgive me, if I venture to supplicate, on behalf of your poor tenants, for mercy to them. Pardon them, in the name of that God who will forgive you your offences in the same measure of compassion which you will show to the trespasses of others. Do not, in the name of that Heaven before whom every one of us, whether landlord, priest, or tenant, must at last appear—do not prosecute these poor people: don't throw their children out upon the public road—don't send them forth to starve, to shiver, and to die. For God's sake, Mr. Fitzgerald, and for your own sake, and as you are a gentleman and a man of honour, interpose your influence with your friends, and redeem your pledge. I address myself personally to you. On the first day of the election you declared that you would deprecate all persecution by the landlords, and that you were the last to wish that harsh and vindictive measures should be employed. I believe you—and now I call upon you to redeem that pledge of mercy, to fulfill that noble engagement, to perform that great moral promise. You will cover yourself with honour by so doing, in the same way that you will share in the ignominy that will attend upon any expedients of rigour. Before you leave this country to assume your high functions, employ yourself diligently in this work of benevolence, and enjoin your friends with that eloquence of which you are the master, to refrain from cruelty, and not to oppress their tenants.

Tell them, sir, that instead of busying themselves in the worthless occupation of revenge, it is much fitter that they should take the

political condition of their country into their deep consideration. Tell them that they should address themselves to the Legislature and implore a remedy for these frightful evils. Tell them to appeal to the men, in whose hands the destiny of this great empire is placed, to adopt a system of conciliation and of peace, and to apply to Ireland the great canon of political morality, which has been so powerfully expressed by the poet—'*pacis imponere morem.*' Our manners, our habits, our laws must be changed. The evil is to be plucked out at the root. The cancer must be cut out of the breast of the country. Let it not be imagined that any measure of disfranchisement, that any additional penalty, will afford a remedy. Things have been permitted to advance to a height from which they cannot be driven back.

Protestants, awake to a sense of your condition. Look round you. What have you seen during this election? Enough to make you feel that this is not mere local excitation, but that seven millions of Irish people are completely arrayed and organised. That which you behold in Clare, you would behold, under similar circumstances, in every county in the kingdom. Did you mark our discipline, our subordination, our good order, and that prophetic tranquillity which is far more terrible than any ordinary storm? You have seen sixty thousand men under our command, and no hand was raised, and not a forbidden word was uttered in the amazing multitude. You have beheld an example of our power, the almost miraculous sobriety of the people. Their lips have not touched that infuriating beverage to which they are so much attached, and their habitual propensity vanished at our command. Will you think you of all this? Is it meet and wise to leave us armed with such a dominion? Trust us not with it; strip us of this appalling despotism; annihilate us by concession; extinguish us with peace; disarray us by equality; instead of angry slaves, make us contented citizens; if you do not, tremble for the result."

The Catholic Association was a marvellous body and marvellous was the genius that formed and fashioned and kept it together. There never was a political body so fitly representing the country on behalf of which it professed to act. While disclaiming a representative character or delegating functions of any kind, in compliance with a very stringent law; and comprising the whole nation in theory though in substance it was a Dublin Committee; the whole country obeyed it punctually and uncomplainingly, for the simple reason that it did in reality represent the country; and that the latter could really consider itself bound in conscience by the decisions of this central body. But for all that we are not to forget of what materials that body was composed, what diversity of temper, what repugnant counsels, what antagonistic elements of every kind it unavoidably embraced, and how effectually O'Con-

kept them in harmonious action by the exercise of a vigorous and despotic repression which he had nevertheless the art to disguise as liberty, and make amiable as such. He had to deal with a people that had often been unanimous but never harmonious ; whose individuals, unless under pressure of the severest description, exhibited repulsion the moment they were brought into contact ; whose history is a homily upon the evils of division, and who if left to themselves would certainly never have united. And yet for forty years by the bare force of his will, without any outward appliance of power, through the instrumentality of that association or some of its offshoots, he ruled that people with the simplicity, the unity, and the dispatch of absolute authority, wielded it as a single weapon, achieved with it victories of the most unlikely kind, and but that the famine, his own decline and death supervened, was on the eve of victories more astonishing yet ; for had the revolution of 1848 found O'Connell in the plenitude of his influence, and the Irish people in the robustness of its strength, the multitude of its numbers and the compactness of its organization such as he had lately ruled it ; we should have seen the legislative union substantially if not formally repealed, or else changes in the constitution and government of Ireland so radical and organic as the wildest speculation could not dream of now.

The Catholic Association was the model of every political association that followed or in all probability that is destined to follow in these countries ; but the failure of the most powerful of them all, the Repeal Association, and of the abortive swarms that succeeded it, is a proof that however excellent the instrument, it required the master's hand to deal with it. The bow of Ulysses was stubborn and unmanageable to the stoutest of the pretenders, and events have proved that the combined and harmonious action of the Irish people depended on their leader, for no association, however small or sectional, has been able to keep together in its integrity for six months since O'Connell's death. In the working of that mighty engine, the Association as it is emphatically called, Sheil, we have already observed, held the second place. Mr. M'Cullagh therefore, it seems to us, might with advantage have gone more at large into the history of that body, for its history is inseparably connected with that of Sheil, and we think too that had he made more copious extracts from his speeches previous to

1829, the effect would have been more striking and the interest more sustained; but everything considered we have reason to be satisfied with Mr. McCullagh's labours. He has written in a friendly spirit the history of one who took the foremost part in a struggle that was national in the best sense of the word, and who belonged to literature no less than to Ireland. He has succeeded to a great extent in vindicating his memory not so much from direct imputation, (a comparatively easy task) but from the obscure and impalpable hostility of what are called impressions, that offer nothing to grapple with, and are consequently almost invincible. He has caught the features of a peculiar and interesting epoch, he has given them permanence, and set before us a career which we should not wish to see emulated generally, but in which there is something to imitate, much to admire, a great deal to excuse, and many an instructive lesson. He has written faithfully, moderately, and with animation. The work has been generally successful in England, and we wish it could be said, that some of the principles for which the distinguished subject of the biography contended were still as vigorous and popular as formerly, but we fear it is not so.

From causes, or alleged causes, into which it is not our province nor our wish to enter, the principles of rational liberty, whether civil or religious, seem to have lost ground in England. Unless it be looked to in time, the main struggle will be not between Conservatives and Liberals, but between obstructives and levellers; between those who resist all reform and those who are the enemies of any rule; and as to religious liberty, the various acceptations of the word as supplied from public meetings and parliamentary debates, will inevitably be the death of future scholiasts, when English becomes a learned tongue; and Mr. Macaulay's Traveller from New Zealand takes his stand upon the broken arch of London Bridge to sketch the ruins of St. Paul's.

Meanwhile, according to our view of Sheil's life and times they should be a warning to men of genius, who either through modesty or faintheartedness, contract the horizon of their ambition, bartering future greatness for small but early advancement, and satisfied with the *αλεγεινὰ φιλονεικίᾳ*, when a little longanimity might elevate them to eminence, the ascent to which is always less steep than it appears. How many intended for different things, fascinated by the glitter of a



showy appointment, or charmed by the distance that lends enchantment to a third rate embassy, give up their own future, and perhaps a future still more important. The obvious duty of those who have at heart peace and civilization properly understood, is not to film the sores of the commonwealth, but to cut deeply and cautiously ; not to compromise their principles, but not to exaggerate them ; not to let their ambition overleap itself, but still less to qualify and dwarf it ; above all things, when reasonably conscious of worth, and qualified by services to resent subaltern advancement as more odious than exclusion, and condescending patronage as the most intolerable variety of insolence—to have faith in the triumph of right, but not to set faith above works ; and whatever they may win by concession, never to look upon any thing as quite secure that they have not been able to enforce. If there were somewhat of this spirit in all parties, we should have better hope for the country. It is hardly to be expected in Ireland, where public opinion never perhaps had a secure footing ; but we have at least this consolation in reading Sheil's memoirs, that whatever be the faults of the Irish people, and they are many ; whatever be their follies, and they are not to be denied ; the country that is susceptible of so perfect an organization, and so uniform an action as were communicated to it by O'Connell and Sheil, will always be capable of great things under great men. But it would be a fatal mistake to trust to the turning up of a great man. Ireland must for years to come, and probably always, be more under the dominion of personal influence than other portions of the Empire, and while a heavy responsibility is thus thrown upon those whoever they may be from whom that influence emanates, and particularly upon her governors ; it will be all the more necessary for those who are conscious of worth, to cultivate in themselves the qualities of self-respect and self-reliance, that will enable them to exercise, with dignity and effect, whatever influence they may derive from high position or commanding talents. The man that can save us from our own contempt will be a great deliverer ; for people seldom are wrong when they despise themselves, and they cannot earn their own respect without commanding that of others.

## ART. IX.—REFORMATORY SCHOOLS FOR IRELAND

*Thirty-Third Report of the Inspectors-General on the General State of the Prisons of Ireland, 1854. With Appendix.*  
Presented to Both Houses of Parliament, by Command of Her Majesty. Dublin: Thom and Sons, 1855.

I am of opinion, writes one who was intimately acquainted with his subject, and who to great experience added the earnestness of a Christian and the thoughtfulness of a philosopher, "That most effectually to carry out the objects of imprisonment, and that at the least cost to the country, and with the nearest approach to justice in the apportionment of the cost, it is requisite that the whole power and duty of providing, regulating prisons be placed in the hands of Government. Of the wisdom and truth of this opinion expressed by Frederic Hill no more patent proof could be afforded than that furnished by the able, careful, and elaborate *Report* before us. Wherever good can be traced it springs from Government intervention; where blunderings and errors produce evil all have their origin in those fruitful sources of mischief, Grand Jury stupidity and the incapacity of local management.

Commencing with that important topic, the number of criminals in all Prisons on certain days in each year, and taking the period of five years, from January 1st, 1850, to January 1st, 1855, we find a gradual but steady decrease. Thus in January 1850, the numbers were 10,967; whilst in January 1855, they had declined to 5,080, being a decrease, in the last year, of 675 from the year 1854 and from the year 1850, 5,887.

The following table will show the abstract, distributed by the Provinces, of the Committals during the years 1853 and 1854, with the sexes:—

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\* See "Crime, its Amount, Causes, and Remedies." By Frederic Hill, Barrister-at-Law, Late Inspector of Prisons. London: Murray, 1853, p. 368.



	" 1853.		1854.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Ulster, . . .	5,026	3,135	5,581	2,966
Munster, . . .	15,601	8,091	12,041	7,055
Leinster, . . .	17,694	17,477	14,270	15,063*
Connaught, . . .	3,571	1,824	2,850	1,169
Total, . . .	42,492	30,527	34,192	26,253
Gross Total . . .	73,019		60,445"	

Referring to this table, the Inspectors-General remark :—

"The relative proportion of females in the foregoing table, we regret to state, has advanced to 43·4 per cent; that of 1853 having been only 41·8, an advance, which is the more to be lamented, because, in the majority of our Gaols the department assigned to prisoners of this sex rarely contains one third of the entire accommodation. We have frequently endeavoured to impress upon the local authorities the policy of combating this evil, and we cannot venture to entertain hopes of any amelioration, until fitting provision for carrying out stringent discipline shall be furnished."

Another error in local management is that glaring one which gives to the prisoner a better description of food than that furnished by the Union Workhouse; and thus young paupers are led to prefer the Gaol to the Poor House as an asylum—the allowance in the Gaols exceeding that of the Poor Houses, by 3 oz. of meal and 2 oz. of bread daily.

With these inducements to select the Gaol as a home, it can hardly surprize one that re-committals should swell the returns. But the evil does not end here. There is little effort made to introduce Separation, Industrial Training, or School Teaching. We first insert the observations of the Inspectors-General :—

"Our gaols at present comprise 4,762 single cells, 409 other cells, and 476 rooms furnished with beds; the two latter, as their name implies, being allocated exclusively to 'associated' imprisonment. Of the single cells, however, there are but 3,323 of the foregoing size, or which contain in the aggregate the same number of cubic feet, the remainder being of lesser capacity. Again, of the 409 double cells, there are 77 capable of subdivision into two or more, whose space would be equivalent to the above measurement. Some additional accommodation, though to an inconsiderable extent, might, doubtless, be further obtained by the conversion of the day

\* These figures include the City of Dublin committals—viz :—  
To Richmond Bridewell—Males . . . 7,287  
To Grangegorman—Females . . . 10,468 } 17,775.

rooms into similar cells, inasmuch as under the separate system all rooms would no longer be required; the congregation of prisoners being especially forbidden, so that the total of cells applicable to the establishment of the separate system would, probably, on the most favorable calculation, fall short of 4,000. In stating the above number of *single* cells to be *applicable* to the separate system, we must not be understood to convey that the whole of them, or that even the majority, are now prepared, or about to be prepared, for effecting this desirable object, the actual amount of 'separation' being very limited. In our reports upon the several gaols we have adopted a species of classification for ascertaining the gradations of the system, which we divide into 'complete,' 'partial,' and 'approximative.'

By 'complete' we understand the maintenance of it throughout all the criminal classes in its integrity, according to the prescription of the 3rd and 4th Vic., chap 44; by 'partial,' the establishment of it under similar regulation in one or more sections; the remainder of the gaol being administered on the plan of 'association,' subject of course to the classification directed by the old 'Prisons' Act, and by 'approximative' we signify that every effort is made to prevent intermixture, and undue communication, such as keeping a prisoner apart not only at night in a single cell, but during meals, and at the periods allocated to punitive and industrial labour, by attaching separate compartments to the tread-wheel, and by constructing stalls in the yards, workshops, laundries, and lavatories. 'Complete separation' is in operation, or about to be immediately enforced, in the annexed gaols only, viz.:—those of the counties of Antrim, Armagh, Kilkenny, and Louth.

'Partial separation' is carried out in those of Carlow, Down, King's, Roscommon, Sligo, Tyrone, and Westmeath.

'Approximate separation' in those of Clare, Cork, (County City), Dublin City (at Richmond Bridewell and Grangegorman Penitentiary), Fermanagh, Kildare (at Naas), Limerick County, Londonderry, Tipperary (at Clonmel), Wexford, and Wicklow. That of the forty-two gaols under our inspection, there are not more than nineteen which are wholly without any modification of the paramount principle of discipline.

Productive employment and instruction in trades are carried on with systematic activity in the gaols of Antrim, Armagh, Clare, Cork (County), Dublin City (at Richmond Bridewell), Kerry, King's, Limerick, Queen's, Tipperary (North Riding, at Nenagh), and Tyrone.

They are also maintained to a lesser extent in the prisons of Carlow, Dublin County, Dublin City (Grangegorman), Cork (City), Down, Fermanagh, Leitrim, Tipperary (South Riding, at Clonmel), Waterford (County), Westmeath, and Wexford.

Lastly, a certain amount of industrial labour, although inconsiderable, is found in the gaols of Cavan, Galway (County), Kildare (at Athy), Londonderry, Longford, Louth, Mayo, Meath, Monaghan, Sligo, Waterford (City), and Wicklow; but in the remainder it is

scarcely be said to exist, at least to such a degree as to produce remunerative results, or to provide prisoners with the means of earning their bread upon their discharge."

In addition, the Inspectors-General add that there is—

"A want of care and conscientiousness generally exhibited in the appointment of turnkeys; no regard being paid to the selection of persons who have been trained in handicrafts, or who are at least possessed of an aptitude for teaching the rudiments of such as are easily learned, and are of ready applicability—tailoring and shoemaking, for instance—even if no further proficiency should be acquired than is necessary for mending and repairing. In some counties the High Sheriffs have, with laudable liberality and a sense of public duty, placed the nomination of such officers at the disposal of the Boards of Superintendence; but in the majority the exercise of mere favouritism, without any consideration of fitness, prevails to such an extent as to render it essential to the well-being of prisons that this patronage should be transferred by the legislature to the body charged with and responsible for the due administration."

Pitiable, however, as these facts may be, they are exceeded, in the absurdity of mismanagement, by the details of the provisions for school teaching. It appears that the trained teachers are, in many cases, "not selected solely for educational purposes, but are compelled to fulfil also the duties of discipline officers; and thus little difference exists generally as to intellectual fitness between the two classes of instructors—namely, turnkeys, who are moderately qualified to teach, and such schoolmasters as are ready to undertake, at low salaries, the custody and supervision of prisoners."

Any of our readers who know what the duty of a schoolmaster is; any who can understand that for all purposes of reformation the schoolmaster is only second, if not fully equal, to the Chaplain, will know how to value the system of teaching carried out in these gaols: but to add to the record of the other absurdities of this absurd method of management, the Inspectors-General state, "in the report upon one of our county gaols, for the past year, it is noticed with reprobation, that an assistant matron, in the female department, had been advertised for, to perform the anomalous duties of *schoolmistress and superintendent of lunatics*."

The section of the Report, referring to this subject of education, recommends, we are rejoiced to find, that for secular instruction all the Prison Schools should be placed under the superintendence of the National Board, and that in addition to

the occasional examinations to be held by the Nation Inspectors, the Chaplains should be bound, from time to time at unexpected periods, to test the accuracy of the records advancement: this course is already enforced by bye-laws some of the best administered prisons.\*

In thus condensing the facts, recorded by the Inspectors the general condition of our gaols, we have placed before the reader some of the proofs on which we rely in support of our assertion, that Ireland requires most urgently the speedy establishment of Reformatory Schools for juvenile offenders. If our gaols are unsuited for adults, they are surely unsuited for juveniles; the turnkey who, in theatrical phrase, "double the part with that of schoolmaster,—and the female superintendent of lunatics who devotes her unemployed hours to school teaching, are little calculated to win and train the "City Arab to virtue; to watch every sign of awakened nature; to catch and note every phase of disposition amongst the INDIVIDUALIZED young offenders; "to snatch," as Channing said, "every child from perdition, and awaken in him the spirit and energy of a man;" to consider each young prisoner as a child who has been mis-reared, not as a criminal who has out-raged society. If such officers cannot achieve these great things, and the legislature which permits their appointment belongs to that class well described by M. Demetz when he wrote, "I'l est des systèmes qui ne réalisent rien, mais c'est parce qu'ils imaginent l'impossible."

\* Amidst all the vexing blunders, there is one Table in the Report to which we can look with satisfaction; it is that which shows the numbers and sexes committed during the years 1853 and 1854: it is as follows:—

	1853.		1854.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Felony,	5,013	3,222	4,250	2,811
Petty Larceny, &c. (Summary),	7,312	4,539	5,734	4,141
Misdemeanants,	14,097	8,902	11,554	8,011
Under Revenue Laws,	367	154	271	91
Under Poor Law Act,	1,643	475	1,084	281
By Courts-Martial and Deserters,	182	—	236	—
Under Vagrant Act,	7,031	7,653	4,892	6,021
Drunkards,	6,514	5,350	5,823	4,651
Lunatics under the Act for Insanity,	333	232	348	221
Total	42,492	30,527	34,192	26,251

We know that the question of juvenile reformation is, as yet, very imperfectly understood in Ireland; and many very worthy people consider that the gaol is a proper place for young offenders, and that the establishment of a Reformatory is but the day dream of a philanthropist. Yet the question is one of too great and deep importance to be thus evaded, and with the facts appearing in the report before us, and considering the urgent appeal for some better system of juvenile management, than that of the common gaol, made by the Inspectors, we are relieved from every anxiety as to the opinions on this question held by these whose duties make them best acquainted with all the defects of our present arrangements, and of the course adopted in the cases of juvenile criminals.

During the year 1854, the numbers, ages, and sexes of those committed and convicted, whose ages did not exceed sixteen years, were as follows: ten years, and under, 677 males, 367 females: sixteen years, and above ten, 7,517 males, 2,225 females; giving a total, for the year, of 8,194 males, and 2,592 females, or a grand total of 10,786 persons committed, whose ages did not exceed 16 years. These totals, compared with the committals of 1853, show a decrease of 2,552; but the following table of recommittals is most important, as it proves that although the positive number of criminals may decrease, yet, that with a very large number, imprisonment in ordinary gaols has had no effect in checking crime:—

	10 Years and under.		16 Years and above 10.		Total Males.	Total Females.	Gross Total, Males and Females 1854.
Twice Imprisoned -	M. 34	F. 28	M. 679	F. 173	713	301	914
Three times do. -	M. 19	F. 9	M. 337	F. 94	356	103	259
Four times do. -	M. 4	F. 5	M. 166	F. 53	171	58	229
Five times do. and upwards -	M. 20	F. 31	M. 369	F. 109	389	140	429
Total -	M. 79	F. 73	M. 1,450	F. 429	1,529	503	
Gross Total, Males and Females -	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,0

This table shows a decrease of recommittals, as compared with 1853, of only 181; and, when considered, in conjunction



with the following table of sentences passed, in 1853 and 1854, on young criminals whose ages did not exceed 16 years, we are enabled to comprehend the folly, and unwisdom of the policy which incite justices, or judges, to inflict such sentences of imprisonment on offenders of this class, at an early age :—

	Gross Total Males and Females, 1853.	Gross Total Males and Females, 1854.
One Month - - -	3,043	2,449
Fourteen Days - - -	3,824	3,319
Seven Days - - -	1,890	1,205
Forty-eight Hours - - -	516	379
Twenty-four Hours - - -	276	254
Unlimited - - -	539	34
Total - - -	10,088	7,640

What could the vast majority of these children, committed for a month or fourteen days do, but return to their haunts of vice when released from the gaol, to be again brought before the magistrate and again committed to the gaoler's custody? The Poor Law Union Officers are not bound, as they should be, to exercise a surveillance over these little outcasts: parents have none, or worse than none, and thus from year to year they grow in sin, till vice swells into crime, and a life of repeated committals and prosecutions, for which the country pays, they are finally quartered upon the nation, as Convicts at Penal Labor.

We do not exaggerate in thus declaring against such imprisonments; we can expect no reformation under the present system, and their necessary consequence, when passed in a common gaol, is recommittal. It cannot be otherwise, whilst the young offender is looked upon but as a strayed animal, and whilst the prison is considered but as a pound in which he is locked for safe-keeping. That recommitments should result from such a system as this none can feel surprized who consider the import of the following table of the condition, as to parents of juveniles not over sixteen years of age committed during the years 1853 and 1854 :—

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	10 Years and under.		16 years and above 10.		Total Males and Females.	Total Males and Females.
	M.	F.	M.	F.	1854.	1853.
Without Parents -	129	29	2,569	517	3,254	1,909
Abandoned by Parents	30	2	400	68	480	461
Abandoned from Parents -	9	6	429	109	553	425
Without Father -	66	141	1,398	597	2,202	1,274
Without Mother -	53	18	899	267	1,237	793
Step-Children -	10	8	233	45	296	250
Illegitimate -	10	9	67	21	97	113
Gross Total, Males and Females -	—	—	—	—	8,129	5,125

Referring to this table, and to that already given showing the number of recommitments, the results, the Inspectors-General add most truly, "would indeed furnish grounds for grave anxiety, if we did not see in them irrefragable arguments for the intervention of the State, which, we trust, will not long be withheld, in behalf of those who are thus bereft of natural protection, or have become from other causes destitute of necessary care and supervision."

Truly may the officers of government write thus; strongly are they bound to do so when they find, and reported so long ago as 1850,—in the "Richmond Female Penitentiary, at Grangegorman, that *the almost incredible total of 2,178 commitments was represented by only 26 individuals, one having been imprisoned no less than 121 times.*"

Referring to these facts and figures, the Inspectors-General add:—

"In our Report for 1852, while analyzing the returns of juvenile offenders, we pointed out the striking fact, that on a comparison of the second class of ages, namely, from sixteen to twenty-one years, with the first, which embraces those at and under sixteen years, the former exceeds the latter by nearly three times the amount; so certain is the progress of corruption, and so rapid the expansion of the springs of crime into a wider and stronger stream of depravity. According, however, to the laws now in operation, this total, consisting as it does of a multiplication of the same figures, is as costly as if it were composed of units, each standing for a separate delinquent, there being obviously no difference either in the expenditure or the requirements of a gaol, whether *one* of its cells be occupied by *ten* individuals, *consecutively*, or by *one* recommitted *ten times*, provided that the sum of such several and respective imprisonments embraces the same period of time.

We conceive it then to be a matter of fair and sound calculation that if in the noviciate effective means were taken to repress guilty tendencies, the second category alluded to before, which itself, it must be further remembered, contains the germ of numerous delinquencies, and of far deeper wickedness, would be diminished, if not totally effaced. Such means would be afforded by reformatory institutions, brought to bear upon those who have already entered the primary category; but assuredly, public opinion and interest demand that they *should not be suffered to enter it at all*, and that they should be arrested at the first step in the downward path of destruction. To this great social object ragged schools, preventive establishments, and refuges are directed; but, although the opinion is largely entertained among those who have exhibited praiseworthy zeal, and who have taken a prominent position in the reformatory movement that private beneficence should be left almost entirely free in its action, a certain amount of control and guidance appears to be called for, in order to produce an uniform simultaneous co-operation towards the common end; and we trust therefore, that the assistance of the state may be accorded forthwith in support of the efforts to be made on the part of local bodies and combinations of individuals. If, then, these views be correct, these results may be justly anticipated, we are entitled, setting aside for the moment all higher considerations, to assert that on the ground of economy alone, a great and lasting benefit would accrue from the adoption of such an alteration; because, against the original outlay must be set off not only the sum which would be required, as stated above, for enlarging our gaols, in accordance with the present measure of sentences, but the ultimate saving to be effected by preserving the incalculable amount of property annually destroyed or rendered valueless by the criminal classes, and in reducing the immense machinery of police, judicial process, and punishment both at home and abroad, which is now necessarily maintained."

After an analysis of the acts relating to the punishment of Juveniles, particularly of the English *Youthful Offenders' Act*, and referring to that statute, the *Report* is continued thus, and we beg the earnest attention of the reader to the important and wise suggestions contained in the passage which follows as an extract:—

"The principles laid down in the latter statute would appear to be in harmony with the views which have been gathering strength some years throughout the United Kingdom and in many countries on the Continent where this vital question has attracted public attention; and we should therefore earnestly desire to see them practically applied to institutions of a similar character in this country without binding ourselves to an entire concurrence in some of the collateral conditions—such, for instance, as the proviso that a youthful offender shall come within the scope of the Act who has not have undergone a sentence of imprisonment for at least *four days*, although it is unaccompanied by any requirement that a



imprisonment should be carried out in *strict separation*, an omission which, we submit, involves the danger of exposure to contamination, few of our gaols being furnished with sufficient accommodation and appliances for maintaining in its integrity this indispensable system of treatment in such circumstances; for we hold that mere confinement in a prison, in which the opportunities of intercourse and communication are strictly guarded against, would not affix the stigma of debasement and corruption, which, in the public mind are inseparable from the common association of offenders of different ages and grades of criminality. On the other hand, we would further remark that, although the clauses fastening responsibility upon the parents and step-parents of youthful delinquents, and chargeability for their maintenance would be found in this country to be almost a dead letter, in consequence of the wide-spread poverty prevailing among the classes from which our gaols derive their inmates, it seems highly desirable to retain them for application to the few cases in which they would be available.

This doctrine, however, of vicarious amenability, which has been recognised in our constitution since the reign of Alfred, might as was suggested by several of the witnesses examined before the Select Committee referred to in a former page, be rendered practically comprehensive by fixing the pecuniary liability upon the localities, whether parishes, poor law unions, baronies, or other territorial denominations; for, although it would be more desirable that the latter should be of such a limited extent as to enable those subject to the mulct to see and to feel that their exertions individually and collectively could be brought to bear with effect upon the moral condition of the occupants of the taxable area, yet it would be of great importance, both in point of economy and of facility in working, if the existing local divisions and machinery already in action could be adopted.

We have felt it our duty to offer these observations upon the presumption that at no distant period, legislation of a similar tendency upon this most important element of social amelioration, will be extended to this kingdom, inasmuch, as during the last session of Parliament, a sum of no less than £10,000 towards the establishment of a Juvenile Reformatory in Ireland, was voted in the Annual Estimates, which, unless it be determined to limit its advantages exclusively to those under sentence of transportation and penal servitude, would be nugatory if statutable powers were not obtained for consigning offenders of tender age to such institutions, and for regulating the terms of their admission, detention and discharge."

With these evidences before us, with the acknowledgements of the necessity for the establishment of Reformatories, made by the Officers of Government, recorded in the very Reports printed by authority of the State, it becomes a fair and open question—What species of Reformatory Schools are most adapted to Ireland; how can they be established so as to secure public confidence, and their ultimate success?

These are grave queries, comprising most momentous social problems ; and problems too which can only be resolved after earnest discussion by men whose duties or whose professions make them fully acquainted with the whole bearings of this important question. We have, however, been favored with a copy of a draft bill, for the establishment of Reformatories in Ireland, which appears to us eminently calculated to meet the difficulties of the subject, and we presume it is drawn up by persons who are acquainted with the difficulties of the question, as all the details seem well considered, and carefully embodied. We shall here insert the provisions of this Bill, premising that, in form, it is but a record of the principles which should be adopted in framing any Reformatory Bill intended to be useful in its results, and satisfactory in its working, in Ireland. The sections are as follows :—

**“ A BILL FOR THE BETTER CARE AND REFORMATION OF YOUTHS  
MALE OFFENDERS IN IRELAND.**

Whereas, Juvenile Crime prevailing to a considerable extent in Ireland, and frequent re-committals occurring, owing to the inapplicability of the ordinary discipline of Gaols to reform Young Offenders, it is deemed expedient that Reformatory Institutions be established in Ireland: Be it enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, as follows :

1. That it shall and may be lawful for the Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governor or Governors of Ireland, to erect buildings or to purchase buildings already erected, suitable for the purposes of Reformatories (said buildings to be situated in such localities as may seem most suitable and necessary) with such portions of land attached to each as may be deemed requisite : and it shall and may be lawful for the Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governor or Governors of Ireland, to order and direct the entire cost of erecting or purchasing said buildings, and of purchasing said land, to be advanced out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, to such person or persons as shall be nominated and appointed to receive same by the Lord Lieutenant or other Chief Governor or Governors of Ireland : and one half of the amount so advanced from the Consolidated Fund shall be repaid within a period of not less than thirty years from the time when the Reformatory Institution for which the said sums shall have been advanced, shall be completed and reported ready for occupation by the Inspector, to be nominated and appointed for that purpose by the Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governor or Governors of Ireland. And the said sums so advanced shall be divided into twenty-eight equal parts, which shall be repaid in twenty-eight equal annual payments, the first annual payment to be made after the completion of the twenty

fourth month from the time at which the Report of the Inspector as aforesaid shall bear date, and shall be chargeable upon the counties from which Young Offenders shall have been sent to such Reformatory, and shall, at the Assizes next ensuing, be Presented for by the Grand Juries of the respective counties from which such Young Offenders shall have been sent to such Reformatory, and the Superintendent of such Institution shall cause lists to be kept of the names and numbers of the Young Offenders committed to such Reformatory, with the dates of the Committals, and a proportional part of the said monies to be annually repaid to the Consolidated Fund as aforesaid, shall be charged against the rates of said County, whence such young Offenders shall have been committed to said Reformatory, and same shall be presented for by the Grand Jury of said County at the Assizes next ensuing, and the amount shall be paid to said Superintendent as aforesaid."

It will be perceived, that by this first section, all hope of the success of the voluntary principle in Ireland, in supporting Reformatories, is abandoned; and we think wisely; for if rich England permits the closure of Stretton-on-Dunsmore, after its thirty years of admitted usefulness; if it permits the all but bankruptcy of Mr. Nash's Institution; if it throws Saltley and Hardwicke for their main support upon the private fortune of Mr. Adderley and Mr. Baker, surely poor Ireland cannot be considered capable of keeping open, by means of voluntary contribution, the number of Reformatories capable of receiving our Juvenile Criminals.

The provisions of this section are founded upon the third and fourth sections of the first and second, G. IV. c. 33., known as the Irish Lunatic Asylums Act, but all the provisions of this section are so intimately bound up with those of the fourth, that we defer further observations upon them, until we shall discuss those of the latter section.

We now proceed to the second section, which is as follows:—

"II. The Reformatories shall be set apart for the exclusive reception of the Professors of the Protestant or of the Roman Catholic Religions respectively; and all Offenders committed to a Reformatory shall be considered as belonging to the same religious persuasion as that professed by their parents; and in all cases in which the religion of the parent is unknown, the young person committed shall be considered as belonging to that religious persuasion of which he professes himself a follower."

The provisions of this section, it must be admitted by all who know the state of religious feeling in Ireland, are strictly requisite in any such Bill as that before us, if it be intended to secure public confidence for the measure. But indeed the

authority of Mettray is in favor of the principle herein contained. Roman Catholics form as large a proportion of the great body of criminals, compared with Protestants, in Ireland as in France, for the simple reason, that those of the former religion are more exposed to temptation, and are the vast majority of the population. Besides, if further proof of the necessity for this rule and of good sense were needed, it is furnished by our esteemed friend Mr. Recorder Hall, who, in his admirable Lecture on Mettray, informs us—"all the colonists at Mettray are Roman Catholics, but this is only to avoid the inconvenience of mixing children of different persuasions. M. le Comte de Gasparin, president of the Society, is himself a Protestant; children of that faith are sent to a Protestant colony at Sainte Poy."

It may be objected to this section, that it is in direct contravention of the principles of the Irish System of National Education: none admire that system more earnestly than ourselves, and did we consider the objection founded in truth, we would at once oppose the section as being a check upon the progression and full developement of the greatest legislative boon ever conferred upon Ireland. But it is not opposed to it. By the National System religion is made the companion of literature and science; it is combined with the system, so that those who have never fallen into crime may learn that the avoidance of crime and the love of virtue are the greatest duties of life; but in the Reformatory School all have fallen into crime, and most require to be taught what virtue is. In the National School the knowledge, and the acceptance of God's law, are taken as admitted rules of conduct; in the Reformatory School the ignorance of this law, or knowledge of it warped from its true position, as the rule of duty, must be considered as the great difficulty to be encountered; yet in this same school religion must be made the basis and the end all of every hope of reformation,—it must be the lever to raise the "Home Heathen" to the knowledge of his merciful omnipotent Father.

As to the absurdity of objecting that this section would encourage and acknowledge the teaching of what some would mean but thoughtless people call "Popery," the objection is simply ridiculous. Ireland is, in numbers, a Roman Catholic country; the vast mass of its criminal population must necessarily be of that religion, or they must have learned so much of it as to make them totally incapable of be-

reformed through the medium of any other faith. It should also be borne in mind, that for a long series of years paid Roman Catholic Chaplains have been appointed to all our Prisons, and in the justice of this arrangement for Ireland, our good friend and fellow countryman, the Rev. Henry Kingsmill, the excellent Chaplain of Pentonville Prison, agrees, even whilst contending most vigorously, in his letter addressed, on the appointment of a Roman Catholic Chaplain to Pentonville Prison, to Lord Palmerston, against the adoption of the same principle in England.

Other considerations may be urged in support of this section. First, if young offenders of different creeds are sent to the same Reformatory, the system will entail a double set of Chaplains, possibly a double staff of officers for each Institution. Second, by combining the two religions in Protestant and Catholic "families" within the same Reformatory, we shall expose the Institution to all those disheartening, embarrassing, and unseemly sectarian squabbles, which at present disgrace the administration of our Poor Houses. Third, the combination of religions will lead to frequent disturbance of arrangements upon Roman Catholic holidays and fasting days. Fourth, the combination will produce distrust amongst the people in Ireland, who are but too apt to consider that all combination in such Institutions as Prisons and Reformatories is designed for the purpose of affording facilities for proselytism. Fifth, and most important of all, if it be admitted, as it must be, that religion is the great means of Juvenile Reformation, it becomes at once evident that owing to the great, wide, and important differences, between the externals of the two religions, the professors of them never can be placed together in Reformatories, if the peculiar means of Reformation afforded by each faith are to be employed effectively, and, at the same time inoffensively, to those of the opposite creed.

We are not unsupported, in these opinions here expressed upon this second section, by the perfect judgement of those in England who are best able to write with authority and weight of knowledge upon this important topic. Referring to the system of separation, as contemplated by the second section, one of the oldest, most able, and most clear-judging advocates of the Reformatory principle in England thus writes to us, replying to a query addressed by us to him, in requesting his opinion of the section :—



"I do not look upon the arrangement, as a boon to the professed of either creed, but as a boon to the state. The state is expending money to reform young offenders—the religion of those offenders may be made a potent engine for advancing the object. On the other hand, a religion which they have been taught to fear and hate, and the more contact with which will disunite them from those of their own communion, will retard the reformatory progress, instead of aiding it, and will prove an evil instead of a blessing.

I perfectly agree with you, that the two modes of faith are dissimilar and repugnant to each other in their eternal demonstrations that they ought to be kept widely apart. In the great Prison of the Murate at Florence, I observed an arrangement of altars, at which the prisoners could at all times of the day see the various elements of their worship before them, and I have no doubt that it has been found, by experience, an effect was produced on the minds of the prisoners by this religious apparatus. But all that is opposed to the feelings of Protestants, and would assuredly produce no salutary effect on prisoners of that faith.

Why then should the Protestant be subjected to the consoling sight of what would be likely to give him a scoffing turn, the pernicious direction in which his mind could move; or on the other hand, why should the Roman Catholic be deprived of that which would be a source of consolation to him in his misery."

The Third Section of the Bill is as follows:—

"III. Whenever, after the passing of this Act, any person under the Age of Fourteen years shall be convicted of any Larceny, or of any other more serious Offence than Larceny, either upon an Indictment or on Summary Conviction before any Judge, or any Police Magistrate of Dublin, or other Stipendiary Magistrate, or before Two or more Justices of the Peace, then and in every such case it shall be lawful for any Judge, Police Magistrate of Dublin, Stipendiary Magistrate, or any Two or more Justices of the Peace, before whom such Offender shall be convicted, in addition to the Sentence, (if any) then and there passed as a punishment for his Offence, to direct such Offender to be sent, at the Expiration of his Sentence, (if any) to a Reformatory and to be there detained for a period not less than two years, and not exceeding five years; but the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland may, at any time, order such Offender to be discharged."

Provided always, that in all cases in which any Young Offender shall be sentenced to imprisonment previous to committal to a Reformatory, such imprisonment shall be passed in Separate Confinement, in cells which shall have been duly certified by the Inspector General of prisons, according to the provisions and requirements of the 3rd and 4th Vic., Cap. 44."

The provisions of this section are, in great part, formed upon the second section of the 17th and 18th Vic. c. 86. (The English Juveniles Offenders' Act.) It was, however, thought necessary, considering the vast number of committals, that some minimum offence should be specified, otherwise the Reformatories would be swamped and overwhelmed by vagrants (not that the advocates of the Bill are ignorant of the fact, that vagrancy is incipient crime, but they felt that until a well-designed and stringent vagrant law shall be enforced in Ireland, vagrants must be excluded from the Reformatories.) The maximum age of the young offenders, it will be perceived, is fixed at fourteen years, this we presume was adopted as being in conformity with the English Act: but being anxious to learn the precise number of young offenders of the class contemplated, in Prison on a certain day, that thus some data might be counted upon in estimating the probable accommodation which might be required, we endeavour to procure the necessary returns, and through the attention of Captain Harvey, one of the Inspectors-General of Prisons in Ireland, we obtained the following important and valuable table:—

*Juveniles in Gaols in Ireland, for Larceny and higher Crimes, on 21st of April.*

PROVINCES.	14 years and under.		15 and 16 years.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Ulster - - -	30	5	28	10
Leinster . - -	42	8	66	23
Connaught . - -	25	1	20	5
Munster - - -	68	15	137	21
Total .	165	29	251	59
	194		310	

From this table it will be perceived that if at this moment Reformatories were opened in Ireland, we should only require accommodation for 165 young offenders, this being the number of males, fourteen years of age and under, confined for larceny

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and other more serious offences; and if we allow committals the like amount each year during the next five years, we should at the conclusion of that period, require accommodation 825; however, if we subtract from this number those likely to receive sentences of two years, we may reduce the accommodation required at the end of five years, to that capable of receiving about five hundred offenders. The proviso as to separate confinement is an improvement upon the English Act and is too reasonable to require observation.

The fourth section is as follows:—

“IV. Whenever, under the provisions of this act, any Young Offender shall be committed to a Reformatory, the cost of his support therein, and of all other charges, shall be borne by the Consolidated Fund; and half the amount so advanced by the said Fund shall be repaid to it annually by Presentment of the Grand Jury of the County, in which such Young Offender shall have been convicted, from the rates of the said county: but all payments made to the said Consolidated Fund by any county for the maintenance of such Young Offender as aforesaid, shall be considered as a Loan from the said County to the Guardians of the Electoral Division of the Poor Law Union, on which such Young Offender would have been chargeable as a Pauper, and may be recovered by the Treasurer of the County, from the said Poor Law Union, by an action for Money Lent, before the Assistant Barrister of the County in which said Electoral Division shall be situated.

Provided always, that the said Poor Law Union, or Electoral Division of the said Poor Law Union, shall be entitled to recover from the Parents, step Parents or Guardians of such Young Offender, all sums paid to the said county for the maintenance of said Offender in said Reformatory, if they shall be of ability to repay such sums at the period of the committal of such Young Offender, and for the recovery of same shall have all the remedies provided in the second section of an act passed in the tenth and eleventh years of her Majesty, entitled, *An Act to make Provision for the Punishment of Vagrants and Persons offending against the Laws in force for the Relief of the Destitute Poor in Ireland*: And if at any time during the detention of such Young Offender in such Reformatory the Parent, Step Parent or Guardian of such Offender shall become of ability to repay the whole or part of such sums, then the Guardians of the Poor of said Union shall be entitled to sue for and recover the same, as aforesaid.”

In our opinion this section, formed upon the provisions of the 44th section of the 1st and 2nd Vic., c. 56, the 2nd section of the 10th and 11th Vic., c. 84 (Irish Poor Law Acts), the 6th section of the 17th and 18 Vic., c. 86 (the English Youthful Offenders' Act), and on the 5th section of the 17

and 18th Vic., c. 74 (the Scotch Reformatory Schools Act,) is most excellent, reasonable, and necessary. The county is charged in the first instance with half the cost, but with a remedy over against the Electoral Division; the former arrangement is convenient, the latter is just, because, if the young offender be a pauper, it is only fair that the Electoral Division to which he may belong, and which neglected its duty of training him in the Workhouse, or of saving him from crime, by checking his vagrant habits, should support him when his vagrancy shall have made him a criminal. This is the principle of the Scotch Act; this is the principle contended for most ably in the April number of the *Edinburgh Review*; this is the principle urged upon the Legislature by the Inspectors-General of Prisons in the last paragraphs of their Report above quoted: it is the principle well expressed by Mr. Carleton Tufnell, in his Report on Parochial Union Schools, and quoted, with approbation, by Lieutenant-Col. Jebb, in his last Report on Convict Prisons in England, in the following passage:—

“Guardians are not always so open to considerations of ultimate as of immediate economy; and many a pauper who now, before his death, costs his parish 100*l.* or 200*l.* might have lived without relief, had a different education, represented perhaps by the additional expense of a single pound, been bestowed upon him in his youth. This is strictly retributive justice; and I think it would be good policy to increase its effect, and would give a prodigious stimulus to the diffusion of education, if the expense of every criminal, while in prison, were reimbursed to the country by the parish in which he had a settlement. What a stir would be created in any parish by the receipt of a demand from the Secretary of State for the Home Department for 80*l.* for the support of two criminals during the past year! I cannot but think that the locality where they had been brought up would be immediately investigated, perhaps some wretched hovels, before unregarded, made known, and means taken to educate and civilize families that had brought such grievous taxation on the parish. The expense of keeping criminals, as of paupers, must be borne somewhere; and it seems more just that it should fall on those parishes whose neglect has probably caused the crime than on the general purse.”

It will be observed, that whilst the Electoral Division is held responsible, the great principle of Parental Responsibility is not forgotten; and provision is made to meet even the case of a parent unable to pay at the period of committal but becoming of ability to do so previous to the liberation of his child; in which event he is bound to pay not alone

the future cost of maintenance, but also all arrears of expenses previously incurred.

We sincerely hope that if this Bill become law, no principle of this section shall be omitted, or weakened in effect. It will teach Poor Law Guardians that they cannot shirk the duty cast upon them of providing for the proper care of the young pauper, and it will show to parents that they cannot escape with impunity, if they neglect to watch over the conduct of their children. It places no extra burthen on the Union, which should support the young criminal as a pauper, and it justly relieves the county of his support in gaol.

The fifth section is framed upon the fourth section of the Juvenile Offenders' Act, and provides for the punishment of absconding or refractory juveniles.

The sixth section is formed upon the third section of the Scotch Reformatory Act, and provides that persons aiding or attempting to aid, in the escape of absconding juveniles, shall be committed for three months, with hard labor, to the common gaol of the county, on default of payment of a penalty not exceeding five pounds.

The seventh section is one of very great importance, and its provision cannot be too highly commended. They select efficient and worthy officers for the Reformatories, and thus afford a complete check to that favoritism which has been the bane of those mischievous and corrupt nominations so justly rebuked by the Inspectors-General in their Report of 1873. The section is as follows :—

“VII. All the Reformatories of Ireland shall be inspected by an Inspector or Inspectors, to be nominated and appointed by the Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governor or Governors of Ireland, and all Superintendents, Chaplains and other Officers of such Institutions shall be Appointed and Removed by the Lord Lieutenant as he may think fit; and every such appointment shall be probationary only, for a period of six months, and shall not be or become absolute until the said Inspector or Inspectors shall have certified in writing under their hands that the person so nominated is a fit, proper, and efficient person to be appointed to the office, the duties of which shall have been discharging in pursuance of such probationary appointment.

Provided always that all Officers of such Reformatories shall profess the Religion of those Young Offenders for whose reception the Institution shall be especially set apart, as by the second Section of this Act provided.”

The concluding sections, eight and nine, are these :—



VIII. All legal proceedings taken by any Reformatory shall be taken on in the name of its Superintendent, and all monies paid to such Institution shall be paid to the credit of its Superintendent for benefit.

All rules for the Management of Reformatories shall be made up by persons to be nominated and appointed by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and shall be approved by the said Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, before adoption into any Reformatory Institution.

We are fully aware that to the passing of this Bill it has been objected, that it contemplates a new demand upon the Consolidated Fund; and doubtless it does so, but in the end the drain upon that Fund will be lessened by the very thing here claimed; because, through the establishment of Reformatories, the increase of crime must be checked, and consequently the amount of accommodation required in our present Prisons must decrease; and with that decrease of expense will come a proportionate decrease of expenditure—for it must be remembered that the Consolidated Fund bears the entire cost of the support of all criminals sentenced to Penal Labor. By the reformation of the young offender, the country will be relieved from the cost of repeated convictions; from the expense of his prison support; from the expense of his corrupting example, and from the loss which his plundering inflict on the community. These are the worldly considerations and arguments supporting this measure, but a holy, and grave, and paramount argument is in the eternal wisdom of the Redeemer's warning—"Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to me."

We are not, however, without the means of calculating, approximately, the cost. In the year 1853, one of the Inspectors-General of Prisons, Mr. James Corry Connellan, was examined before the Committee of the House of Commons on Criminal and Destitute Children, and he gave the following important evidence on this point:—

"I have taken as a fair basis two of the county gaols of Ireland, in which I find that the daily average of prisoners was about this number in the year 1851. In the county of Galway gaol the daily average for the year 1851, was 404, and in the gaol of Nenagh, in the County of Tipperary, there were exactly 400. It is very remarkable that the total cost of each prisoner (we have no power of ascertaining the cost of juveniles as the never keep the account in detail, although it might be done in future) is £8. 14s. 10d. per head

in Galway, and £6. 14s. 4d. per head in Nenagh. The staff of officers in Galway is £1,130, and in Nenagh £ difference is created by the higher salaries of the governor and inspector in Galway. It must be recollected that the building. I presume that growing boys employed in a labour and worked hard would require a more generous diet, which is brought as low as is compatible with I think also you would require, if the reformatory establishments were carried out on the principle of Mettray, a larger staff at the two gaols I have named; I would therefore give each of the 400 boys, which would amount to £3,200. I the cost of the building; and here I am sure that I have most extravagant estimate, for building is very cheap in Ireland. I have put it at £10,000, but I really feel great certain state that the sum of £6,000 would be sufficient for the building, which necessarily would be very plain and simple. We will £10,000, and the interest of that amount, at four per cent, be £400.

4194. Mr. *Adderley*.] Including the purchase of the site and a rent for the land; I take 200 acres, at £1 per acre, £200.

4195. Mr. *J. Ball*.] Do you include the rent in the average per head?—No.

4196. Mr. *Fitzroy*.] You include nothing but diet in the £8 per annum, which represents the cost of the diet, and I will give £200 for clothing, so as to make a round sum of £4,000. If we take the labour of 50 weeks, striking off two weeks for interruption and illness, I put the worth of their labour at 6d. per day per week. I apprehend that, in the first instance, it would not be that amount; but that after the institution had been a year in operation, we might safely calculate upon that amount. At Mr. Senior's estimate, I profess to give £8 per annum as representing the earnings of the boys. These, by my calculation, would amount to £1,000, so that there would be a balance of £1,000 as against the cost of the building chargeable upon the State. I conceive that the estimate of the cost of the building is at least £4,000, too high, and that £140 (10 per cent.) might consequently be deducted from the £1,000.

These calculations are important, as they show the cost of the building requisite to carry out fully the Reformatory principle. The Government interposes; but, by the Bill before us, the cost and size of the Reformatories is left to the discretion of the Lord Lieutenant, and it is probable that, even allowing for the increased cost of all materials and of labor, the cost of the accommodation required, during the next five years

\* Mr. Senior, the Poor Law Commissioner, was examined before the same Committee, and agreed in all essentials with this statement made by Mr. Connellan: see the evidence of both gentlemen in *IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW*, Vol. IV, No. 16, pp. 1293-4.

stem not exceeding that estimated by Mr. Single Reformatory.

The system adopted at Hardwicke, by Mr. [unclear] as an experiment, the expense of maintenance reduced; and another admirable system from the Glasgow House of Refuge, an advantage inserted at page fifteen of our Record in number of this Review. But as the Hardwicke and supported by two Gloucestershire not so well known, we shall here condense, a little publications of these gentlemen, an institution; but we advise all who feel an Reformatory School question, to procure a Reformatory Schools, By T. Barwick Lloyd and at the Meeting of the British Association Sept. 26th 1854; meanwhile, we beg attending extracts from the pamphlets to which referred:—

52, we commenced with three boys from a distant All had been frequently previously convicted; all with; none of them could handle a spade. From added another and another, as we found that we had once over those already in hand; but as we were increase would be, we could only for the first cultivation of one acre, the produce of which of little in the diminution of our expense. Last though several of our boys were scarcely up to tured on six acres. Our land—an extremely stiff had never been even deeply ploughed—was hard for ys to dig, much harder, of course, than it is likely but our six acres were well worked, and our crops good testimony to the effects of spade husbandry. ten acres in hand, and probably should have been taken more. Next year we hope to increase it

ing, as our appeal to the county was liberally answered our buildings, which now consist of a cottage being fond of long names, we prefer the term man to whom something is given in charge—to that and his family. We have two rooms for the we have school room, and bed room for twenty a carpenter's shop, pigsties for at present sixteen free cows, and we are commencing some more pig-

But, should any one come to visit us, they must range of buildings of a high class of architecture. the bailiff, the schoolmaster, and the boys, are of the cheapest style of labourers' cottages; the carpenter's and cowhouses, and the future barn, are built by the





ing room for twenty boys allows only a space of about  
 ft. for each, leaving a narrow passage down the centre  
 little more than just room for their hammocks, on  
 a straw-stuffed bed, a pair of sheets, a blanket, and

and day room will only just accommodate the same  
 the only other buildings (except the wooden cattle  
 shed by the bailiff and boys) are a cottage for the  
 family, two small rooms for the master, all commun-  
 ity-day room and dormitory of the boys, a small dairy,  
 all alluded to before.

consists of skim-milk, bread, (about ten ounces at  
 which it forms the main part) vegetables, rice, cheese,  
 small quantities three times a week (about four oun-  
 ces each boy,) and occasionally about half-a-pint of  
 and a little tea and butter on Sundays.

dress is a suit of cord, the jacket replaced on work-  
 short smock of duck, worn over the sleeve waist-

work, except during the darkest months of winter,  
 the shorter, begins at half-past six, half an hour  
 for rising, making beds, &c., and ends at five, two  
 quarters being deducted for meals and morning prayers.  
 employment is digging (for which the spade is found  
 though not so easy as the fork, the most thoroughly  
 employment), and other ordinary agricultural labour.  
 boys are employed in feeding, &c., the three cows and  
 work about the house, assisting in the cooking or  
 One who knew a little of that trade before he came,  
 employed as a tailor; and all are taught, as far as  
 making of common rough baskets, and knitting com-  
 mon stockings.

For those who are inclined to work well, and to secure  
 good conduct, a scale of rewards has been adopted (on the  
 plan of the Philanthropic Society's Farm School, at Red  
 bedding, in the highest instance, sixpence a week, and  
 deductions for infraction of any of the School rules:  
 earned being put to the boys' credit, or paid in *goods*,  
*luxuries at meals*. The degree of their diligence is  
 the bailiff, as it has been found difficult, as yet, to  
 efficient system of piece-working, owing partly to the  
 using their tools shown when they first come.

The amount of work which they are capable of perform-  
 ing is a return of lands cropped in the last two years, from  
 1852. It should be first remarked that, at that period,  
 more of the whole quantity had ever been dug at all;  
 of blue clay, had never been even deeply ploughed,  
 foul; and that autumn, from its excessive wetness,  
 was unfavourable for working any land at all. In that  
 the number of boys in the School varied from nine to  
 their help the bailiff put in and harvested the follow-

	A.	R.	P.		
Beans .....	1	0	1	Produce .....	25 Bushels.
Wheat .....	1	3	9½	" .....	58 "
Cabbage .....	0	3	37	" .....	2280 Plants.
Swedes .....	0	0	15	" .....	4½ Tons.
Parsnips .....					
Potatoes & Turnips	0	2	28	" .....	3½ Bags.
Mangold Wurzel	0	2	12½	" .....	1 Ton.
Leaving Fallow } dug over }	0	3	17	" .....	nil.
	6	0	0		

In the present season, since Michaelmas, 1853, the efficient number has been about fifteen; with their help he has or will be able to crop with—

	A.	R.	P.
Wheat .....	2	3	37½
Beans .....	3	0	0
Swedes .....	1	0	0½
Potatoes .....	0	0	37
Cabbages .....	0	3	0
Mangold Wurzel .....	0	3	17
Italian Rye Grass .....	0	1	37
Leaving Fallow .....	0	3	31½

besides having drained a considerable quantity at a depth of four feet.

4 This system of training fits the boys, as it is intended to do, for useful labourers on a farm. This is what the managers now hope to make of them, their design being to bind them to careful farmers for a term of years, receiving them back into the School if they do not give satisfaction upon trial. They are generally willing to go out, if present experience can be relied on, at the end of eighteen months or two years. In a few instances at that time, perhaps earlier, they might be safely allowed to return to their friends, who, though they had abandoned them before, are sometimes willing and ready to receive and provide for them, when they see the change which a residence in the School has worked upon them. But in general this seems unadvisable; and the power which the managers insist upon having of disposing entirely of the boys, even to the point of sending them if necessary to the Colonies (as they at first contemplated, before labour became so valuable as it is now) operates, even if not carried into effect, as a very salutary check on the desire both of parents and children for admission into the School."

"The quantity of land required we find to be about half an acre (of stiff clay) to a boy, but after it has been well dug for some years it will become lighter, and they can do more.

Our staff consists of Mr. Bengough and myself as managers. I live 12 miles from the school; I about one. He comes and spends a few days with me now and then (alas! very rarely). I, when

or two to spare (very rarely also), go over and look at  
ing, and have a chat with one or another. I should  
devote on an average four hours a week to looking on

Such are our arduous labours.

is a farmer used to superintending workpeople, who  
the boys as a warder would do, according to strict  
deviation from which he is liable to be complained of  
Magistrates, exacting a certain amount of work, and  
a certain amount of food; but he treats them exactly  
has taught him to treat his own workpeople, or his  
exacting what labour he sees that each can do, and  
what food he finds to be necessary to keep him in  
condition. We certainly are fortunate in our bailiff.  
gentle manner, with undeniable firmness. He will  
his opinion, which is usually worth having; but  
obey our orders; and, above all, his heart is in it.  
of the ease of our success is perhaps to be attributed  
so good a bailiff. But in these days, when farming  
ied on without a large capital, there is many a man to  
good plain education, good practical knowledge, and  
out with too small a capital to farm.

erson is the schoolmaster, and this I confess is a difficult  
We can find many schoolmasters who will take the  
nd of a school, and will cram their pupils, so as to gain  
n of the most fastidious examiner. But to find a man  
for two hours and a half per day—so short a time that  
be able to make them great scholars, fit to make a  
e can in fact believe and feel that the converting the  
y into good Christians is as useful and as honourable  
as that of giving ploughboys a correct knowledge of  
the antarctic circle; who has in fact not merely a  
t a good heart, *and that heart in this work*, is as yet a  
n to find. Still I believe that ere long the demand will  
y. Many a lad in our training schools is unable to  
examination required, and not obtaining a certificate  
rning, is disqualified for taking charge of a national  
many of these may have courage, coolness, discipline,  
the right place, and though they have failed in their  
yet, in such a line as ours, they may possibly make  
not less honoured men than others who have taken a  
ificate.

to the bailiff and schoolmaster we have also lately  
er at 1s. per week above labourer's wages, to work  
nd one of the gangs. He in all probability will in fact  
g, as he will earn his wages on the land, and with 36  
fence round them two superintendants are scarcely

racts are most useful, as they show what the cost  
e made, and the concluding observations, refer-  
School-master, are of the very chiefest importance,

and should be kept constantly in mind by all who manage Ireland, hereafter have the guidance of Reformatory Institutions. The Chaplain and the School-master are the *life* of Reformatories; they make or mar the success of the whole system; and where men possessing the great and noble qualities, so truthfully and earnestly indicated by Mr. Balfour as chaplains or as school-masters, they should be expected as men whose callings, high though they be, are yet considered worthy still greater esteem by the possession of all the qualities which constitute perfection in the respective avocations. In fixing the payment of such men they should be looked upon not as officers of a Reformatory, but as benefactors of the commonwealth; as men who save money for the State by taking a higher range of thought, save souls for heaven by awakening in each "City Arab" and "Home Heathen" the energy and spirit of a MAN."

Thus we have placed before our readers the whole of this question of Reformatory Schools for Ireland. It is for our Parliamentary representatives to say whether we shall have them—to the salvation of our young criminals, whether we shall have them not, to the increase of crime, to the increase of taxation.

If the reader doubt this assertion, we refer him to Nos. 12 and 13 of the present Quarterly Record, and he will find the admirable and eloquent speech of Mr. Recorder Hill, who discovered the true wisdom and economy of Reformatory Institutions, proved and explained with Mr. Hill's usual power and persuasiveness of thoughtful argument.

In conclusion, we would entreat the framers of any Reformatory Schools' Act for Ireland, to keep ever before them the principle of separation in religion, embodied in the 10th section of the Bill we have been discussing: they will be, if enlightened and well informed advocates of the Reformatory principle—they will do so if they mean to be true to the country, and towards those who have so earnestly worked out the principle in England. It is no interference with the noble system of National Education for Ireland which we think so, nay, if we did not *know*, the contrary to the fact, we would contend with all our power against the adoption of this section, in support of which we are now so earnest.

We have written that the arguments founded on the economy of the system are all in favor of Reformatory Institutions; but since we commenced the writing of

received a reprint of a very admirable letter, Mr. Joseph Sadler, formerly Chief Constable of Stockport, printed in *The Stockport Advertiser*, of April 1854, and which makes the matter clear. Addressing Mr. Sadler writes:—

"In supporting the projected establishment for juvenile reformation, you adduce several good and plausible reasons, and, amongst other grounds, you urge economy. And in consideration, on the present occasion, I shall confine myself to say it (the measure) 'must approve itself to the heart of every Christian and thoughtful individual; or to those who wish to lighten the national burthens, by a startling fact,—that criminal prosecutions have cost the country from £800 to £2,000 a year.' Now, if I am correct in this startling fact has reference to the cost of the same in this country, for one year—which, I think, is correct—permit me to inform your readers that the sum you have put below the mark. Indeed, I was doubting whether to reprint; but, however that may be, the following items will give a better idea than your own of what the real cost to this country, connected with criminal proceedings, police, &c.

Criminal Procedure in Cheshire for the Year ending September 29th, 1854.			
	£	s.	d.
Assizes.....	3,013	4	3
Prisons.....	8,090	14	5
Witnesses .....	840	4	6
Cost of the Court, &c .....	233	6	4
Expense, arraigning prisoners, &c.....	82	4	0
Magistrate's Salary .....	10	15	0
Juvenile Offenders .....	61	5	6
Expenses to Gaol. ....	930	6	7
Castle, same year .....	5,081	7	2½
Expense of Correction .....	13,134	3	11
Different parts of the County .....	1,937	7	6
Constabulary Rate .....	7,237	3	6½
Expenses in Boroughs and Towns within the jurisdiction of the city of Chester, Birken- head, Macclesfield, Congleton, and other places, will be quite as much (it is assumed) as the Constabulary Rate on the Cheshire Constabulary	7,237	3	6½

£49,639 6 3½

A sum of £49,639 6s. 3½d. was expended, within the year alone, during the year ending the 29th September 1854, on criminal prosecutions, gaols, and other bodies and officials connected with the criminal procedure of the various Courts within the county of Cheshire; nor, with the present system, is it likely that any less amount should be expended, by yourself



or any of your readers as to the correctness of these calculations and figures, I here hand you documents as vouchers, which not only furnish every particular item making up this vast array, but are of authority as you will at once perceive proves, beyond all doubt, veracity, and their own authenticity."

This is the evidence of one intimately acquainted with the subject before us, and to the weight of his evidence nothing can be added.

Much as we desire to see this Bill, which we have been considering, enacted; and highly as we esteem the good sense of its provisions, and their adaptability to suppress juvenile crime, yet we consider that the measure must lose half its effect if it be not backed and perfected by the extension in Ireland, of a rigid Lodging House Act, and one which may be *rigorously and unceasingly carried out* by the police. From the first Report of the Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland now before us, it appears that our young offenders pass from the Lodging House to the Gaol, from the Gaol to the Lodging House, and after a series of these changes in Cork, Dublin, Belfast and Limerick, the "City Arabs" are cast for support during four years penal servitude, upon the Consolidated Fund.\*

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\* This reference, in the Report of the Directors of Convict Prisons to the necessity for a Lodging House Act, reminds us of the unpleasant fact that the Model Lodging Houses established in Dublin have not so extensively used by the working classes as was hoped by the founders. In England it is otherwise, and amongst the philanthropic movements of the day one of the most remarkable is the establishment, in the village of Charlton Marshall, near Blandford, Dorsetshire, of a Club House intended chiefly, but not exclusively, for laborers and artisans. The building consists of two houses, in height one story above the ground floor: a portion of one house is set aside for a bake-house and a kitchen which will be useful to, though independent of the club. Excluding the shop, and other offices, the buildings comprise a sitting room, twenty feet two by forty-two; a reading and writing room, eighteen feet by fourteen; a hall for refreshment, talking, and reading, twenty feet two by twenty, and sixteen feet six high. The Promoter of this novel club is a gentleman well acquainted with the wants and wishes of the laboring and artisan classes—Thomas Horlock Bastard, Esq. he thus describes his plan to us:

The idea of such a Club-house suggested itself to its Promoter from his attention having been drawn to the little benefit which accrued, from Mechanics' Institutes, to Labourers, or even to the mechanics; and from his attributing this ill-success to the circumstance that, in these institutions, intellectual recreation has been made the sole object, without any consideration of the question, whether the physical comfort of the members has previously been provided for.

This led him to consider what were the real wants of the laboring

rise course be continued; if we permit the low  
keeper to become the constant corrupter of

the industrious classes, and how, in supplying these, the  
might be taken morally to elevate their habits, tastes,  
must be allowed that their first want is an increase of  
rt,—indeed of all that is included in the comfortable  
r, warmth, food, light, conversation, and sympathy,—  
these essentials are duly provided for, it is of little use  
esses in question intellectual recreation. Only a small  
sort is enjoyed by the rural labourers in their own  
usually in one small room, and with a scanty fire, all  
ry for cooking, or for the care of the children, must be  
public-house, with its cheerful fire, its jovial talk, and  
is therefore resorted to by those adults who have  
obtain credit, whilst the lads and boys, without either,  
lessness makes them a trouble in their parents' homes,  
the blacksmith's fire, or indulge in conduct not always

uring class then some COMMON HOME is necessary,  
if this not be of the club-house kind? The rich find  
to club together, for the purpose of supplying them-  
selves with comforts and conveniences which their individual means  
cannot afford, and why should not the poor do the same?

Mr. Belcher believes that, with proper adaptation to circum-  
stances, the LABOURER'S CLUB is capable of being successfully  
promoted, and he has therefore undertaken the erection of the  
club-house above, where he proposes to submit the project  
to experiment. He entertains the belief that there are  
many in the class, who, having the choice presented to them, do  
not prefer a moral and physical course to one of an opposite char-  
acter. He relies for the success of the Club on the plan of pro-  
moting, as a first principle, the means of increasing the physical  
strength of the Members, under the condition, however, of decorous  
conduct, and then supplying, as a subservient measure, a resource  
in intellectual recreation.

Improvement is an object with, and the risk of the neces-  
sary expense borne by, the Promoter, he deems it allowable, in  
the Club, to make the following conditions—viz., that  
the rules shall be strictly enforced; that no intoxicating  
liquor shall be supplied or introduced, nor smoking  
tobacco; that female members shall be admitted; and the pro-  
posed Club-house shall be shut on Sundays from Ten o'clock  
until Five in the afternoon. With these exceptions,  
the Club is similar in principle to those in London, the grand  
feature being in the amount of the subscriptions, and the things  
for which the entrance-money is proposed to be Sixpence, and the  
Three Halfpence per Week for Males, and One Penny  
for Females. The things provided to be tea, coffee, sugar,  
butter, cheese, fruit, buns, biscuits, and effervescent  
drinks, as cocoa, chocolate, soup, and cold meat,—all at  
a cost not exceeding their cost, to pay for fuel and service,—  
one weekly London, and one provincial newspaper, a

the young offender, we can, in reason, only expect an increase of crime, a perpetually swelling amount of transgression. Our readers are aware, from the series of papers on social and moral questions already printed in the REVIEW, how disgracefully and how carelessly the Legislature permits the existence of lodging houses, notorious haunts of the thief, the prostitute, and the young offender. Against this terrible neglect many voices have been raised: Henry Mayhew, Mr. Clay, Frederic Hill, Mr. Record Hill, Miss Carpenter, Mr. Kingsmill, all have been earnest in exposing the mischief springing from these seed plots of vice and crime; and again, we repeat our trust that any Reformatory Act extended to Ireland shall be accompanied by stringent statute, regulating common lodging houses, and we trust too, that the police authorities will take care that these provisions are neither neglected nor slighted with impunity.

If we have written at too great length upon this subject in the paper, the reader will pardon us: the questions before us are of paramount importance, and by the Bill, the provisions of which we have analysed and explained, great benefit is offered to the country. Whether we bring to its consideration the sordid thoughts of one who remembers only that it decreases taxation in its results, or whether we contemplate it in that noble spirit, imbuing the true heart of Mary Carpenter, when she so eloquently wrote, in one of her invaluable books, "Christian men and Christian women must become the fathers and mothers of these moral orphans. They must restore them to the true conditions of childhood, give them

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few periodicals, and some books and maps. There are, however, reasons for expecting that some friends of the project will add new papers and periodicals of not very old date, and books and other sources of intellectual recreation.

In order to extend the advantages of the Club, and give it a better chance of success amongst a small population, it is proposed to admit persons for one day, on payment of a penny, but without giving them any right to interfere in the Club concerns.

It is intended that the Club shall, eventually, be governed by rules and its management entrusted to a Committee of the Members; but at first, whilst ascertaining what is necessary—what can be sustained and what probability there is of success—the Promoter proposes to conduct it provisionally, with the aid of a Committee and a Manager.

It is also contemplated, with the consent of the Members, at certain times of the day, to use the Reading-room for school purposes, and that, occasionally, information of an instructive and amusing kind shall be communicated in the shape of short lectures.



their souls to good and holy influences, if need  
 them, but with a loving severity, and so, under  
 y, restore them to society, prepared to fill well  
 n it, and to pass honourably through this life,  
 g to attain to a better;”\* whether we think of  
 here, or of our own and of our brothers' souls  
 must, from facts and figures, or from grace and  
 thy, accept this Bill, or some other framed upon  
 as an act of the Legislature most useful and  
 ly necessary for the requirements of this country.  
 icular time, one very important circumstance  
 d peculiarly well situated to derive the fullest  
 plete benefit from the extension of a Reforma-  
 whilst the Government Inspectors of Prisons,  
 tors of Convict Prisons, are exposing, earnestly  
 defects in our system of management of young  
 whilst the advocates of the Reformatory prin-  
 ceavouring to obtain the aid of the Legislature  
 the child “Home Heathen,” the nobleman,  
 by his efforts to ameliorate the condition of the  
 longest a band of high-born philanthropists, who  
 e Queen in this Kingdom, has evinced his ap-  
 the Reformatory principle, by accepting the  
 of the Society for the Reformation of Juvenile  
 the East and North Ridings of Yorkshire, and  
 Kingston upon Hill, established the 12th of  
 ich takes for its object this noble design, thus  
 e of the resolutions of its Promoters :—

all be one of the chief purposes of the Society to  
 advantages of an Industrial Reformatory School for  
 have fallen or appear likely to fall into a criminal  
 such children to be there religiously and morally  
 ted to labour, and to receive such intellectual cul-  
 ited to their condition of life.”

s Society has received subscriptions amounting  
 : 0; of which sum £866 : 7 : 0 are donations,  
 0 annual subscriptions.

ot write further on this subject—if the Earl of  
 ord Lieutenant of Yorkshire, approve the estab-  
 Reformatory in his county, surely the Earl of

ile Delinquents, Their Condition and Treatment.” By  
 London: Cass. 1853, p. 7. This book is worth a  
 Edgeworth's “windbags.”

Carlisle, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, will approve, and him to approve is to advocate strenuously, the establishment of Reformatories in the Kingdom of which he is the Vice and with the wants of which, from old association he is well acquainted.

The first lines of this paper were an extract from Mr. Frothingham's book, in which the statement that by government management of Prisons, reformation and cheapness are best secured is recorded; and if further proof of the truth of the statement, than that already offered were needed, it is more than furnished by a very admirable document just now placed in our hands—*The Annual Report of the Directors of Government Prisons in Ireland.* The framers of this Report, Captain Crofton, Knight, and John Lentaigue, Esq., though appointed to the office of Directors, so recently as the 29th of November, have in this, their first official Report, given the fullest evidence of their own earnestness in the energetic discharge of their duties, and of the wisdom of Mr. Peel's opinion.

When these gentlemen commenced their inspection in December, 1854, they found the accommodation for convict Government Prisons, suitable for only 3,210, although the numbers confined in these Prisons amounted to 3,427.\*

\* The Directors add:—"Arrangements are, however, in progress which will remedy this overcrowding."

#### GOVERNMENT PRISONS.

	Males.	Females.
Number in custody on the 1st January, 1855,	3,097	330
Accommodation on 1st January, 1855,	2,860	350

#### COUNTY AND CITY GAOLS.

	Males.	Females.
Number in custody on 1st January, 1855,	144	361

The accommodation for female convicts has since been somewhat increased, and is now sufficient for 460.

#### NO. OF CONVICTS SENTENCED TO—

TRANSPORTATION.			PENAL SERVITUDE.		
7 years,	—		4 years,	—	5
10 years,	—		6 years,	—	—
15 years,	31		10 years,	—	—
Life,	10		Life,	—	—
Total,	41		Total,	—	6

Gross Total of Convicts in Ireland, 3,932.

thus situated, and without hope of being away the convicts to a penal settlement, they deavoured to enlarge the accommodation, and reformation, to attempt reformation. By an official, from the Superintendent's Office in West found that, owing to the want of system in our 600 convicts sent out in the ships "Robert nosbe Dunbar," seemed incapable of comprehension of moral agencies; they knew nothing of the science, and self-reliance, as means to extricate the consequences of their former errors, and declared—"coercion appears to be the only means of appreciating." In a word, they were blind, by reason of their crimes; they were unfit to be employed by reason of prison mismanagement at these circumstances, and knowing that from management the chief mischief springs, and knowing sending such Convicts from our Gaols to our colonies retarded the advancement of our dependencies, being of that class of officials so dear to the Reform Association, and whose qualities are set forth in the motto—Right Men in the Right Colony about their work of reform, and we shall relate, in their own words, some particulars of the same:—

which prevents our inflicting on a colony cannot been subjected to a proper course of prison labour, and our bringing forward prisoners for discharge *Tickets of Licence* as in England. We consider

*Disposal of Convicts.*

Year, 250 convicts have been sent to Bermuda.

arked.	Date of sailing	Whence.	To.
F.	1854		
—	12th April	Queenstown,	Bermuda.

*Employment of Convicts.*

er been employed on the Public Works, at Spike, or at Trades in the other prisons."

such "Ticket of Licence" to be a sort of guarantee to the community, that in consequence of a prisoner having been subjected to proper course of prison discipline and reformatory treatment, he is considered a fit subject to be received and employed by those to whom the prison is attached.

Such reformatory course not having hitherto been pursued in this country, we have not felt ourselves justified in recommending the issue of tickets of licence.

On commencing our duties, we found the most pressing evil to be remedied was, the indiscriminate association of the young with the more advanced in years and crime; instead, therefore, of awaiting the completion of the Juvenile Penal Reformatory Prison, (a prison probably, of eighteen months or two years), we immediately separated all the male convicts under seventeen years of age, and placed them at Mountjoy and Philipstown Prisons. In the former there are separate sleeping cells, and convenient accommodation for work and association during the day. We have every reason to be satisfied with the results as evinced by the conduct and industry of the prisoners located here. In the latter there were facilities for separating the juveniles from the adults; but similar advantages not possessed by Mountjoy were not here presented, and the effects have not been so favourable; however we hope that great improvement will result from arrangements which we are now enabled to make in consequence of the barrack (situated within the walls of the prison) having been recently transferred to the convict department, at which the prisoners will be placed under more effective supervision.

Taking into consideration the inefficient state of the educational departments of the Convict Depots, and the importance which should be attached to them in this country, where the causes of crime are principally ignorance and destitution, we have felt it our duty to recommend that all the Government Prison Schools should be placed under the inspection of the National Board of Education. We are much indebted to the Right Hon. Alexander Macdonnell, the present Commissioner, and P. J. Keenan, Esq., for having been the means of securing the services of two gentlemen, as Head Schoolmasters, for Mountjoy and Philipstown Prisons. For the former we have selected Mr. M'Gauran, late master of the Andean Day School, in Cumberland-street, who has had great experience in *training* as well as *teaching*, amongst a class of persons from whom the criminals may be expected to emanate.\*

For the latter we have chosen Mr. Donaghy, (late master of the Union School), who has a well earned reputation, and possesses the qualifications we have thought it all-important to require. Our intention is to train our different masters from time to time, under the supervision of these gentlemen, and thus ensure a uniformity of system throughout the Government Prison Schools. We trust, therefore, the experience they have had will exercise a beneficial influence through the different convict establishments.

\* See two admirable Reports, by this gentleman, on the Andean School, and printed in THE IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, Vol. No. 14, p. 1237. No. 16, p. 424.—ED.

to increase the influence which we trust these  
 give over the convicts under their care, we thought  
 the Government to allow them to visit the different  
 reformatory establishments in England, and practically  
 with the systems adopted therein, thus giving  
 opportunity of forming opinions on a broad basis, which  
 is more efficient for the reformation and training  
 of the convicts. Permission to carry out this recommendation was  
 given by Lord St. Germans, and we have reason to be-  
 lieve it will be most advantageous to the service.

It is necessary to call for special reports on the cha-  
 racteristics of the different officers of the prisons, with  
 those who are not qualified for so important a po-  
 sition. To add that we have been compelled to recommend  
 several warders for drunkenness, a crime that cannot  
 be instant in a prison where a good moral example  
 is one of the principal elements of reformation.

We have endeavoured to assimilate the treatment of the Irish  
 convicts to those of England—i.e., immediately  
 the male adults will be subjected to separate impris-  
 onment in Dublin, for a maximum period of nine months,  
 and we are enabled to recommend that an average shorter  
 period be recognized. Before undergoing this stage of im-  
 prisonment the convicts are medically inspected, and owing to the diseased  
 state of this country, we regret to say the rejections  
 are in hopes, however, and are disposed to be-  
 lieve that one of our Board, well conversant with  
 the arrangements that we may in most cases be able to carry out  
 the term by judicious treatment on the part of the  
 Mountjoy. The high character and professional  
 conduct of Mr. Rynd enable us to place every confidence in his

the arrangements that existed in this prison be-  
 fore reformed, and, as we believe, with beneficial effect.  
 The reformatory department was then carried on, as we consider,  
 with the deterring and reformatory character of a  
 great expense for a special purpose, the principal  
 was to introduce religious impressions into the  
 minds of the convicts, through the influence of their Chaplains,  
 who are devoted to them, and who consider that the  
 influence of these influences is the reflection engendered in  
 the mind of the convicts being busily and pleasantly occupied  
 in the employment of manufacturers. Education in this  
 (so well fitted field for it) will, we trust, from recent  
 experience alluded to, operate as an essential element in

these important reforms the Directors have dis-  
 missed the officers of prisons unfit for their posts; and  
 can be appointed until they shall have passed a



six months' probation, during which period monthly reports of their conduct are required; and whilst the condition of the officers is rendered more comfortable, the hope of advancement is kept alive, and good conduct secured, by a system of promotion and reward.

In addition to the classification of prisoners, they, the prisoners, are induced to exert their own reason and self reliance by a system of gratuities and monthly badges, as the reward of industry and general good conduct. A strict system of discipline is enforced; a careful record of conduct is kept; and each knows that upon himself alone depends his position on the classification roll.\*

When these improvements in the system of prison management shall be somewhat more fully developed, the Directors hope that convict labor will more than repay the cost of confinement and maintenance. They, in their *Report*, add:—

We do not consider the profit which may accrue from the labor of the convicts to be the first or most important object, still, doubtless, is very desirable that so large an amount of labour should not be misapplied or lost to the country. We are of opinion that employment may be obtained which will not only prove beneficial to the country, but which may be made instrumental both to the moral improvement and industrial training.

There cannot, we think, be much difficulty in finding suitable works for the employment of convicts; but we do not feel that it falls within our province either to select or to recommend.

\* This admirable system is not so easy of realization as one might suppose. We were rather startled, some short time since, by a statement made to us by a gentleman connected with a large Irish Government Prison. He had, in the discharge of his duty, told the assembled prisoners, that by good conduct and industry they could shorten their period of imprisonment, and that upon themselves only depended long or short confinement. That the Chaplain, Schoolmaster, or Governor would report upon their conduct, and that upon the good marks appended to their names would their future condition depend. Later in the day the gentleman had occasion to enter the cell of one of the prisoners, addressed by him in the morning, who thus, after an introductory remark, said to him,—"begor, sir, that's a purty story you told us about short'nin the time if we plased the Masther and the Chaplain, and the Governor; but faix it's too good to be thrue, and isn't one of the pres'ners b'lieves it." Upon further questioning the informant found that this incredulity was general, and arose from the of the prisoners having frequently, in other gaols, seen bad, but cunning and carelessly watched convicts, discharged with good marks, whilst better disposed and better conducted, but less cunning prisoners were, through the incapacity and mismanagement of the prison officials, retained. What a commentary upon the past system of prison discipline in Ireland!

ne in particular. We consider that our duty restricts  
t the description of works on which convict labour  
y employed. Their maintenance falling on the  
y, great care should, of course, be taken that the  
convicts are employed should be of national impor-  
nified to any mere local benefit or advantage.

on of breakwaters and harbours of refuge has of  
ed a good deal of public attention, such works are  
in various parts of England, viz: at Holyhead,  
also at Jersey. At Portland convicts have been  
years past with most satisfactory results, both  
the work performed by them, and also as to their  
ent and industrial training. The want of similar  
untry is much felt, as is shown by the number  
annually occur, especially along the whole eastern  
structions on this coast would, undoubtedly, prove  
han national importance, and would also confer  
al benefit, while at the same time they present  
ges for the employment of convicts who would be  
of satisfactorily executing them unaided by other  
onsidered desirable, free labour also may, without  
discipline of the prison, be partially used.

on of certain waste lands and estuaries and also the  
fortifications, present suitable employment for  
country.

to erect temporary, or rather moveable prison  
site or in the immediate vicinity of any public work,  
determined to execute by means of convict labour,  
ction thereof, to remove the buildings to any other

composed of several parts capable of being erected  
or separately; each of such parts will afford  
for about 250 convicts, and be so constructed that  
e of them may be removed without in any way  
remainder of the prison. It will thus be easy at  
ide for an increase or diminution in the number of  
t may be necessary to employ on the works. They  
ernally of iron lined in such manner as will provide  
ation and the maintenance of a uniform temperature  
uildings may be made and erected within two  
date of an order being given; and may be taken  
ected by the convicts themselves under proper

rtion of such a moveable prison is in the course of  
he walls of Philipstown Depot, where an increased  
ommodation is required, and where there will be  
ecuted on which a small number of able-bodied  
employed temporarily with advantage to the service.  
t it desirable to erect a small portion of one of these  
in the first instance, in order that we should be  
selves of any improvement which may be suggested  
and arrangements previous to carrying out this  
scale.

To the important point of industrial training the Directors have, with the most praiseworthy and enlightened policy, devoted their earliest attention; and if this *Report* contains a passage evincing greater knowledge of their duties than the following, it, alone, would prove how eminently qualified to discharge those duties these gentlemen are, and how necessary it is that the officers of government should be acquainted not alone with the results of systems, but likewise with the causes whence these results have been wrought out into effect in the earnest, noble hearts;—

“It appears to us beyond all question, that by such measures have been in operation for some years in England, and which have been introduced into the Convict service in this country, the desired results are clearly to be attained, viz.—The application of the labour of able-bodied convicts to the production of works of great utility and profit to the country—a considerable return on the outlay and expense incurred in the maintenance of convicts, from the value of the work actually performed by them; the establishment of habits of steady industry, and, in most cases, a determination to lead an honest life, and a desire to obtain a respectable position in society.

We believe these results to have been fully produced of late years in England, and we do not see that any greater difficulties are presented to their attainment in this country; on the contrary, the character of the Irish convict is in very many cases less depraved, their crimes having been produced, in some measure, by extreme distress and the want of industrial employment;—therefore, greater ground to hope for a speedy and complete reformation.

These objects being, as we hope, obtained by the reformatory system adopted towards the convict during his detention, it is to offer him facilities for securing a respectable social position after his release, affording him the opportunity to exercise the habits of industry he has acquired, and confirm the reformation effected in his character.

That it is necessary to afford such facilities to the convict at their release arises from the fact now being proved by daily experience, that persons are generally most unwilling to employ themselves after having been for a lengthened period withdrawn from intercourse with the world finds himself, on his release, when he returns to his former bad companions (too often the only persons willing to receive him), in an isolated position, without friends or on his own resources, and deprived of all means of exercising industry by which alone he can obtain an honest livelihood. It is not therefore be a matter of much surprise if an individual in such circumstances, should be drawn back to his old haunts, thus falling again among his former associates by degrees resuming his original habits and career of crime.

We deem it to be the duty of all who desire the reformation



to obviate this result—one much to be regretted, is compelled to admit, tends in a great measure to be made and the ends proposed by the present convict

denied that difficulties may offer to the adoption of the system already pursued; at the same time the in the diminution of crime and the saving of expense ultimately, which would accrue therefrom, must be that the reformed convict, if opportunities offer of honest livelihood, will not often again be found an n, is a fact now receiving daily demonstration at Mr. reory Institution in Great Smith-street, Westminster, and the severe system of probation enforced, to escape from the criminal classes are found to be for admission in much larger numbers than can

reserving of serious consideration, whether means for providing the convict with labour on his dis- methods of accomplishing this end present them- s to us possible that they might be employed, in free labourers, in the construction of harbours of e extension of public works generally. It might be ain Government contracts, that a small portion of e employed by the persons accepting such contract ed, be taken from among the class of released employed on task work, thus protecting the contrac- ible loss, and affording an opportunity of proving iduals so employed are good and industrious work- road would by degrees be opened for their amalga- community, which great difficulty appears to be g barrier to the complete success of the reformatory pursued; or should it be found impossible to induce mploy discharged convicts among other labourers, employed on works connected with the undertakings quarrying and dressing stone, constructing and re- y and implements; in fact, generally, as carpenters, &c., under the superintendence of an overseer Government; the work so performed to be taken at a valuation to be agreed upon. The number of ts to be employed at any particular locality would lated according to the nature, and proportioned to works to be performed.

ethods by which the Government might complete what well commenced suggest themselves, but which it ordinary limits of a report of this nature to detail. we state it as our conviction (proved to be justly success which has attended the labours of Mr. Naah, Salford, and others) that a large proportion of the

nt of this Institution, See IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, p. 377.—Ed.

convicts, when thus tested, will prove themselves steady, industrious workmen, men of good and honest character, and members of the community. We are satisfied it only requires a reformed condition to be generally known and understood to remove the prejudice at present existing against employing them as labourers, and thus enabling them honestly to earn their wages and obtain a respectable social position.

More need not, we think, be advanced to show the necessity of obtaining work for the reformed convict on his release, in a perfect system which, as far as it exists, has been attended with an amount of success sufficient to authorize the belief, that when completed, it will fully accomplish this most serious and difficult task, viz., the complete and permanent reformation of the criminal. The day cannot be far distant when colonists will appreciate the labour and services of men, who after a long course of confinement have been tested in reformatory principles equally, at least, with the mass they now assist in emigrating.

We cannot wonder that colonists should have felt disposed to receive the criminal classes after the experience they have gained from discharging amongst them, as was the case some years since, that prison discipline and reformatory treatment had exercised a beneficial influence on them; but these very different circumstances may be no guide by which to judge others who have been subjected to a similar treatment, whose offence has been expiated, and who even by a voluntary act of emigration a desire to separate themselves from their associations and future temptations.

We believe this distinction will soon be made by the public generally; but at the same time it would be well that philanthropists and others should assist, both in this country and the colonies, in promoting so desirable a result."

In the first extract, given from this *Report*, the Commissioners refer to the proposed foundation of a Reformatory for Female Convicts. We understand that this building is to be erected on the Commons of Lusk, and we anticipate from its completion, if 100 acres of land be attached, the most successful results. Every species of employment can be the more easily obtained, and being in the immediate neighbourhood of the exercises with masts and sails, as recommended by the Recorder Hill for adoption in training those boys in a sailor's life, can be carried out on the proper scale. The Directors write:—

"The erection of a Juvenile Penal Reformatory Prison will, we trust, enable us, by a judicious use of the discipline of the reformatory agents we shall have at our disposal, to obtain a class of men which will be satisfactory to the community at large. We

\* See Mr. Recorder Hall's observations on this exercise of discipline, post, Appendix to the Record.

able interest taken at the present time respecting juveniles, as well as to the great efforts made by individuals and societies both in England and on the Continent to establish such a system of training as will conduce to the reformation of the criminal. We highly appreciate such efforts, and many instances have been productive of the most beneficial results; we observe that the secret, if we may so term it, has been through individualizing cases, and by the aid of earnest, zealous persons, who will alone carry out a system in its integrity, of which we maintain the value of individualization. We feel no doubt whatever as to the benefits of such treatment if pursued more in the Government than has ever yet been the case. When we consider the case of several boys at the tender ages of twelve and thirteen who are sent to four years penal servitude for stealing potatoes, and we have endeavoured to sift, the majority of whom have no home, excepting the low lodging houses, whose inmates send these children forth to commit the crimes for which they are now suffering, we feel that this same reformatory school, as described with the best results by different countries, must exercise a large and important influence on any child sent to the new Penal Reformatory Prison for juvenile

delinquency, however, will involve the procuring individuals qualified for the office of superintending the young, and it is possible to place them in the establishment. It is true there is a difficulty in obtaining such persons, but it is not insurmountable; we shall be enabled to select some, and we have means of training others whose characters and dispositions may be adapted to consider such a course advisable. The schoolmasters at Mountjoy and Philipstown will be of great service in promoting this. As, however, from the varieties of cases confined in a large convict depot, a more penal treatment is necessary for many, the construction of the building is intended to assist the objects we have in view. Employment in and at trades, on the prosecution of which we are placing even a greater value in this country than in England, and constant occupation, and inculcate those habits which will materially aid the cause of reformation."

The extract is, in our mind, conclusive in support of the principle in advocating a Reformatory School Bill for the Legislature to erect a Reformatory for the reception of the young convict, because it is desirable that he should receive a peculiar training, apart from the adult convict, and that the same principle applies to the young offender who is sent so low in guilt as to require that a sentence of imprisonment or transportation, be recorded against him. If

431, for the account of the Hardwicke Farm School.

this inference be not supported by all the authorities on the question, then the whole philosophy of the subject is thrown itself into this absurdity—Reformatory training is not to be for every criminal, but it shall only be extended to him who shall have been, at the cost of the community, committed to prison, and recommitted so often to the common gaol, that he shall have become a wearied Justice, at length degraded to the convict grade.

We regret that, owing to the lateness of the period, we were unable to write of many important matters contained in the *Report*. However, its chief topics are now before the public, and if the question of prison discipline, in all its various aspects, interest him, he will read the *Report* itself with interest and advantage.

THE

# QUARTERLY REVIEW.

No. XIX.—SEPTEMBER, 1855.

## —TENNYSON AND HIS “MAUD.”

*Other Poems.* By Alfred Tennyson, D.C.L.,  
late. London: Moxon. 1855.

Twenty years ago Effingham Wilson published a  
volume for a young man then in College: he was  
the son of a clergyman down in the country;  
the name of Alfred Tennyson. It was an odd  
genius, thought, new coined words, and those  
critics known as esthetic ideas. With great  
ease it combined the deepest and truest spirit  
critics praised and abused; lectured and sug-  
gested “flooring” the poet, in the next “back-  
ell” to the public; but in all phases of criticism  
genius, even whilst regretting his wayward

volume appeared in the year 1832, and this was  
many of the characteristics of the earlier publi-  
cation, the working of a mind, striving to achieve a  
result was evident; and again the critics blamed, and  
detected, and all but spoiled the poet.

passed on, and the mind of the young student  
the years, in force and strength. All these years  
easy, and in studying the fair proportions of his  
to know how stilted, how cold, how artificial  
things with which, in his early days of poetic  
had decked her shrine.

of thought; of study; of whole-heart devotion  
must produce results marked and patent, even  
less gifted than Alfred Tennyson; and when,

in 1842, Moxon, that poet-publisher for poets, issued volumes of *Poems*, now in the hands of all; the author seemed to have acquired the strength and sustenance which make the poem immortal, and the poet a poet. The books showed that the poetic wild-oats of youth were sown; *The Lady of Shalott* was gravely dressed; *Lotus-Eaters* was touched and re-touched, and was more rich in its dreamy loveliness for the change; *Miller's Daughter*, the charming *Miller's Daughter*, mother was introduced, but these following verses were and we think not justly:—

"Remember you the clear moonlight  
That whitened all the eastern ridge,  
When o'er the water dancing white,  
I stepp'd upon the old mill-bridge?  
I heard you whisper from above,  
A lute-toned whisper, I am here!  
I murmur'd, speak again, my love,  
The stream is loud: I cannot hear!

I heard, as I have seem'd to hear  
When all the under air was  
The low voice of the glad new  
Call to the freshly-flowered  
I heard, as I have often heard  
The nightingale in leafy wood  
Call to its mate when nothing  
To left or right, but falling

But though the poet's mind was there in all the great power and magic charms, yet still the besetting fault of oddity of fancy was present, and none could say, "This is a great poet:" it was not that he "nodded," he snored, and in his slumbers strange contortions and half amused, half disgusted, the astonished, wondering reader.

The *Princess* came next; then, *In Memoriam*, we have *Maud*, and other *Poems*,—would we had not this latter.

What is the true characteristic of genuine poetic power of reaching, exciting, and entralling every heart is the characteristic of *Maud*? Maudlin sentimental words meaning nothing worth remembering; and a tale of love and blood, to be discovered after close and anxious application to the text, omitting the various gaps of passionate prose run mad which intervene.

But what is *Maud*? Is it a medley? a drama? We confess we do not know what to call it; and as bursts of passion, they are precisely such as *Simonds* might, in his bloody-minded moments, have addressed *Miggs*. It is not a poem worthy the author of *the Daughter*, of *Locksley Hall*, of *Oriana*, or of the other site pieces that have rendered Tennyson the poet of the age. Readers have paused in wonder at many a weak and



*Princess* and in *In Memoriam*, but if this *Maud*, poem contained in this volume, is to be considered the finest specimen of the Laureate's best style, readily discover that the fancy and imagery of *Alexander's* and the wild pathos, the deep-hearted poetry of *Keats*, are truer, and nobler, and worthier sources of inspiration, than the weak affectations which disfigure the poetry before us.

It consisted in exciting horror; if it were allowable to excite a reader by a series of disjointed episodes; if a poet could maintain his reputation by the occasional introduction of a startling reminiscence of one of his higher productions in earlier, more fortunate days, one might consider *Maud* a third-rate poem; but, as these things are not allowable, *Maud* stands upon a low ground, for the sake of the pleasant hours it gives us in times of truer inspiration. The reader, what is *Maud*, and what is the story? It opens with blood, thus:—

The dreadful hollow behind the little wood,  
In the field above are dabbled with blood-red heath,  
The ribb'd ledges drip with a silent horror of blood,  
Who there, whatever is ask'd her, answers 'Death.'  
There in the ghastly pit long since a body was found,  
Who had given me life—O father! O God! was it well?—  
Dead, and flatten'd, and crush'd, and dinted into the ground:  
Yet lies the rock that fell with him when he fell.

In the introduction we have some lines in the true Tennyson style, abusing this our age: then, with a recollection of *Hassell*, and the Adulteration of Food Committee, thus writes, and one can fancy that he is versifying reports of the cheap Sunday papers:—

Sitting under her olive, and slurring the days gone by,  
The poor are hovell'd and hustled together, each sex, like swine,  
Only the ledger lives, and when only not all men lie;  
In her vineyard—yes!—but a company forges the wine.

The vitriol madness flashes up in the ruffian's head,  
The filthy by-lane rings to the yell of the trampled wife,  
The chalk and alum and plaster are sold to the poor for bread,  
The spirit of murder works in the very means of life.

Deep must lie down arm'd, for the villainous centre-bits  
On the wakeful ear in the hush of the moonless nights,  
Another is cheating the sick of a few last gasps, as he sits  
In a poison'd poison behind his crimson lights.

The Mammonite mother kills her babe for a burial fee,  
The mourner-Mammon grins on a pile of children's bones,  
Peace or war? better, war! loud war by land and by sea,  
With a thousand battles, and shaking a hundred thrones.

For I trust if an enemy's fleet came yonder round by the hill,  
And the rushing battle-bolt sang from the three-decker out of the  
That the smoothfaced snubnosed rogue would leap from his couch  
And strike, if he could, were it but with his cheating yardwand,

Having thus disposed of the times, Tennyson, with  
rhyme, but no reason, thus abruptly introduces *Maud*

There are workmen up at the Hall: they are coming back from  
The dark old place will be gilt by the touch of a millionaire:  
I have heard, I know not whence, of the singular beauty of Maud  
I play'd with the girl when a child; she promised then to be fat

Maud with her venturous climbings and tumbles and childlike  
Maud the delight of the village, the ringing joy of the Hall,  
Maud with her sweet purse-mouth when my father dangled the  
Maud the beloved of my mother, the moon-faced darling of all,

What is she now? My dreams are bad. She may bring me a  
No, there is fatter game on the moor; she will let me alone.  
Thanks, for the fiend best knows whether woman or man be the  
I will bury myself in my books, and the Devil may pipe to his

At length *Maud* arrives at the village, and the hero  
"round the corner" along with all the bumpkins, catches a  
glimpse of her "sensitive nose," and going home  
pours out his feelings:—

Long have I sigh'd for a calm: God grant I may find it at last!  
It will never be broken by Maud, she has neither savour nor salt  
But a cold and clear-cut face, as I found when her carriage past,  
Perfectly beautiful: let it be granted her: where is the fault?  
All that I saw (for her eyes were downcast, not to be seen)  
Faultily faultless, icily regular, splendidly null,  
Dead perfection, no more; nothing more, if it had not been  
For a chance of travel, a paleness, an hour's defect of the rose,  
Or an underlip, you may call it a little too ripe, too full,  
Or the least little delicate aquiline curve in a sensitive nose,  
From which I escaped heart-free, with the least little touch of

The "sensitive nose" appears to have acted upon the  
of the lover with an "*Unfortunate Miss Bailey, Giles  
gins, and Ghost of a Grim Scrag of Mutton*," combined  
and Tennyson, thus, not forgetting his never failing "rhyme,"  
describes his restless condition:—

Cold and clear-cut face, why come you so cruelly meek,  
Breaking a slumber in which all spleenful folly was drown'd,  
Pale with the golden beam of an eyelash dead on the cheek,  
Passionless, pale, cold face, star-sweet on a gloom profound;  
Womanlike, taking revenge too deep for a transient wrong  
Done but in thought to your beauty, and ever as pale as before  
Growing and fading and growing upon me without a sound,  
Luminous, gemlike, ghostlike, deathlike, half the night long  
Growing and fading and growing, till I could bear it no more,  
But arose, and all by myself in my own dark garden ground,  
Listening now to the tide in its broad flung ship-wrecking roar,  
Now to the scream of a madden'd beach dragg'd down by the waves,  
Walk'd in a wintry wind by a ghastly glimmer, and found  
The shining daffodil dead, and Orion low in his grave.

He meets *Maud* "as she rode by on the moor;" she  
with pride at his salutation, and having told himself the



the fawn," and "all unmeet for a wife," that she  
 d about at her will," he adds, prettily—  
 at fed on the roses, and lain in the lilies of life."  
 der bear in mind that these lines above quoted  
 en of Alfred Tennyson: the man of all others  
 doms from whom one might expect taste and  
 o could believe that the writer of *The Miller's*  
 able to indite this nonsense. We have heard  
 ed thoughtful and philosophic, like Wordsworth;  
 Coleridge; pathetic, yet strong, as Crabbe. But  
 Wordsworth, or Coleridge, or Crabbe?  
 ther appears to have excited the lover's anger;

"That dandy-despot, he,  
 That jewell'd mass of millinery,  
 That oil'd and curl'd Assyrian Bull,  
 Smelling of musk and of insolence,  
 Her brother."

found trespassing by the brother, and angry at  
 vered, he thus describes him, and he reminds  
 of Charles Lamb—we paint our enemies so  
 that no body knows them. There is a curious  
 esthetics and physiology suggested towards the  
 tract, in which it is stated that Maud is "only  
 er mother."

d by one that I scorn,  
 make me fret?  
 i to be borne?  
 hate me yet.  
 vexed with his pride!  
 essing his lands;  
 a little aside;  
 in spite of spite,  
 a comeliness, red and

I think, he stands;  
 n'd the live air sick,  
 once jewel-thick  
 breast and his hands.

ngentle, unfair,  
 then and there  
 up of fellowship;  
 was humming an air,  
 n a riding whip  
 glossy boot,  
 umellous lip,  
 head to foot  
 a stare.

Why sits he here in his father's chair?  
 That old man never comes to his place:  
 Shall I believe him ashamed to be seen?  
 For only once, in the village street,  
 Last year, I caught a glimpse of his face,  
 A gray old wolf and a lean.  
 Scarcely, now, would I call him a cheat;  
 For then, perhaps, as a child of deceit,  
 She might by a true descent be untrue;  
 And Maud is as true as Maud is sweet:  
 Tho' I fancy her sweetness only due  
 To the sweeter blood by the other side;  
 Her mother has been a thing complete,  
 However she came to be so allied.  
 And fair without, faithful within,  
 Maud to him is nothing akin:  
 Some peculiar mystic grace  
 Made her only the child of her mother,  
 And heap'd the whole inherited sin  
 On that huge scapegoat of the race,  
 All, all upon the brother.

lonely moor he sees his mistress ride, and by  
 rother and a

"new made lord, splendour plucks  
 The slavish hat from the villager's head."

It seems that this new made lord was the grands owner of coal mines, who had lately died,

"Gone to a blacker pit, for whom  
Grimy nakedness dragging his trucks  
And laying his trams in a poison'd gloom,  
Wrought, till he crept from a gutted mine,  
Master of half a servile shire."

The maiden, however, is not to be won by the "lord;" she loves Tennyson, or *Tappertit*, or what the reader pleases to call him, and thus he sings; and so prettily too; the lines in italics, in the sixth stanza as Tennyson's verses often are, like, too like, Herrick's

Birds in the high Hall-garden  
When twilight was falling,  
Maud, Maud, Maud, Maud,  
They were crying and calling.

Where was Maud? in our wood;  
And I, who else, was with her,  
Gathering woodland lilies,  
Myriads blow together.

Birds in our wood sang  
Ringing thro' the vallies,  
Maud is here, here, here  
In among the lilies.

I kiss'd her slender hand,  
She took the kiss sedately;  
Maud is not seventeen,  
But she is tall and stately.

I to cry out on pride  
Who have won her favour  
O Maud were sure of Heaven  
If lowliness could save her

I know the way she went  
Home with her maiden p  
For her feet have touch'd the  
And left the daisies rousy.

Birds in the high Hall-garden  
Were crying and calling  
Where is Maud, Maud, Maud  
One is come to woo her.

Look, a horse at the door,  
And little King Charles  
Go back, my lord, across the  
You are not her darling

We do not admire this "little King Charles is snarling darling;" it jars upon the ear, and reminds us of Lover's *Molly Bawn*, and

"The wicked watch-dog near is snarlin',  
He takes me for a thief you see,  
For he knows I'd steal you Molly darlin'  
An' thin thransported I should be."

A grand political dinner,  
A dinner and then a dance,"

are to be given to "the men of many acres," and "the and marriage makers," by the brother of *Maud*, his father now dead; but *Tappertit* will not go, not being asked, as he tells us, but he does not mind it, bless you; he prefers to tell us about *Maud's* "rose-garden," knowing that she will tell him—"Love among the roses—" when she has got his company. Here, however, we have a bit of the real poetry, with not the least touch of poor *Sim Tappertit*; the following beautiful lines are an invocation to *Maud*,

to her lover in the "rose garden," and there is a tenderness about them almost sufficient to re-nocking.

"Oll'd and curl'd Assyrian Bull,  
Smelling of musk and of insolence,"

have already referred. The lines are as follow :—

arden, Maud,  
bat, night, has flown,  
arden, Maud,  
the gate alone ;  
spices are wafted abroad,  
k of the roses blown.

orning moves,  
et of Love is on high,  
at in the light that she  
affodil sky,  
ht of the sun she loves,  
s light, and to die.

e roses heard  
lin, bassoon ;  
casement jessamine stirr'd  
s dancing in tune ;  
with the waking bird,  
with the setting moon.

There is but one  
he has heart to be gay.  
ncers leave her alone ?  
of dance and play.  
etting moon are gone,  
he rising day ;  
and loud on the stone  
l echoes away.

'The brief night goes  
revel and wine.  
r, what sighs are those,  
will never be thine ?  
e, so I swear to the rose,  
ever, mine.'

e rose went into my blood,  
clash'd in the hall ;  
arden lake I stood,  
our rivulet fall  
the meadow and on to  
at is dearer than all ;

From the meadow your walks have left so  
sweet  
That whenever a March-wind sighs  
He sets the jewel-print of your feet  
In violets blue as your eyes,  
To the woody hollows in which we meet  
And the valleys of Paradise.

The slender acacia would not shake  
One long milk-bloom on the tree ;  
The white lake blossom fell into the lake,  
As the pimpernel dozed on the sea ;  
But the rose was awake all night for your  
sake,  
Knowing your promise to me ;  
The lilies and roses were all awake,  
They sigh'd for the dawn and thee.

Queen rose of the rosebud garden of girls,  
Come hither, the dances are done,  
In gloss of satin and glimmer of pearls,  
Queen lily and rose in one ;  
Shine out, little head, sunning over with  
curls,  
To the flowers, and be their sun.

There has fallen a splendid tear  
From the passion-flower at the gate.  
She is coming, my dove, my dear ;  
She is coming, my life, my fate ;  
The red rose cries, 'She is near, she is near ;'  
And the white rose weeps, 'She is late ;'  
The larkspur listens, 'I hear, I hear ;'  
And the lily whispers, 'I wait.'

She is coming, my own, my sweet ;  
Were it ever so airy a tread,  
My heart would hear her and beat,  
Were it earth in an earthy bed ;  
My dust would hear her and beat,  
Had I lain for a century dead ;  
Would start and tremble under her feet,  
And blossom in purple and red.

nes forth to meet her lover : her brother and the  
lord" surprise them, and the tale of sorrow and  
s told :—

ault was mine, the fault was mine—  
am I sitting here so stunn'd and still,  
xing the harmless wild-flower on the hill ?—  
this guilty hand !—  
there rises ever a passionate cry  
underneath in the darkening land—  
is it, that has been done ?  
wn of Eden bright over earth and sky,  
ires of Hell brake out of thy rising sun,  
ires of Hell and of Hate ;  
he, sweet soul, had hardly spoken a word,

When her brother ran in his rage to the gate,  
 He came with the babe-faced lord;  
 Heap'd on her terms of disgrace,  
 And while she wept, and I strove to be cool,  
 He fiercely gave me the lie,  
 Till I with as fierce an anger spoke,  
 And he struck me, madman, over the face,  
 Struck me before the languid fool,  
 Who was gaping and grinning by:  
 Struck for himself an evil stroke;  
 Wrought for his house an irredeemable woe;  
 For front to front in an hour we stood,  
 And a million horrible bellowing echoes broke  
 From the red-ribb'd hollow behind the wood,  
 And thunder'd up into Heaven the Christless code,  
 That must have life for a blow.  
 Ever and ever afresh they seem'd to grow.  
 Was it he lay there with a fading eye?  
 'The fault was mine,' he whisper'd, 'fly!'  
 Then gilded out of the joyous wood  
 The ghastly Wraith of one that I know;  
 And there rang on a sudden a passionate cry,  
 A cry for a brother's blood:  
 It will ring in my heart and my ears, till I die, till I die.

Is it gone? my pulses beat—  
 What was it? a lying trick of the brain?  
 Yet I thought I saw her stand,  
 A shadow there at my feet,  
 High over the shadowy land.  
 It is gone; and the heavens fall in a gentle rain,  
 When they should burst and drown with deluging storms  
 The feeble vassals of wine and anger and lust,  
 The little hearts that know not how to forgive:  
 Arise, my God, and strike, for we hold Thee just,  
 Strike dead the whole weak race of venomous worms,  
 That sting each other here in the dust;  
 We are not worthy to live.

Far away to foreign lands flies the lover, and never more  
 in life knows he rest or joy. Racked in conscience; lost  
 all hopeless, life objectless; nothing in the future save despair  
 nothing in the present except bitter memories of the world  
 past; and yet amidst all his griefs, above every sorrow rises  
 the image of his love, and thus he tells us of his hopes and  
 fears:—

O that 'twere possible  
 After long grief and pain  
 To find the arms of my true love  
 Round me once again!

When I was wont to meet her  
 In the silent woody places  
 Of the land that gave me birth,  
 We stood tranced in long embraces  
 Mixt with kisses sweeter  
 Than any thing on earth.

A shadow flits before me,  
 Not thou, but like to thee;  
 Ah Christ, that it were possible  
 For one short hour to see  
 The souls we loved, that they might tell us  
 What and where they be.

It leads me forth at evening  
 It lightly winds and steals  
 In a cold white robe before me,  
 When all my spirit reels  
 At the shouts, the leagues of lights,  
 And the roaring of the wheels.  
 Half the night I waste in sighs,  
 Half in dreams I sorrow after  
 The delight of early skies;  
 In a wakeful doze I sorrow  
 For the hand, the lips, the eyes,  
 For the meeting of the morrow,  
 The delight of happy laughter,  
 The delight of low replies.  
 'Tis a morning pure and sweet,  
 And a dewy splendour falls  
 On the little flower that clings  
 To the turrets and the walls;



sweet,  
w fleet;  
adow,  
rings;  
eet;  
adow,  
eet  
shadow  
inga  
old,  
g head,  
ender eye?  
udden a passionate  
or dead,  
roll'd;  
city,  
is fled;  
behold,  
hout pity,  
ed  
old.  
e again,  
oubt,  
e of pain,  
about,  
rain  
hout.  
pe fall,  
choke  
wide;  
ed ball  
smoke

Thro' the hubbub of the market  
I steal, a wasted frame,  
It crosses here, it crosses there,  
Thro' all that crowd confused and loud,  
The shadow still the same;  
And on my heavy eyelids  
My anguish hangs like shame.

Alas for her that met me,  
That heard me softly call,  
Came glimmering thro' the laurels  
At the quiet evenfall,  
In the garden by the turrets  
Of the old manorial hall.

Would the happy spirit descend,  
From the realms of light and song,  
In the chamber or the street,  
As she looks among the blest,  
Should I fear to greet my friend  
Or to say, 'forgive the wrong,'  
Or to ask her, 'take me, sweet,  
To the regions of thy rest?'

But the broad light glares and beats,  
And the shadow flits and fleets  
And will not let me be;  
And I loathe the squares and streets,  
And the faces that one meets,  
Hearts with no love for me:  
Always I long to creep  
Into some still cavern deep,  
There to weep, and weep, and weep  
My whole soul out to thee.

portions of this poem worthy praise or censure  
sion is rank nonsense; containing references  
the day, from the Peace party to the army  
l.

ems in the volume are *The Brook, an Idyl*:  
short of those true Idyls, *Dora*, and *The*  
*Water!* Indeed nothing more clearly shows  
and short coming of this book than the Idyl  
it has none; and the poetry is of the most  
der. There are, however, some pretty lines  
the verses, and supposed to be a Song of the  
here insert, placing the detached lines to-

oot and hern,  
lly  
the fern,  
alley.

I chatter over stony ways,  
In little sharps and trebles,  
I bubble into eddying bays,  
I babble on the pebbles.

down,  
ridges,  
le town,  
bridges.

With many a curve my banks I fret  
By many a field and fallow,  
And many a fairy foreland set  
With willow-weed and mallow.

I flow  
ng river,  
men may go,  
r.

I chatter, chatter, as I flow  
To join the brimming river,  
For men may come and men may go,  
But I go on for ever.

I wind about, and in a out,  
With here a blossom sailing,  
And here and there a lusty trout,  
And here and there a grayling,

And here and there a foamy flake  
Upon me, as I travel  
With many a silvery waterbreak  
Above the golden gravel,

And draw them all along, and flow  
To join the brimming river,  
For men may come and men may go,  
But I go on for ever.

I steal by lawns and grassy plots,  
I slide by hazel covers;

I move the sweet forget-me-nots  
That grow for happy lovers.

I slip, I slide, I gloom, I glance,  
Among my skimming swallows;  
I make the netted sunbeam dance  
Against my sandy shallows.

I murmur under moon and stars  
In brambly wildernesses;  
I linger by my shingly bars;  
I loiter round my cresses;

And out again I curve and flow  
To join the brimming river,  
For men may come and men may go,  
But I go on for ever.

*The Ode on The Death of the Duke of Wellington* reader has long since condemned, and *The Letters* is inferior; the same observations apply to *The Will Daisy*, however, is very beautiful, and is as follows:—

#### THE DAISY.

WRITTEN AT EDINBURGH.

O love, what hours were thine and mine,  
In lands of palm and southern pine;  
In lands of palm, of orange-blossom,  
Of olive, aloe, and maize and vine.

What Roman strength Turbia show'd  
In ruin, by the mountain road;  
How like a gem, beneath, the city  
Of little Monaco, basking, glow'd.

How richly down the rocky dell  
The torrent vineyard streaming fell  
To meet the sun and sunny waters,  
That only heaved with a summer swell.

What slender campanill grew  
By bays, the peacock's neck in hue;  
Where, here and there, on sandy beaches  
A milky-bell'd amaryllis blew.

How young Columbus seem'd to rove,  
Yet present in his natal grove,  
Now watching high on mountain cornice,  
And steering, now, from a purple cove,

Now pacing mute by ocean's rim;  
Till, in a narrow street and dim,  
I stay'd the wheels at Cogoletto,  
And drank, and loyally drank to him.

Nor knew we well what pleased us most,  
Not the clipt palm of which they boast;  
But distant colour, happy hamlet,  
A moulder'd citadel on the coast,

Or tower, or high hill-convent, seen  
A light amid its olives green;  
Or olive-hoary cape in ocean;  
Or rosy blossom in hot ravine,

Where oleanders flush'd the bed  
Of silent torrents, gravel-spread;  
And, crossing, oft we saw the glisten  
Of ice, far off on a mountain head.

We loved that hall, tho' white as  
Those niched shapes of noble men  
A princely people's awful prin  
The grave, severe Genovese of o

At Florence too what golden ho  
In those long galleries, were out  
What drives about the fresh C  
Or walks in Boboli's ducal bowe

In bright vignettes, and each co  
Of tower or duomo, sunny-swee  
Or palace, how the city glitte  
Thro' cypress avenues, at our fe

But when we crost the Lombar  
Remember what a plague of rain  
Of rain at Reggio, at Parma;  
At Lodi, rain, Piacenza, rain.

And stern and sad (so rare the  
Of sunlight) look'd the Lombar  
Porch-pillars on the lion rest  
And sombre, old, colonnaded ais

O Milan, O the chanting quire,  
The giant windows' blazon'd fr  
The height, the space, the  
glory!  
A mount of marble, a hundred

I climb'd the roofs at break of d  
Sun-smitten Alps before me lay  
I stood among the silent statu  
And statued pinnacles, mute as

How faintly-flush'd, how phant  
Was Monte Rosa, hanging there  
A thousand shadowy-pencil'd  
And snowy dells in a golden air

Remember how we came at last  
To Como; shower and storm an  
Had blown the lake beyond h  
And all was flooded; and how w

light was gray,  
 of the day,  
 stic measure  
 e way,  
 usic, kept,  
 ot  
 w the castle  
 where we slept;  
 tch'd awake  
 ight shake,  
 ing o'er a terrace  
 e lake.  
 ur last adieu,  
 gen drew,  
 e highest summit  
 e it you.  
 to me,  
 .  
 o no longer  
 ond the sea;

So dear a life your arms enfold  
 Whose crying is a cry for gold:  
 Yet here to-night in this dark city,  
 When ill and weary, alone and cold,

I found, tho' crush'd to hard and dry,  
 This nursling of another sky  
 Still in the little book you lent me,  
 And where you tenderly laid it by:

And I forgot the clouded Forth,  
 The gloom that saddens Heaven and Earth,  
 The bitter east, the misty summer  
 And gray metropolis of the North.

Perchance, to lull the throbs of pain,  
 Perchance, to charm a vacant brain,  
 Perchance, to dream you still beside me,  
 My fancy fled to the South again.

other poem in this volume to which we shall  
 gh it has been printed and re-printed, yet,  
 may ever be able to refer to it, we here insert  
 come it may be a household ballad, like one  
 an metrical tales sung around the fire,  
 irls are weaving baskets, and the boys are

noble lines, not, indeed, possessing the fire of  
*Baltic*, yet high in thought and thrilling in

# IGHT BRIGADE.

league,  
 ard.  
 Death  
 tred.  
 captain's cry;  
 a why,  
 reply,  
 a die,  
 eath  
 tred.  
 them,  
 em,  
 em  
 der'd;  
 t and shell,  
 t well;  
 th,  
 fell,  
 tred.  
 res bare,  
 a air,  
 there,

Charging an army, while  
 All the world wonder'd:  
 Plunged in the battery-smoke  
 Fiercely the line they broke;  
 Strong was the sabre-stroke:  
 Making an army reel  
 Shaken and sunder'd.  
 Then they rode back, but not,  
 Not the six hundred.

## 4.

Cannon to right of them,  
 Cannon to left of them,  
 Cannon behind them  
 Volley'd and thunder'd;  
 Storm'd at with shot and shell,  
 They that had struck so well  
 Rode thro' the jaws of Death,  
 Half a league back again,  
 Up from the mouth of Hell,  
 All that was left of them,  
 Left of six hundred.

## 5.

Honour the brave and bold!  
 Long shall the tale be told,  
 Yea, when our babes are old—  
 How they rode onward.

There are four classes of poets,—those who, as Alexander Smith sings, in their first essays

“fling a poem, like a comet, out,”

to witch the world with wondrous forms of grace, of beauty and of love; but youth with its golden dreams, its sunny visions, and its glorious, baseless, fancies passes away, and more, as Gerald Massey tells us, does the poet feel,

“that to singing was given

The magic to build rainbow-stairways to heaven!”

Others there are whose genius shines in zenith glory when the first flash of youth is past, and when the dreams are sown, and when first publication, with all its ravings of spasmodic passion are forgotten: and, saddest of all, there are who, as has been well observed by one who has known much sorrow, and who has, amidst many cares, remained alive, and bright, the fire of poetry, “are songful in youth like the nightingales in spring, who soon cease to sing because they have to build nests, rear their young, and provide for them: and so the songs grow silent,—the heart is full of cares, and the dreamer has no time to dream.”

But to none of these classes of poets does Alfred Tennyson belong. His first publication was successful, his second equally so, his third and revised edition of these two first was eminently fortunate, and even *The Princess* has many admirers, whilst *In Memoriam* is admitted by those who, like ourselves, read it thoroughly, to contain many passages worthy the fame of the author in his most golden and inspiring hours of inspiration.

But here, in *Maud*, there is nothing, and this want of something is rendered the more striking by the fact, that the author is not bound to make a fame, or to strengthen a failing reputation; he was only required to write up to the mark of his contemporaries' poems. Doubtless when fame is made, when reputation is secured, and when the voice of the world rings poet as the name of its idol is proclaimed, the idol may become careless, and may sing only because the song is expected. But this is to be a versemonger, not a poet. This is to be a laureate of the true poetaster breed, not a poet with mind gleaming on humanity, and shining itself, as Tennyson described it in earlier times he sung, in his own lines, entitled *The Mind*:—



ear and bright it should be ever,  
 wing like a crystal river :  
 ight as light, and clear as wind."  
 ed not write, save in those happy moments,  
 s  
 ight as light, and clear as wind."

a needy man ; he is not forced, as poor John  
 himself to be, "to teaze the brain as wool-  
 pool, to keep the fire in and the spit turning ;"  
 blication of a poem such as *Maud*, disfigured  
 shes of the early efforts, and redeemed by none  
 f later times, is more than unfortunate—it is  
 ne and position of the author.  
 eneath himself is best observed by comparing  
 and various other passages, with parallel por-  
 on's earlier works. Then it is we miss the  
 of *Locksley Hall* ; the tenderness of *The*  
*er* ; the beauty of *Dora* ; the Poetry of *The*  
*ghter*, and of *The Talking Oak* ; the magic  
*the Arabian Nights* ; the dreary dreamings of  
 ll the many exquisite charms that make the  
 tes of all the young, and of many who are far  
 life. By these comparisons the reader will  
 ort coming of the poet, and thus will he learn  
 e makes the Poet, in the prologue to *Faust*,

g hand of art to fling  
 o'er the accustom'd string ;  
 wander, yet to bend  
 n to the harmonious end :  
 task our ripened age imposes,  
 es our day more glorious ere it closes."

ould comprehend how weakly Tennyson has  
 nt volume, we have but to read his lines to  
*aurice* and then compare them with those in-  
 ne Reverend Gentleman by Gerald Massey :—

ON.

ures employ,  
 o your boy :  
 en in winter  
 p for joy.

MASSEY.

God bless you, Brave One, in our dearth,  
 Your life shall leave a trailing glory ;  
 And round the poor Man's homely hearth  
 We proudly tell your suffering's story.

For, being of that homest few,  
Who give the Fiend himself his due,  
Should eighty-thousand college-councils  
Thunder 'Anathema,' friend, at you;

Should all our churchmen foam in spite  
At you, so careful of the right,  
Yet one lay-hearth would give you well-  
come  
(Take it and come) to the Isle of Wight;

Where, far from noise and smoke of town,  
I watch the twilight falling brown  
All round a careless-order'd garden  
Close to the ridge of a noble down.

You'll have no scandal while you dine,  
But honest talk and wholesome wine,  
And only hear the magpie gossip  
Garrulous under a roof of pine:

For groves of pine on either hand,  
To break the blast of winter, stand;  
And further on, the hoary Channel  
Tumbles a breaker on chalk and sand;

Where, if below the milky steep  
Some ship of battle slowly creep,  
And on thro' zones of light and shadow  
Glimmer away to the lonely deep,

We might discuss the Northern sin  
Which made a selfish war begin;  
Dispute the claims, arrange the chances;  
Emperor, Ottoman, which shall win:

Or whether war's avenging rod  
Shall lash all Europe into blood;  
Till you should turn to dearer matters,  
Dear to the man that is dear to God;

How best to help the slender store,  
How mend the dwellings, of the poor;  
How gain in life, as life advances,  
Valour and charity more and more.

Come, Maurice, come: the lawn as yet  
Is hoar with rime, or spongy-wet;  
But when the wreath of March has  
blossom'd,  
Crocus, anemone, violet,

Or later, pay one visit here,  
For those are few we hold as dear;  
Nor pay but one, but come for many,  
Many and many a happy year.

January, 1854.

If the early style of Tennyson was marked by efforts after originality, this book before us shows this in politics, but in poetry, may men become more in spite of experience. Elizabethan English will not Elizabethan poet, and men such as the Laureate alone the language but the poetry of the nation, by strainings to become forcible by quaintness when themselves inane through lack of invention, tedious

All Saviour's souls have sacrific'd  
With nought but noble faith  
And ere the world hath crown'd  
The man to death hath borne

The Savage broke the glass th  
The heavens nearer, saith th  
Even so the Bigots welcome a  
That makes our vision start

They lay their Corner-stones  
Deep waters, who up-build  
On Earth's old heart, their Tr  
That crowns with glory live

And meekly still the Martyrs  
To keep with Pain their sol  
And still they walk the fire w  
Not down to worship Cust

In fiercest forge of martyrdom  
Their swords of soul m  
brighten:  
Tear-bathed, from fiercest fur  
Their lives, heroic-temper

And heart-strings sweetest m  
When sweep'd by Suffering's  
And thro' soul-shadows start  
The glories on God's brave

Take heart! tho' sown in tea  
No seed that's quick wi  
perish,  
Tho' dropt in barren byeway  
Some glorious flower of life

Take heart; the rude dust da  
Soars a new-lighted sphere  
And wings of splendour bur  
That clasps us in Death's fi

ity, or bald and disjointed, through want of pur-  
 condensation. Aimless as *Maud* is, weak in  
 total want of plot proves the poet for the moment  
 would have been improved if Dryden and Pope  
 known to Tennyson as are Herrick, and the  
 ned the demi-gods of Charles Lamb's admiration.  
 e regretted that Dryden and Pope are neglected  
 ritors of poetry, and, in truth, our rising gene-  
 eaders know the poetry of the epoch of Dryden  
 reputation. Doubtless Byron's opinion of Pope,  
 is letters, may have induced many to read some  
 ut if these works were better known, if thought  
 erted diction were admired by the readers;  
 r verse writers who now flaunt gaily along the  
 would be cast aside, or trampled into dusty  
 nned by the true judgment of a public, with  
 great schools of thorough poetry.

nt, Henry Taylor, a ripe and sound writer, and  
 oet, writes thus:—

es I think that a poet should feed chiefly (not of  
 y) on the literature of the seventeenth century.  
 the movement of that literature, both in verse  
 den calls 'that other harmony,' are, in my appre-  
 e fitted than the literature which has followed  
 r the training of the mind to poetry. There  
 ublic nor reading populace in that age. The  
 se for that, but the written style of the age  
 The writers were few and intellectual; and they  
 elves to learned, or, at least, to studious and

The structure of their language is in itself an  
 ey counted upon another frame of mind and  
 and speed in reading, from that which can  
 to by the writers of these days. Their books  
 a to be snatched up, run through, talked over  
 and their diction, therefore, was not such as  
 aste and impatience, making everything so  
 ho ran or flew might read. Rather it was so  
 to detain the reader over what was pregnant  
 nd compel him to that brooding and prolific  
 mind, by which, if he had wings, they might  
 e more genial and profitable employment than  
 like an ostrich through a desert. And hence

those characteristics of diction by which these writers made more fit than those who have followed them to the ear and utterance of a poet. For if we look at the long suspended sentences of those days, with all their convoluted intertextures—the many parts waiting for the ultimate sense—we shall perceive that without distinctive meaning and rythmical significance of a very high order, it would be impossible that they could be sustained in any sort of order. One of these writer's sentences is often in itself a work of art, having its strophes and antistrophes, its winding and recalls, by which the reader, though conscious of the voices and running divisions of thought, is not however permitted to dissociate them from their mutual concert and dependency, but required, on the contrary, to give them place into his mind, opening it wide enough for the purpose of a compacted and harmonious fabric. Sentences thus elaborately constructed, and complex though musical, are not ever remiss to the reader, but they are clear and delightful to the reader. Sentences, on the other hand, such as are decried in these times by the reading commonalty, and written by those who aspire to be their representatives in the republic of letters, lie under little obligation to address themselves to the ear of the mind. Sense is to be taken in by so little attention that it matters not greatly what sound goes with it. In all events, one movement and one tune, which all the reader understands, is as much as our sentence can make room for; and as matter and sound ever re-act upon each other, I fear there is a tendency in popular writers to stop short of that sort of matter which brief bright sentences are not appropriate and all-sufficient. However this be, the finer melodies of language will always be found in those compositions which deal with many considerations at once—some principal, some subordinate, some conditional, some gradational, some oppugnant; and deal with the compositely, by blending whilst they distinguish. As much am I persuaded of the connection between true musical harmony of language and this kind of composition, I would rather seek for it in an act of Parliament—if any subject-matter of legislation be in hand—than in the productions of our popular writers, however lively and forcible. An act of Parliament, in such subject-matter, is studiously written, and expects to be diligently read, and it generally comprises



the multiplex character which has been described. Of writing, therefore, to which some species of ornament is indispensable, as any one will find who draft a difficult and comprehensive enactment, the omission of all the words which speak to the ear only is alien to the sense.

It may be misunderstood as presuming to find fault indiscriminately with our modern manner of writing, as if it may be adapted to its age and its purposes; but it is, as bearing directly upon living multitudes, and as bearing upon the momentousness of their own. All that it does to aver is, that the purpose which it will *not* be of training the ear of a poet to rhythmical measure, how little it lends itself to any high order of composition, may be judged by the dreary results of every attempt that is made to apply it to purposes of a cognate kind, as prayers, for example, and spiritual exercises. Compare modern compositions of this kind with the language of the liturgy—a language which, though for the most part ejaculatory and not demanding to be rhythmic, is understood, partakes, nevertheless, in the high quality of the musical expressiveness which pervaded the poetry of the time. Listen to it in all its varieties of cadence, sudden or sustained,—now holding on in a steady path, now sinking in a soft contrition, and anon rising to a joyfulness of faith—confession, absolution, exhortation to its appropriate music, and these again concluding with the steady statements of the doxologies;—Let us compare this language, which is one effusion of celestial music, with the flat and uninspired tones of the modern compositions of those compounds of petition and exhortation (which from their length and multifariousness peculiarly require rhythmic support) which are to be found in modern compositions of prayers for the use of families. I think the comparison will constrain us to acknowledge that short sentences, in rapid succession, however clear in construction and meaning, if they have no rhythmic impulse—though they may well deliver themselves of what the writer thinks, will fail to bear in upon the mind any adequate impression of what he *feels*—his hopes and fears, his joy, his grief, his compunction, his anguish and tribulation; or, at least, to afford the assurance that he had not merely framed a docu-

ment of piety, in which he had carefully set down what was most proper to be said on the mornings and evenings each day. These compositions have been, by an illustrious soldier, designated 'fancy prayers,' and this epithet may be suitable to them in so far as they make no account of authorship and prescription; but neither to the fancy nor to the imagination do they appeal through any utterance which can reach the ear."\*

We have inserted these observations of the author of *Van Artevelde*, at length, as they may, perhaps, induce some of our readers to consider the topics discussed; and in thus doing and considering they will learn the secret of many of the poetic failures in our days.

We have not written of *Maud* without much debate and close attention; we not only reprobate the poem as an unworthy Alfred Tennyson, but we also censure it for its bad effect upon the taste of those who are the admirers and followers of the school of modern verse writers who have put their style upon that of the Laureate. Doubtless the slip-slop and of Della Crusca was pitiable, the age of "magem" Byronic passion, and turn down collars was a fault, but neither was so objectionable as that style which may be seen in this age, from a succession of publications such as *Maud*. That the Laureate can produce better and more worthy poems, none will doubt, none would willingly doubt; and his many admirers of readers would regret the decadence of his genius, as it marks the traces of decay and time upon the face of one who was in youth and primal freshness.

Let this *Maud* be the last of failures, or of books of this kind, because a certain time may have elapsed from the successful publication: let the singer be silent till the spirit of youth be upon him, and then, even though, as Tennyson himself tells us, the

"Youth was full of foolish noise,"

yet a nobler time will come for the poet, and amidst a noble and immortal band who have been the glory of our language, the author of *Maud* will live for ever, and his reputation be that of one

"Who wears his manhood hale and green."

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\* See "Notes from Life, in Six Essays," By Henry Taylor. London: Murray, 1848, p. 170.

blind adorer of the Tennysonian muse may extend is an allegory; an allegory of what? of the worse, because in this case it is so unlike an allegory that it requires some such explanation as that furnished by the painter, who, intending to draw a cock, painted a man like the chanticleer, that he was forced to write "a cock." If it be an allegory, who is *Maud*? Is she a sensitive nose;" "only the child of her motherland and France the lover with "a waxen face," with that is ever agape?" Is Russia the "big broiled and curled Assyrian Bull?" If *Maud* be an allegory, a mistake, wild, aimless, and false as the first of the *Hall*, which, though the poem is of our own time, tells the comrades of the jilted suitor to "sound the horn," when they want him. In truth *Maud* is a story, it is only a wild, carelessly written poem, and fury," but too often "signifying nothing." The poetry which Alfred Tennyson should prize as the prime of existence; living as he pleases; with the fear to-day lest to-morrow may bring its galling did poverty—thus placed in life, with the great and of the human heart, with all their phases of change, and ever changing, yet ever living passion—written this *Maud*? He who has been tender; so fierce in the energetic expression of feeling; he who was himself so earnest a painter of material nature, making her beautiful by the hues of his own bright, sunny *Maud* the poem for him to write? Heaven knows, the prizes are few, and are only attainable after the dust of the arena have been endured: but, if the prizes of life are thus difficult to secure, surely the Poet's life is the most doubtful in attainment of all: and he, who has borne it honorably away, be careful to keep its ever sparkling sheen, or forget that if it is the great poets of the past,—those "Lights of the world and demi-gods of fame," it shines not at all. It is not that Moxon has sold 3,000, or 5,000, copies of *Maud*: 3,000, or 5,000 people who read Tennyson as a Poet have been forced, by their own judgment, to suspend their judgment, and to say that it may be, after all, but a verse-spinning, prose-in-

verting, phrase-monger. What Moxon may sell, or sell, is no longer the question : he cannot sell future of Alfred Tennyson, if they be not far superior in comp in fancy, and in thought to *Maud* ; and such a poet world now demands the Laureate can never more write he keep before his mind the philosophy of Wordsworth thought, and can cry, addressing Poetry,

“ Be mute who will, who can  
Yet will I praise thee with impassion'd voice !  
Me didst thou constitute a priest of thine  
In such a temple as we now behold,  
Bear'd for thy presence ; therefore am I bound  
To worship, here and every where.”

If this be his spirit, Tennyson can once more claim by hundreds of thousands ; but if the maudlin *Maud* repeated, few will “ vex the poet's mind” by criticism ; few will read the poetaster's verses.



## ART. II.—JOHN BANIM.

### PART VI.

ILLNESS. LETTERS. DISPUTES WITH PUBLICATION OF "THE SMUGGLER," AND OF "THE B." WRITES DRAMATIC PIECES FOR THOMAS THE DEATH FETCH, OR THE STUDENT OF GOTTINGEN PRESENTED AT THE ENGLISH OPERA HOUSE : OF "THE TIMES" ON ITS PLOT. LETTERS. BANIM'S MOTHER: BEAUTIFUL TRAITS OF HER MOTHER. LETTERS. DEATH OF OLD MRS. BANIM. FRIENDSHIP OF FRIENDS IN BOULOGNE. TROUBLES WITH PUBLICATION, AND LOSSES BY, PUBLICATION OF THE "ANNUALS." LETTERS. ILL HEALTH BY EMBARRASMENTS. A SON BORN. SICK OF ; A RELAPSE. PUBLICATION OF "THE CHAUNT LERA." PUBLICATION OF "THE MAYOR OF AND OF MISS MARTIN'S "CANVASSING," IN NEW TALES BY THE O'HARA FAMILY." LETTERS. BANIM TO LONDON. DEBT AND EMBARRASSING LETTER. APPEAL ON BANIM'S BEHALF "TATOR," AND BY STERLING, "THE THUNDERER," ES." LETTER FROM BANIM TO "THE TIMES." DUBLIN, CORK, KILKENNY, AND LIMERICK, IN . REPORT OF THE DUBLIN MEETING: MORRISON'S GIVEN FREE OF CHARGE FOR THE MEETING: MAYOR PRESIDES: SHEIL'S SPEECH: THE RESOLUTIONS. NAMES OF SUBSCRIBERS AND COMMITTEE. ROOM OPENED AT MORRISON'S HOTEL: P. COSGROVE. SAMUEL LOVER APPOINTED HONORARY SECRETARY. LIBERALITY OF THE LATE SIR ROBERT PEEL. SON BORN. REMOVAL TO PARIS. LETTERS. THE COLOSSAL ELEPHANT ON THE SITE OF THE OLD HEALTH; COPY OF OPINION ON HIS CASE AND ENGLISH SURGEONS. VIOLENT REMEDIES: UNHAPPY RESULT. LETTERS. ANXIETY TO RETURN TO THE JOURNEY FROM PARIS TO BOULOGNE; THE WAY: LINES,—"THE CALL FROM HOME."

hope and I shall ever become intimate again in the next, is very like Robert Southey to Henry Taylor, when grief

and sickness were upon him ; so it was now with poor Banim, praying, amidst strange scenes and ways of life in his French home, that he, and Hope, might once again "be intimate." Like Southey, he never ceased or paused in labor ; it was a sweet labor which duty sanctified, and hope against hope, and working despite physical pain. The first months of residence in Boulogne were passed. And the months of suffering were these ! Months in which the past of life, with all its griefs and joys ; with all its aspirations and longings—come to fruition or to failure—seemed but the dreams of a fevered sleep, and nothing was, but the present, its woes, nothing to be, but a future at whose entrance stood sickness, and want, and disappointment. When hope was at its brightest, when fame and fortune were about to bless him, sickness prostrates him, and, in all the bitterness of bitter experience, he felt the truth of Tennyson's thought, and knew

"That a sorrow's crown of sorrow is remembering happier things."

Ill health was not, however, the only misfortune during his life at this period. He had, whilst residing at Eastbourne, commenced the composition of a novel entitled *The Smuggler*. In this work he entered upon new scenes of life, all the characters being English, the action being placed in the neighbourhood of Eastbourne ; and the scenery being described from the landscape around his residence. The manuscript of the novel was placed in the hands of the publisher in the month of December, 1829, and the book was to have appeared the following year ; but Banim was sick and helpless in the disputes as to terms arose between author and publisher. Wearisome and violent letters passed between them ; no peace as to final terms was made, and so, for a time, the matter rested.

He was not, amidst all these troubles, idle ; but it was as if Providence had ordered that all his efforts to be known to the name before the reading portion of the nation should be deferred. Whilst the disputes relating to *The Smuggler* continued, Banim wrote another tale, entitled *The Dwarf Bride*, which the publisher in whose hands it was placed for publication, became bankrupt before the printing had been commenced, and his efforts to discover the manuscript amongst his papers were all in vain.

Thus, twice baffled in the pursuit of fame, and in nei-

his own fault, (and how he felt this forced absence before the public the reader knows,—he feared (wards oblivion) there was yet a deeper source of which neither money nor facile publishers his mother was dying—dying, and her own far away, and never more in life was she to see been ill during all the year 1829, and at ment of 1830, she was only able to move, from her bed chamber to a little sitting room loved to linger in this latter room, as in it t; here he had sketched for her a portrait of now hung upon the wall, and was so placed that object on which her eye could rest on entering

And, in this humble room, daily there might ne of the most touching scenes that the fancy moving slowly from her bed chamber, the mo- a chair placed before John's portrait; she upon it, lost in thoughts—in those thoughts n so truly called "bitter sweet,"—then she as if in deep communion with God, and on the picture, she "blessed herself," and morning prayer, during which she never from the portrait; and as she prayed, tears face; thus, she looked, and prayed, and wept, that exquisite reflection of Cowper—

while the wings of Fancy still are free,  
can view this mimic show of thee,  
as but half succeeded in his theft—  
remov'd, thy pow'r to soothe me left."

closing months of her life, Mrs. Banim was her bed, and then the portrait was placed in re she could look upon it constantly. John er once more, but his health was not sufficient o bear the fatigue of the journey, and he wrote ollows:—

*"Boulogne, May 2nd, 1830.*

el,

paralysed man, walking with much difficulty. and cautiously, assisted by a stick, and any arm charitable enough to aid me. It is not to ouble that I thus describe myself, I only tell

you to prepare you at home for the change. I look well, my spirit is yet uncrippled. Go to my mother's bedside soon as you receive this, and say what you can for me. I think she need not know that I am so lame."

In the month of June, 1830, just seven weeks after the date of this letter, old Mrs. Banim died, and the announcement of her death came with a crushing effect upon the already weakened energies of her son—a son who might truly proclaim himself, "tender and only beloved in the sight of my mother." He declared that he had never before known so much sorrow, and was quite unmanned and prostrated by the weight of calamities which had gathered around and burst upon him in his time of sorest and most pressing need; and in a paroxysm of grief and disappointment, he thus wrote to Michael:

*"Boulogne, July 4th, 1830."*

My dear Brother,

You will naturally ask yourself, 'Why has not John written?' My dear Michael, I could not, and I have no explanation to give, only, I could not. And now I have not a single word to say, although after a fortnight's silence, I do so. The blow has not yet left me master of myself. A blow indeed it was. Your letter was suddenly thrust into my hand, and the color of the wax told me, at a glance, that my mother had left me. I fell to the ground, without having opened it. I anticipated the contents. You tell me to be tranquil, but it is in vain. I never felt anguish before. Yet it is true, the certainty of the spiritualised lot of our mother, is a consolation; so also is the certainty that she died in the arms of those she loved and who loved her.

Not a very long time shall elapse, if I live, till we meet in Kilkenny. My wanderings, with God's leave, must end there."

Time healed this wound; with some slight return of his spirits revived. The quarrel with the publisher of *Smuggler* was arranged, and it was agreed that the book should appear early in the year 1832; employment as a contributor to the *Annuals and Magazines* was obtained, and now as Thomas Arnold was ready to accept Banim's little piece for the English Opera House.

These pieces were light and ephemeral, and, though locally successful, were not of a character to secure a



stock plays of the theatre. One, however, entitled *Fetch, or The Student of Gottingen*, was very popular. It was an adaptation of *The Fetches*, in the first series by the *O'Hara Family*, and *The Times* thus speaks of it. We must, however, bear in mind that these plays would now appear out of place, schooled as they are, by the diablerie and double-shuffling of *The Others*. The critique is as follows:—

"Dramatic resurrection of the story of 'The Fetches,' first found in the 'Tales of the O'Hara Family,' and has been adapted to the stage by Mr. Banim, the author of those tales, considering that it is exceedingly difficult, through the mechanical entertainment, to impress the minds of an audience with supernatural imaginings, which each individual can find while reading a volume of the mysterious and wonderful. Mr. Banim has manifested considerable adroitness in transferring his novel to the stage. We think, at the same time, that other devices might have been much better employed. The effect of the idea of such absurd phantasies as fetches and eves and wizards—is not merely ridiculous, but it is repulsive. There was scarcely a child (and we observed many children last night) who did not witness the 'fetch' or double of the Gottin- d his mistress, and who recollects the wild glare of Miss Matuity itself, much less childhood, would have marked not tremble and shudder when the servant withdraws from the resting-place of the infant. Such scenes cannot be justified; and, leaving the skill of the actor out of the question, we know not how they can give pleasure to age. This is manifestly instituted as a sort of stay and support to the English opera; and we feel convinced that one well-acted English opera, upon the model of the old school—that is, as described by General Burgoyne, in his preface to his last work, 'The Lord of the Manor,' would do more for the proprietor of this theatre, and bring more money to him, than 'a wilderness of Frankensteins and Fetches.'"

ance derived from his pay as a play-wright and contributor was not, as the reader may readily understand, sufficient to support him in his illness; and thus his affairs became more involved. During the greater part of the year 1830, and during the whole of 1831, his time was almost wholly occupied by complaints of illness and of his poverty. A son was born to him in

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"The Fetch" was performed in Boulogne, during Banim's visit; it was translated into French by a friend; during the performance the piece all children were removed from the theatre.

1831, and here he found, mingled with his gladness at the event, a new sorrow for his wants; but still, as his smile, he hoped that Heaven would smile with it, and hopeful he toiled onward until the commencement of the year 1832, when he wrote these few brave, pitiable lines to his brother:—

“*Boulogne, January 20th, 1832*,”

My dear Michael,

My legs are quite gone, and I suffer agony in the extremities, yet I try to work for all that.”

Michael, upon receipt of these lines, wrote to him, and gave him information as to his position in regard of money matters. This short note was the reply:—

“*Boulogne, February 25th, 1832*,”

My dear Michael,

Yes, it is but too true, I *am* embarrassed, more so than I ever expected to be. By what means? By extravagance. My receipts, and my living since the day I left England, contradict that. By castle building? No,—‘*THE VISIT TO GOD.*’”

Whilst thus afflicted he could still serve Michael, and at the same time in which these letters were written, he was reading and correcting Michael's tale, *The Ghost Hunter and his Family*, and *The Mayor of Windgap*. The former we have already shown, founded upon a dramatic sketch furnished by John Banim, and was published in *The Library of Romance*, edited by Leitch Ritchie; the latter appeared in the third series of *Tales by the O'Hara Family*, to which Martin contributed her admirable story of Irish life, *Convent*.

In this year (1832) the cholera was epidemic in Boulogne, and Banim was attacked by it. Weak and worn though he may be known to have been, he struggled through it, and though he relapsed, and after a fearful struggle he survived the attack. Weak and shattered in body for ever, weak and troubled for a time in mind, this noble-hearted man, who had long fought against sorrow, and pain, and disappointment, wrote to a Dublin friend, then a political and literary leader, and now discharging the duties of an important and onerous post:—

*" November 28th, 1832.*

generous letter to me on a former occasion is  
 ment to address you now upon, literally, the  
 life or death.

ng whom were my physicians, have kindly  
 such application as the present on their own  
 are certain avowals which I prefer making in

last the honor of writing to you, I was engaged  
 from which I had been promised results suffi-  
 cient to establish my independence; one a novel, the ' Dwarf  
 or a drama, the ' Conscript's Sister.' When  
 nearly completed, my publisher, Mr. Cochrane,  
 became a bankrupt, and legal advice induced  
 me to begin three other volumes; of these I  
 have one tale in two volumes), and was proceeding  
 on the second volume, when I took the cholera and had a  
 consequent loss of time and increased expense  
 to dispose of these two volumes. No regular  
 publisher would treat for less than three volumes, and I  
 proposed to Mr. Leitch Richie, for his forthcoming  
 ' Conscience,' the tale in question at a very low rate:  
 ' Conscript's Sister' ran at the English Opera  
 the close of the season; but owing to the ne-  
 glect of the manager brought me nothing. I then set to  
 writing, until struck down in such a manner that  
 physicians interdicted mental exertion for some time,  
 loss of life, (I refer to their certificates,) though  
 I hoped, that if allowed rest, freedom from  
 change of climate, I should rally and be able to  
 overcome the malady which now so sorely afflicts me has been  
 the last ten years, ever since I was 23—(I am  
 the result of too much labour. In truth, of  
 twenty known volumes I have written, and of treble  
 of matter in periodicals, within the ten years  
 three pages have been penned free of bodily  
 at last ends in depriving me (temporarily, my  
 should this application succeed) of the use of  
 brains.

the circumstances, with their inevitable conse-  
 quently want of present and future funds, but heavy  
 and through sheer necessity, my literary friends,

French and English, advise me to solicit temporary aid from those favored individuals of my country who are known to you are) for literary eminence, or as admirers and patrons of literature, and to whom, at the same time, it has pleased Providence to afford the means (without inconveniencing themselves) of saving for his family the life of a man who is considered perhaps, too partial friends, to have some claims on national sympathy and protection. The grounds assumed by my friends to justify so flattering an expectation are as follows:

The circulation of my books through the United Kingdom; their re-printing in America; their having been translated into French and German; and their uniform political tendency, viz., the formation of a good and affectionate feeling between England and Ireland. In my own name I add, that unto the hand of Heaven visited me, I am conscious of having passed from early youth a life of industry, always with a view to independence. For instance, (and I quote facts easily ascertainable) that at seventeen I obtained the first prize as first draughtsman in the Dublin Academy of Arts; that in nineteen I wrote into wide circulation a Whig Journal (*Leinster Journal*) in my native city of Kilkenny; that in twenty-one I received a vote of thanks from a general meeting of artists of Ireland, for my advocacy with the Irish Government of their demands for an incorporated academy, which they now possess;\* that at twenty-two I produced a successful tragedy, *Damon and Pythias*, at Covent-garden; that at twenty-five I was known, at least as a national novelist, though of an humble order, to European literature; and that since that period, I have written twenty successful novels and five successful dramas. And I trust most respectfully that you will not consider this mere idle boast, but rather as a confession of my deep and conscientious anxiety to show that no want of the pride of independence forces me now before the public.

My friends suggest to me to add, that they considered me called on to make known my position, in order to afford to affluent protectors of literature the opportunity of saving me from death in poverty, from the misfortune of not being known in time how much might have been accomplished by my family and myself by a prompt appeal to their generosity.

It becomes necessary to explain within what time my necessities require effectual relief. During the two years

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\* See IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, Vol. IV. No. 15. p.p. 522



trust, unmerited disappointment, I am in debt I must settle before Christmas, or in my present state, go to prison. A further sum will be required hence, and living two years in a more favourable step increasing the expense of a helpless invalid ; or sum would not be absolutely necessary till early before which time I am not advised to leave. For immediate necessities Mrs. Banim would now accept a part of the first-named sum, as she leaves at a franc in the house, and borrowing the money key. And now, sir, in conclusion, if I have not described my melancholy feelings on this occasion, I expressed my sense of the very great trouble to use you by this application, believe me it is not of understanding my own position, or of duly ours. I have the honor to be, &c.

JOHN BANIM."

mind and body, "weary and worn," he seemed exertion; and yet, amid his own terrible sufferings, in this very period, written the following lines, which months afterwards, published by Cochrane & Co., in place, London :—

#### OF THE CHOLERA.

Slime and subjects,  
Swartthy East,  
And I am coming  
and a feast—  
until challenged,  
hilly lands to roam!—  
ch'd to woo me,  
led me home!  
of Russia,  
es the more,  
e sought them,  
Baltic shore—  
and he found them!—  
and with them too?  
ner-tyrant,  
ur than you?

Avenger!  
sally forth,  
give him  
owling North!  
st I smote him!  
now I smite!  
kill for Freedom,  
wars with Might!  
etto,  
guards around,  
tens of thousands,  
the ground;  
escape me—  
ng still,  
watch can bar me,  
work my will!

He knows that I can pass them,  
As they whisper there of me,  
And at midnight deep be with him  
In his chamber, loneliness—  
And o'er his slumbers bending  
My dark and spasmy face,  
Breathe out the breath which maketh  
A pest-house of the place—

And with my spume-lips kiss him—  
And with my shaking hand  
Press down his heart, and press it,  
Till its throb is at a stand—  
Low laughing, while an horror  
His despot eye-ball dims—  
My knarled arms twined round him,  
And my cramp'd and knotty limbs!

Kings!—tell me my commission,  
As from land to land I go,  
And the time, and place, and season,  
For me my strength to show?  
Am I here and there, so near ye,  
To watch ye, every one,  
For justice, and for judgment,  
And the changes drawing on!

With the shadow of my coming,  
Why do I shadow o'er  
The Spree's thrice-regal waters,  
The Imperial Danube's roar?  
Crown'd rulers of the rivers!  
In your hearts my question scan!  
Ho, ho! I bide an answer!  
For mercy if I can.

Not yet appear my foot-prints  
On the ocean-kingdom's strand—  
Not yet my bend-wing's rustle  
Is heard in Gallia's land;—  
All ye unshackled people!  
Hold bravely what ye've won—  
With Freedom exorcise me,  
Until my race be run!

Ho! on a land more Western  
Observing her I've stood—  
Must I disarm the cravens  
Who are kept to spill her blood—  
And save that man a vengeance  
Who is brooding o'er the doom  
Of his unborn infant, butcher'd  
E'en through its mother's womb?

Earth! tell me my commission,  
As from land to land I go,  
And the time, and place, and season,  
For me my strength to show!  
Mankind! declare the limit  
Of my stay and scope with you!  
Come—prophesy the ending  
Of the work I have to do!

Ye cannot! ye are cringing,  
All Earth, to measure Me!  
As if ye were, already,  
The worms ye soon may be—  
Surface of meanest reptiles  
The only living things  
Left on a world, in eclipse  
By the spreading of my wings!

Ye cannot—and ye dare not!  
From the monarch on his throne,  
And the statesman in his closet,  
To the wretch of skin and bone  
Who begs the crumb which keepeth  
A spark of life in him—  
Each thinketh of the glaring  
Of my pest-eyes, flin'd and dim!

And the monarch, sideways glancing  
Upon the costly thing  
Which must give a pageant promise  
That he surely is a King,  
Thrills at the sickening notion  
Of who may be a prey  
To my caresses, loathsome,  
Ere his coronation day!

And the statesman, calculating  
The hosts he would send out,  
Throws down his pen, and idly  
Stares round him in cold doubt,  
As the icy thought doth seize him  
Of who their might may stem—  
Yea, and who may be the wise—one  
To make up the loss of them!

He hears them onward tramping  
To the tramp of other feet—  
He hears the hostile shouting  
Of the armies as they meet—  
Hush!—at one side and the other,  
They are silent—and they stop—  
An unseen hand hath touch'd them!  
Down their weapons drop!

And they reel about like drunkards,  
Or infants in their play,  
And they fall, convulsed and bloated  
And blind to the bright day—

And in heaps they stir and struggle  
Until at last all lie  
Dead, by the noble river  
Which lonesomely runs by!

Hurra! could I not do it,  
What the coward shadows forth  
Earth's puny hosts thus wither  
To show them their own worth!  
While brother calls to brother,  
Agape for brother's blood—  
To confound them there, together  
Hurra! were it not good?

Who can tell me my commission,  
As from land to land I go,  
And the time, and place, and seas  
For me my might to show?  
Mankind! declare the limit  
Of my stay and scope with you!  
Come, prophesy the ending  
Of the work I have to do!

A promise, vague and fearful,  
Whose fulfilment I may be!  
Ha! good and true believers,  
Fix ye now your eyes on me!  
Man's heart, is it not harden'd,  
And proud exceedingly?  
And am I come to chasten  
For boasts and blasphemy?

To chasten, by Destroying!  
To spare not! till a few,  
Alone, be left in trembling,  
Earth's people to renew.  
And to cry—"There is a Godhead"  
"And man his anger braved!"  
"And to raise a race to fear Him,"  
"We, lonely-ones are saved!"

Her sages who believe not!  
Unto yourselves ye say,  
That in death, and in corruption,  
From the world have pass'd away  
Her live-things, strange and ancient  
And the rottings of that past  
Gave ye your words and wisdom  
And ye are but her last—

Am I coming, am I coming,  
To change it o'er again,  
And shape her new possessors  
From the loathsome wreck of this  
Philosophy console ye  
For the fate herself proclaims  
Die! Rot! and leave behind ye  
Nothing! not even names!

Earth's insects all! her wise ones  
Who scoff, or doubt, or fear,—  
Ye have read her skies, and told  
A Destroyer draweth near!  
Lo! the prophets of that ruin  
Do prophesy the day  
When the errant terror rusheth  
To blaze her heart away!

How say ye? am I with ye,  
As a friend, for such an hour!  
When agony, and madness,  
And nought else shall have power  
To touch, for God, in season,  
Your callousness and pride,  
And fit ye, and submit ye  
To what ye may abide!

e frantic!  
 e!  
 ye with her,  
 ten, gone!  
 silent,  
 lack,  
 moe,  
 track—  
 g.  
 thought,  
 ks of heaven  
 got  
 d sisters,  
 leave to be,  
 d voices  
 !  
 e frantic!  
 e!  
 ng,  
 dering on!  
 ching,  
 ars doth—  
 omfounding,  
 of both!  
 the frantic!  
 r head!  
 he spareth  
 head!  
 isters!  
 ur veins  
 dure  
 r plains!  
 e places  
 come in,  
 mongst ye,  
 rd dim—

Your horses and your cattle  
 Break loose, and kick, and gore,  
 And your household dogs do bite ye,  
 Upon the household floor!  
 And in crowds ye go together—  
 All ye I may have spared—  
 The king, uncrown'd—the captain  
 Ungirded—not unscar'd—  
 The mean and ragged cripple—  
 The fooliah and the wise—  
 The strong man, and the weak one  
 Who did never win a prize—  
 And Beauty—ah! proud Beauty—  
 How is it she appears  
 Abroad, without her gay robes,  
 And the jewels in her ears?  
 And moves she now so graceful  
 As when she used to greet  
 The tinkling, which was timing  
 The bound of her small feet?  
 Look up! the growing horror  
 Half covers o'er your sky!  
 And near is no soft azure  
 To refresh the scorching eye!  
 And look abroad! your mountains  
 Do move and work in spasms,  
 And your hoar seas are uplifted,  
 And their beds are yawning chasms!  
 With lolling tongues ye hoarsely  
 Cry out, and curse or pray—  
 Kneel down! kneel down! and wisely  
 Dream on of such a day!  
 And what though I should smite ye  
 Before it comes so near—  
 Ho! were it not in mercy,  
 To make ye love or fear!—

ume in which this *Chant* appears, was entitled  
*Cholera. Songs for Ireland*; and purported to  
 authors of 'The O'Hara Tales,' 'The Smuggler,'  
 ght the "Songs for Ireland" are the following,  
 n a short introduction, stated to be an attempt  
 rish peasant some songs which he might sing  
 and improvement. The first song is of the  
 Wellington, and referring to it, an old friend of  
 distinguished as a man of genius, and as an  
 us; "I can never forget, that one summer's  
 Banim had taken up his residence at Windgap  
 with him and poor Gerald Griffin in Banim's  
 king out on his smiling garden, and we asked  
 us a song. He commenced Banim's lines on  
 Wellington, and at first John seemed careless,  
 ng went on, he recognised his own lines, and  
 o start up and catch Griffin's hand, all he could  
 waved his handkerchief over his head, and as  
 in his eyes, he said—"I did not think I had  
 verses half so good."



## SONG.\*

AIR—"The valley lay smiling before me"

## I.

He said that he was not our brother—  
The mongrel! he said what we knew—  
No, Erin! our dear Island-mother,  
He ne'er had his black blood from you!  
And what though the milk of your bosom  
Gave vigor and health to his veins—  
He was but a foul foreign blossom,  
Blown hither to poison our plains!

## II.

He said that the sword had enslaved us—  
That still at its point we must kneel—  
The liar!—though often it braved us,  
We cross'd it with harder steel!  
This witness his Richard†—our vassal!  
His Essex‡—whose plumes we trod down  
His Willy§—whose peerless sword tassel  
We tarnish'd at Limerick town!

## III.

No! falsehood and feud were our evils,  
While force not a fetter could twine—  
Come Northmen,—come Normans,—come  
Devils!  
We gave them our Sparth|| to the chine!  
And if once again he would try us,  
To the music of trumpet and drum,  
And no traitor among us or nigh us—  
Let him come, the Brigand! let him  
come!

The two following pieces are illustrative of Banim's intense feeling of triumph in the success of O'Connell's efforts for secure Catholic emancipation, and of his contempt of the species of propagandism in religion which is now, in Ireland, known as "souperism." The humor of the latter, although broad, is to be judged by the standard, *down* to which it is written, namely, a semi-religious, semi-political street ballad.

\* Should the reader choose to select any subject to whom, in 1828, these lines were addressed, he is requested to recollect that, since the passing of a great measure, gratitude has wholly effaced from the minds and hearts of Irishmen the hostility which they had previously felt towards a great personage. Of course the verses do not at all apply at present: they may, however, stand as a true record of former feelings, now calmed down by a judicious conciliation.

† Richard II.: he made the first attempt at a regular conquest of Ireland in the field, and closed his campaign against young Arthur Mac Murcad O'Kavanah, by consenting that the settlers of the pale should pay an annual tribute for footing in the country.

‡ In the county of Wexford is a place called "the pass of plumes," from the great slaughter of Essex's army which took place in it: after this event, we find him writing to England, that of 24,000 veteran troops,

## THE RECONCILIATION.†

AIR—"Sty Patrick;"

Or, "Has sorrow thy young days dross?"

## I.

The old man he knelt at the altar,  
His enemy's hand to take,  
And at first his weak voice did falter,  
And his feeble limbs did shake;  
For his only brave boy, his glory,  
Had been stretched at the old man's  
A corpse, all so baggard and gory,  
By the hand which he now must grasp.

## II.

And soon the old man stooped speaking  
And rage which had not gone by,  
From under his brows came breaking  
Up into his enemy's eye—  
And now his limbs were not shaking,  
But his clench'd hands his bosom  
And he look'd a fiercer wish to be taken  
Revenge for the boy he lost!

## III.

But the old man he then glanced at  
him,  
And thought of the place he was in  
And thought of the promise which  
him,  
And thought that revenge was slain  
And then, crying tears like a woman  
"Your hand!" he said—"aye, that  
And I do forgive you, foeman  
For the sake of our bleeding land!"

with whom he had come to Ireland, a promise to conquer it for Elizabeth had but about 4,000 remaining; and he ends his curious letter (after describing the impossibility of quelling the enemies in the field) by advising the policy of extermination, by destroying the cattle, and stragglers, men, women, children, which Mount-Joy carried effect; but of which it was Elizabeth's successor who reaped the advantage.

§ William III., who was beaten by the and distressed garrison, at Limerick, compelled to raise the siege.

|| The formidable weapon described by Spencer, a blow from which—dealt arm to natch—used, in his time, to a rider in two halves, from the skull to the saddle!

¶ The facts of these verses occurred at the little mountain-chapel, in the county of Clare, at the time when efforts were made to put an end to the faction-fighting of the Irish peasantry.

## CLARE ELECTION.

*Boys, Water."*

I.  
Ennis town,  
furious battle,  
did there go down,  
n rattle;  
length and courage, too,  
to the rout, boys—  
blunt and true,  
es speak out, boys.

II.  
they used to say  
ake no fight, boys,  
id clear our way—  
thought them right, boys;  
were both astray,  
found guides, boys,  
we fought that day—  
s fight, besides, boys.

III.  
they used to say  
frieze coats, boys,  
creech "Hurra!"  
their votes, boys;  
land's precious tears,  
did drop, boys,  
we uprear'd through years,  
them stop, boys.

IV.  
er what they'll say  
take they see, boys,  
that well won day,  
no more we'll be, boys—  
a manful part,  
untry both, boys—  
ay wrap a manful heart,  
cloth, boys!

V.  
they used to say,  
ought to think, boys,  
sch'd our votes away,  
or the drink, boys;  
sun came strong that day,  
sch'd us up, boys,  
ve them their day,"†  
a sup, boys!

VI.  
ars were there, that day,  
for all our throats, boys,  
s we turn'd away,  
with our votes, boys;  
aps, both red and blue,  
annon, they drew near,

we bet them, too,  
Irish cheer, boys!

VII.  
ut worth looking at!  
feathers tall, boys,  
kill poor Pat,  
oord, and all, boys—

And then to see how one strong thought,  
And one good blast of breath, boys,  
To nothing all their grandeur brought—  
These sons of fire and death, boys!

VIII.  
Ay! as that parting cheer we cheer'd  
To send them to their beds, boys,  
And as their open files we clear'd  
With Dan above our heads, boys—  
Who then was strong? The sojer grand,  
A hireling for his pay, boys,  
Or we, the tillers of God's land,  
Unarm'd, but free, that day, boys!

IX.  
A glorious battle, fought and won,  
By heads and hearts—not hands, boys—  
Yet worth the whole that we have done  
With all our nightly bands, boys—  
And it has shown us there's more strength  
In Union, wise and cool, boys,  
Than in a pike, a mile in length,  
And a giant that's a fool, boys.

X.  
Ould Shamus† fought another fight  
On the first day of July, boys,  
And his field show'd another sight,  
When from it he did fly, boys—  
For there lay Ireland's loyal youth,  
Too stiff to run away, boys,  
And, what was worse—to tell God's truth—  
Ould Shamus lost the day, boys.

XI.  
But, "July the first," it comes about  
Again, and 'tis our own, boys!  
Without a drop of blood, without  
One widow's sigh or groan, boys!  
So, hurra! hurra! and let us pray  
For all our future fights, boys,  
Bloodless, though bould, like this, to-day,  
For all our future rights, boys.

## THE NEW REFORMATION.

AIR—"Oh, did you hear  
What roaring cheer  
Was had at Paddy's Wedding, O!"

I.  
Oh, did you hear  
What roaring cheer,  
What brave new coats and breeches, O,  
And new shoes, too,  
For all of you,  
Whose ould brogues wanted stitches, O,  
Were ready got,  
When that they thought  
The poplah of this nation, O,  
To dress, and do,  
And feed into  
Their grand new Reformation, O?  
Diddheradoo!  
Hubbabubboo!  
Their grand new Reformation, O!  
That, in a shake,  
They swore would make  
Its own of our poor nation, O!

Orange song goes to this  
lines are—  
rst, in Old Bridge town,  
glorious battle—"

† Equivalent to "quit scores with  
them"—used on a remarkable occasion  
during the Clare Election.

‡ James II.

## II.

Their cause to prop,  
The praty-crop  
That year fail'd in ould Erin, O;  
And hungry sowls,  
Wid windy bow'ls,  
And duds apast all wearin', O,  
To Cavan went,  
And home were sent  
Well coated and soft hearted, O,  
Who, all the way,  
To the Saints did say—  
"Och! it's we that are convarted, O!  
With your diddheradoo!  
And your hubbabubboo!  
And your grand new Reformation, O!  
That, in a shake,  
Its own will make  
Of our poor bastely nation, O!"

## III.

A nate young crop  
Meantime did pop  
Up through ould Erin, gratis, O—  
Which, when they found,  
The rape turn'd round  
Again, wid the new praties, O—  
Saying—"As fine saints,  
And Protestants,  
We et your good mate dinners, O,  
But the praty-food  
Must now be chew'd  
By common poplah skimmers, O!  
Diddheradoo!  
Hubbabubboo!  
Your grand new Reformation, O!  
That, in a shake,  
Ye swore would make  
Its own of Ireland's nation, O!"

## IV.

The saints grew cross  
At their dead loss,  
And at such poplah treason, O,  
And, day by day,  
I'm loth to say,  
For the same they got more raison, O;  
Some convarts fell,  
Through fear of hell,  
Back to the ould persuasion, O—  
Some did demand  
Too much in hand  
To work out their salvation, O;  
Diddheradoo!  
Hubbabubboo!  
The grand new Reformation, O!  
Sure, in a shake,  
Its own 'twill make  
Of our benighted nation, O!"

## V.

Tom Hews did crave,  
His sowl to save,  
A pair of shoes so dainty, O—  
For the Remiah rogues  
Alone wear brogues,  
And the shoes are nate and sainty, O;—  
And the saints said "Yea,"  
But nevertheless,  
Wid the brogues they thought to blind  
him, O;—  
"No," says Tom Hews,  
"You promised—shoes"—  
And he left the brogues behind him, O;—

## "Diddheradoo!"

And hubbabubboo  
Your grand new Reformation  
Is this the way  
Ye think to pay  
The convarts of the nation,

## VI.

In church, you know  
From halt, below,  
(And faith, I like their note)  
The saints contrive  
To keep alive  
The warmth of their devotion  
And, to be sure,  
Down in the flure  
They've holes made in ould  
Through which the  
Comes up, coroplant  
And you never see the flure  
Diddheradoo!  
And hubbabubboo  
Your grand new Reformation  
And, loock and spee  
To the snuggest cro  
That's prach'd in Paddy's n

## VII.

Not knowing this,  
Poor Bridget Twiss  
Bent on her recantation, O  
Stood over the hole  
Till she thought th  
Of red-hot hell her station,  
And her petticoat  
Did puff and float  
By the halt swell'd like a  
Then Breedge ran  
Wid her murder—  
And swore 'twas the divvl  
"Diddheradoo!"  
Hubbabubboo!  
Is this your Reformation,  
Och! here I'm bas  
Ye bastely pack,  
To the ould faith of the n

## VIII.

Ould blind Moll R  
Her sale to shew,  
Of a Friday et their bacon  
And the spare rib  
Stuck in her maw  
The first bite she had taken  
Then sore she baw  
And loudly call'd  
On the saints above for ma  
Crying in her race  
As she quit the pi  
"Och, where are you, fath  
Ullaloo!  
And my curse on  
For one grand Reformatio  
That makes us sto  
Your divvie's mat  
Of a Friday, in this nation,

## IX.

These things, and  
The saints made s  
Until at last 'twas tould 'e  
That not a rap  
They did entrap  
But to the priest had soul

that,  
 at  
 the nation, O,  
 selves,  
 weaves,  
 nation, O!  
 they do  
 Reformation, O,  
 ke,  
 ould make  
 ation, O?  
 a tax'd  
 d ax'd  
 O—

And, says she, "My Lord,  
 Upon my word,  
 The day of true election, O,  
 Is not so near  
 As we did hear,  
 For this benighted nation, O,  
 So, till it comes,  
 Let's save our crumbs  
 For the next new Reformation, O!"  
 So, Ullaloo!  
 And wirrasthroo!  
 Their grand new Reformation, O,  
 That now must take  
 Some time to make  
 Its own of Ireland's nation, O!

this length, inserted these verses, as many of  
 er come before the reader; the little book in  
 ear being now one of those found only in the  
 lles of the "lots" of literary sale rooms.  
 f the attacks of cholera on Banim's health,  
 nd lamentably, evident. He found himself  
 ntinued exertion; and at a time too when the  
 n was most needed; for, at the close of 1832  
 as born to him; but life they told him could  
 ved by a total cessation from all occupation.  
 l sentence, and, much perplexed, he thus, an-  
 rote to Michael:—

*"Boulogne, December 30, 1832.*

sible for me to go on. For the last six months  
 ban of the physicians, not to work, at the risk  
 e ban continues for a year. In fact the cholera  
 at the partial paralysis of my limbs extended,  
 with my head. Idleness has made me better,  
 ne hopes of health, and continuation of life, if I  
 nd going about, in hired vehicles, and soforth.  
 to end?"

weeks after the date of this letter, Mrs. Banim  
 , for the purpose of arranging the payment of  
 a had been given in part payment of the copy-  
 muggler by the publisher: and she took this  
 calling upon some of Banim's literary friends,  
 ow countrymen, and represented to them her  
 e in health and fortune. All aided her, by  
 atter before the public, but her best and most  
 e was the editor of *The Times*, he whom Carlyle  
 d "The Thunderer," the father of John Sterling.



The Sterlings, father and son, had, during Banim's in London, been kind to him; young Sterling had never have seen, taken him down on a visit to Cambridge, and shown him its "lions," and introduced him at The Old Mrs. Sterling had stood as Godmother, with Banim, for John's first child, Mary; and now, in the month of January, 1833, Mr. Sterling crowned him by writing, in *The Times*, a brilliant and truthful article in behalf of his sick and suffering friend. The appeal had been at once supported by *The Spectator*, Banim thus expressing his gratitude in a letter addressed to the editor of *The*

"Sir,—Accept my grateful acknowledgments for the exertions made by *The Times*, and since, by the London Press. Through you, sir, I request your labourers to receive my cordial thanks, and perhaps allow me to take this opportunity of expressing my thanks on another subject.

In a very beautiful article on my affairs, which I have extracted in *The Courier* of the 14th from *The Spectator*, is one little phrase reflecting on the character of the man in which I at present reside, the only one penned by a man whose generous though unknown advocate that did not give me the sincerest gratification; for I am bound to declare that in every—the most delicate—sense in which the most generous hospitality can apply, I have experienced it in Boulogne, French as well as English; that here I found the most kindest, the truest, in adversity—In a word, sir, my necessary departure from Boulogne will be to me a deep regret and affliction, and I pray you to allow me to express these true sentiments of my heart.

I am, Sir, your obliged obedient servant,

JOHN BANIM

Boulogne-sur-mer, Jan 1833

These appeals excited the humanity and generosity of distinguished persons. Liberal sums were forwarded to Banim, through Dr. Bowring, from the late Earl of Devon, through Mr. Ashburnham, from that never-tiring and the struggling man of genius, the late Sir Robert Peel.

Ireland was not on this occasion inactive. Many neglected the memory of our great dead; of those who had thought who



us from the page in which they breathe," generally willing to assist the needy literary man in misfortunes which have come upon him by his own faults nor by his own vices. After the publication of Banim's letter to *The Times*, a subscription was opened in Dublin, and in Clonmel, and the amount during the first day in Dublin, were these:—£2; F. B. H., £2; Richard Barrett, £1; John, £1; Charles Meara, £1; Samuel Lover, £1; *The Nowlans*, £1; T. W., 5s. A great Room was offered, free of charge, for the holding of a public meeting in aid of the Banim Fund, which was accordingly held, on the 31st of January, and Mayor, Alderman Archer, presiding. The report of the speeches made and the resolutions and other particulars of this interesting event:—

DESCRIPTION FOR THE AUTHOR OF "TALES BY  
THE O'HARA FAMILY."

There was a meeting of the friends and admirers of the author of 'The Nowlans,' and other Irish novels, at the Tavern, Dawson-street. The attendance upon the occasion was most respectable, and comprised men of all sects and professions. Amongst those present, we noticed the High Sheriff, (Captain Lynar;) Richard Sheil, Esq.; John O'Connell, Esq.; J. W. Calcraft, Esq.; Thomas J. Mulvany, Esq.; Charles Meara, Esq.; J. Cumming, Esq.; F. W. Wakeman, Esq.; P. Curtis, Esq. The Right Hon. the LORD MAYOR in the chair. Mr. P. Costelloe, Esqrs., were requested to act as secretaries.

Read from Mr. Howell, regretting that he was unable to contribute one pound as his subscription. Mr. P., moved the first resolution. The resolution consisted of two facts which stood in a melancholy antithesis to each other. The first asserted the great eminence of Mr. Banim as an author, and reflected so much honor upon his country, and the second asserted that that distinguished gentleman had been brought to the point of ruin by a fault of his own, but by a visitation to which no man was equally exposed. Read a work of Mr. Banim, and you will see him in imagination placed on the summits of the mountains, and you will behold him in a bed of pain, in loneliness and in sorrow, and you will see that his sorrows are more real than that which is derived from the common misfortunes have been the result of long continued neglect of those rules of prudence, to the

infringement of which men of great abilities are erroneously supposed to be habitually prone. That Mr. Banim was a man of great and surpassing talents was beyond dispute. His works were distinguished by that fidelity to nature which placed him at the head of the writers of fiction of our time.—Pathos, derived from the most natural sources—the faculty of imparting a more interest to scenes which in ordinary life are attended with rudeness and vulgarity, which at first view would seem to render them unfit for the excitement of that species of emotion—the great end of the writers of romance to produce—union over the imagination of his readers, by which his events of his narrative with such a vividness before them almost appear to belong to their own existence, and to be by themselves—a great mastery of the picturesque—a variety of diction, glowing and illuminated with brilliant thoughts—are among the characteristics of Mr. Banim's works. He has won the suffrages of every man, whose opinion is of value in these countries. The public, by far the best critic, has spoken upon them which time will not break. There is not a man who hears me—there are few individuals in this great city who, if I read, I might be justified in saying, who have not wept over the admirable delineations by Mr. Banim of those strange scenes which arise in this island of ours, which is so full of the materials of merriment and of woe, of weeping and of laughing, which it requires a mind with such a knowledge of mirth and of sorrow as Mr. Banim possesses, to describe. He is not inferior to Walter Scott, and if his writings have not won him as high and lucrative a celebrity, it was perhaps to be accounted for by his having chosen Ireland (to use a professional phrase) for his subject. The English reader did not understand Ireland, and was unable to estimate the truth of that likeness whose origin he could not witness; but it was incumbent on every man who loved his country every man who had the least sentiment of literary patriotism to come forward and raise a man, still young, and capable of doing great things, from the calamitous posture in which he had been years had placed him. Let Ireland, his own country, be represented in England, through the means of the great journal of the *Times*, a knowledge of his misfortunes had been circulated; in effect, he (Mr. Sheil) thought, would be most serviceable to Ireland. But Ireland had a double office to perform—to represent a gentleman who had done her honor from his difficulties—to vindicate her own character in rescuing one of those who were accounted among her chief ornaments, from that ruin which she was deeply, but not irretrievably plunged. Let him be seated on the couch on which he is laid; let him feel how much he is valued; let him drink of that best of all restoring draught—the sympathy to be found in the consciousness of a profound sympathy with those whose kindly opinion is of the best value. Let him be himself, “my country, from which I am far away, has raised me.” The thought will be a salubrious one. It will beget courage and confidence, and hope. His pen will fly again to the aid of which despair had almost palsied, and he will live to ad-

contributions to those masterpieces from which we have much pleasure, but many pages of which were written in none but those familiar with the calamities of literature. (Loud cheers.)

seconded the resolution proposed by Mr. Sheil. The resolution was passed unanimously.

Mr. Norton, in proposing the second resolution, said, that it would be an attempt pronouncing a panegyric upon the great merits of Mr. Banim; these had been already touched upon by a masterly gentleman who preceded him. It would not be required to give further praise upon Mr. Banim, than by referring to his novels, or tales, for they sufficiently indicated his genius, and his wonderfully descriptive powers. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Norton mentioned his first meeting with Mr. Banim, as he was then in the north of Ireland, and Mr. Banim reminding him that Mr. W. had been the medium of bestowing upon him the honor of his drawings. The consequence of that acquaintance was, that Mr. Banim sent him letters of introduction to literary gentlemen, not one of whom did not afterwards thank him for making them acquainted with such a man as Mr. Banim. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Banim's career to prosperity was stopped by the failure of his business, and his afflictions were increased by the failure of the business in which he was engaged. When Irishmen saw how Mr. Banim was treated by the people of New York—when every part of the world made tributary to the genius of Mr. Banim, Mr. W. was sure that the claims of Mr. Banim upon the public would not be disregarded. (Cheers.)

John O'Connell seconded the resolution proposed by Mr. Norton, and the resolution passed unanimously.

The resolution was proposed by Mr. Norton, and seconded

Mr. Norton stated that there were many gentlemen, who were, in this being the last day of term, unable to attend, who had promised him to give most substantial proofs of their respect for Mr. Banim.

Mr. Groves, in proposing a resolution, expressed a hope that a resolution was arising, as far as literary men were concerned, that marks of public gratitude would be conferred upon Mr. Banim, instead of being reserved to grace their monuments.

Mr. Norton (High Sheriff of the city) felt, he said, great honor in his aid to so excellent an object as that for which the assembly was assembled. (Hear, hear.) He was rejoiced to see upon such an occasion, there was a complete unanimity of sentiment amongst all parties and all classes.

Mr. Norton proposed the appointment of the members of the

Mr. Norton said, he felt honored in being allowed in an assembly so small, but one of distinguished talent, to second the resolution proposed by his friend, the Rev. Mr. Groves, had adopted the fashion of allowing persons of genius to "pine in

want," and after their miserable demise, the raising of spl monuments to their memory.

The poet's fate herein is shown,  
He asks for *bread*, they give a *stone*.

It would be impertinent, in such a meeting, to do more than r them of the fate of many a genius who perished by actual w Otway, Butler, Chatterton, and many others, would arise their imaginations. Let Ireland begin, and let Mr. Banim a family feel the full effects of such beginning—

For few can tell how hard it is to climb  
The steep where Fame's proud temple shines afar,  
Ah! who can tell how many a soul sublime  
Has felt the influence of malignant star,  
Check'd by the scoff of Pride—by Envy's frown,  
And Poverty's unconquerable bar?

He had only further to say, that it gave him pleasure to find meeting gentlemen differing on other matters, but unanimous call of suffering merit, and would, in conclusion, remind them

Seven wealthy towns contend for Homer dead,  
Through which, when living, Homer begged his bread.

Mr. Lover pointed out the great advantages to be derive gentlemen taking upon themselves the office of collectors a their friends. As an instance of the advantage to be derive doing so, he stated that he was now able to hand in £12. 10 scriptions to their treasurer.—(Hear.)

Mr. P. Costelloe found, he said, men of all parties most to contribute to the relief of Mr. Banim. (Hear.) Mr. Ba had known from his childhood, and no man could be better i relation of life—it would not be possible to know a kinder f better son, a warmer-hearted brother, a more affectionate h or a fonder father than John Banim. (Cheers.) He had Mr. Banim to perform acts of the most disinterested bene and to relieve the wants of others, when his own means w very ample. (Hear.) The people of Kilkenny felt honored Banim belonging to them, and they would, ere long, giv countryman the best proof of their regard for him. He n vote of thanks to Mr. Morrison, who had the kindness to giv his room upon that occasion. (Cheers.)

Mr. J. D. Logan seconded the resolution, and stated that corresponded with Mr. Morrison upon the subject, and cou the alacrity with which Mr. Morrison had responded to quest for his rooms. (Hear.)

Richard Sheil, Esq. M.P. was then called to the chair, and having been returned to the Lord Mayor, the meeting adj

Several subscriptions were paid by the gentlemen presen pounds were given by Mr. Sheil.

The following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to:—

Moved by Richard L. Sheil, Esq. and seconded by Patrick Esq.:

Resolved—That we have heard, with sentiments of the sympathy, an account of the state of destitution with wh



BANIM, Author of "THE TALES OF THE O'HARA" many other literary productions of distinguished value induced by the visitation of a painful and protracted illness prohibiting the exertion of his intellectual powers, and of the means of support for himself and his family. Isaac Weld, Esq., and seconded by Morgan John

we feel ourselves called upon, as Irishmen and as patriots, to use our best exertions towards the relief of Mr. Banim's pecuniary privations; and his writings have contributed largely to our intellectual and moral improvement and have elevated the character of our common literature.

Thomas Norton, Esq., and seconded by Charles Meara,

that a subscription be forthwith opened, towards the relief of Mr. Banim's pecuniary privations; and that the following Gentlemen be now appointed to carry this into effect, and to superintend the management of the sum contributed:—

Mr. the Lord Mayor; Mr. High Sheriff Lynar; Mr. John Leir, F.T.C.D.; Colonel D'Aguilar, Adjutant-General; Charles Boyton, F.T.C.D.; Richard Lalor Sheil, Esq.; James Semple, Esq.; Morgan John O'Connell, Esq.; Joseph Burke, Esq.; Thomas Norton, Esq.; J. W. Calcraft, Esq.; George Howell, Esq.; Rev. Edward Groves; Frederick William Sheehan, Esq.; Michael Staunton, Esq.; Patrick Thomas Wright, Esq., M.D.; J. S. Close, Esq.; Ross Cox, Esq.; William Cumming, Esq.; J. S. Coyne, Esq.; W. Carleton, Esq.; Thomas

John Burke, Esq., and seconded by the Rev. Edward

Isaac Weld, Esq., be requested to act as Treasurer.

Mr. Lynar, and seconded by J. W. Calcraft, Esq.: Our best thanks are due to the conductors of the newspaper, for having brought into public notice the case of Mr. Banim, and for their continued exertions to the most appropriate means of affording him

relief. J. S. Close, Esq., and seconded by William Kertland, Esq.: The thanks of this Meeting be given to Mr. Morris for his kindness in affording the accommodation of his rooms for the occasion.

Mr. having left the Chair, and Richard Lalor Sheil, Esq., having been called to it, it was moved by Thomas Norton, Esq., and seconded by Joseph Burke,

that the thanks of this Meeting be given to the Lord Mayor for his dignified conduct in the Chair, and for the lively interest he manifested in promoting the objects of this meeting."

The Committee Rooms were at once opened at Mo Hotel, and a Kilkenny man, Patrick Costelloe, and Lover were nominated honorary secretaries. Refer these efforts to relieve his brother's wants, Michael writes to us thus :—

"Public meetings took place, and subscriptions entered into, in London, Dublin, Kilkenny, and many places ; and from the result, the recipient was enabled to pay heavy debts long outstanding, and I believe uncontracted ; and to remain in Paris for two years, while the care of the principal members of the faculty then engaged. His malady was, however, beyond the skill of these.

Throughout the entire period of his embarrassment mental and bodily endurance, in France, no one could sympathise with more sympathy than did my brother. While resident at Boulogne, the English and Irish visitants were most kind to him. In Paris, he met kindness and service from many whom he was afterwards vain perhaps of naming as his friends of the sick couch ; for a while he was unable to rise, being borne by others. Two only of his visitors I will mention, the venerable La Fayette and the illustrious Chateaubriand. Many distinguished English residents of the French capital were his friends and sustainers. One wealthy Irishman, in particular, he afterwards spoke of with gratitude and affection. I refrain from giving names—those so marked out by him to relish the promulgation of their philanthropy."

By slow stages Banim proceeded, towards the end of 1825, from Boulogne to Paris. He had resolved to reside in the latter city, in the hope that, amongst its distinguished physicians, some one might be found who could relieve his racked and powerless limbs. He did indeed consult many skilful and famous of the faculty, but all their efforts for him were unavailing, or worse, injurious.

That the reader may be enabled to comprehend the condition at this period, we here subjoin a written opinion of his case, drawn up, after a careful personal examination of their patient, by two eminent physicians, one French, one English, whose names the document bears. Banim took to heart this opinion most carefully to the hour of his death ; and the remedies, and treatment recommended, and their woful results, seem to have had for him a terrible, gloomy fascina-

is as follows, but, for obvious reasons, we omit which it is signed :—

tion under which Mr. Banim labours, appears to inflammation of the lower extremity of the spinal attentive examination of its origin, progress, te, has suggested to us the propriety of adopting treatment :—

cupping, and scarifications with cupping on the the lumbar region, where the pain seems to his treatment to be continued gradually along the neck : after two or three repetitions it is to ed.

all moxas, to the parts where the scarifications d these moxas to be continued, at proper inter- neck ; with the moxas may be used frictions of ointment, along the spine, until pimples appear, s to be rubbed morning and evening with iments.

actual cauter, applied gently from the lower ack to the neck at the interval of two or three even be preferable to the moxas.

n this treatment has been used for some time, particularly sulphureous, will be of the greatest e.

ure will be tedious, but the good constitution of ves strong hope that he will eventually triumph at malady.

Signed,  
Avril, 1834."

reated ; " the cupping," writes Michael, to us, the scarifications, the lubrications, et cetera, were as I suppose, very scientifically, and when the erimentalised on, left the hands of the operators, g useless from the trunk, from that time for- than useless, I would say they were to their appendage only felt, when they were nightly, y as well as nightly, set quivering by racking le the sufferer writhe and scream from excess of onstant endurance of torture continued without he period of his death."

n in body, and with one child dead in his home, eclared by his physicians incurable. He was

drawn in his bath-chair through the various places in Paris; his daily pleasures were few, and when they were fortunately painless, the night came on, and with it. Often, as he writhed beneath his tortures, he thrust pointed pins through his thighs, as if, by counter irritation, he hoped to check the pangs that came involuntarily upon him.

Still he attempted, even whilst in this state, to write to the Newspapers and Magazines, and he felt now as he felt eleven years before, when he wrote gaily, and so to Michael—"By the life of Pharaoh, sir, if I did not tease the brain, as wool-combers tease wool, the fire would go out, and the spit could not turn."\*

Of the various pieces, in verse and prose, contributed to him at this period to the press, the following is a specimen, and first appeared in *The Times* :—

TO THE COLOSSAL ELEPHANT,  
ON THE SITE OF THE BASTILLE.

I know not why they've based thee here—  
But unto me thou art a thought,  
With pity, doubt, and sorrow fraught—  
For now, and future, far and near,  
Because no warning they are taught,  
Can make the careless-cruel fear.  
O'erawing thought! of a giant strength,  
Who out of love and reason took  
From a pigmy keeper blows and spurns,  
And slight that chills, and scorn that burns,  
And bore all gently, till at length,  
Love died, and reason could not brook

Uncharmed by love, one oft  
The baseness of a coward sought  
And then uprose the giant  
And round his keeper did  
The wreathings of his mind  
His body till the life blood  
Thro' joint and pore, and  
Of his weak power the giant  
Did trample down—and 'mid  
Trampled upon his tyrant's

Paris, Nov. 8, 1834.

Friends gathered around him in Paris, and he was in a better state of health would permit; but his continued illness alarmed Michael, who tells us—"In 1834, I was separated from my brother from whom I had been so long separated, and to return home; and I did so with the hope, that in his native air, and the attentions of his kindred, might be more beneficial than excitement and a foreign climate."

When Banim received this letter, to which Michael refers, he was happy in the society of some of the distinguished literary men, French and foreign, residing in Paris, but there was no certain rest or ease from his bodily sufferings, and the "si gravis, brevis: si longus, levis" of Cicero was a true axiom in his case. He felt his health becoming day more weak, and thus he wrote to his brother, in the letter advising him to come home once more to his place :—

\* See IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, Vol. IV. No. 14.



*"Paris, January 19, 1835.*

letter, my dearest Michael, long enough ago, and to it before now. Nothing but the want of me so many weeks silent.—How could I be to it?

come to you, and to the grave of—another: still, so directly as you propose.

ing will be better than the present season, better g January, for poor cold I."

! he was not, however, to leave France until he rough another and a most bitter sorrow. He ren, a girl and a boy, surviving at the date of . He loved them dearly, and none knew better tender, holy truth expressed in those lines of r which teach that,—

house is a well-spring of pleasure, a messenger of ove;

st—a loan to be rendered back with interest ;"

the voices, the laughter of his boy and girl had a many a weary hour, and now his boy was about from his arms for ever. "Tell us," we said to this death, and how your brother withstood the Michael wrote to us thus :—

ter was now (1835) in her eighth year, his son That dreadful and dangerous malady, the croup, oy, and he fell a sacrifice to it. I have listened ars of an evening, after his return home, describing qualities, and the affection of this child to him. him tell how the little fellow would come in from gently to the back of the father's sick sofa, and lips on the hand that lay listlessly hanging over. nation of the child's presence would be this affection. And when the father turned his eyes to ter, then there was a spring into the parent's ond, lengthened embrace between them. Other excellencies he would repeat, when he lay help-coursed of his affections. Immediately after the at letter, this attached, fond boy was taken from not write himself, his wife announced to me

*' January 27th, 1841*

Dearest Brother,

The first real sorrow I ever experienced came on morning. I have lost my noble little son ; noble, good and good-natured as if he were grown up ; and, no doubt the Lord had spared him, he would have done honour to his father's name. He is, I hope, this moment communicating to your sainted mother.

I know not what I write, but I had rather you should read this through me than through any other channel.

When I am more composed I will tell you more about it. The event has almost killed his father ; their affection for each other was unbounded."

Residence in Paris, after the death of his boy, became very painful to him. His life there had been gloomy, and he now be at home, amidst old scenes and faces, " with memories not all sad." And yet what were these memories not ? The dream-land of those days when he wandered with his D—— ; the lost love ; the dead mistress ; his own loneliness ; the debts of the wild days ; a dead mother ; a ruined body ; fame dimmed as it shone most brightly ; now a forced return to all these scenes. Truly might he claim of Memory :—

" To me, she tells of bliss for ever lost ;  
Of fair occasions, gone for ever by ;  
Of hopes too fondly nursed, too rudely crossed  
Of many a cause to wish—yet fear to die."

But to be at home, to be at Kilkenny, was henceforth a constant longing. There was a beauty in the scenery, a balmy air, a charm in the Nore, which no other place on earth could now supply to him ; and he thus wrote to Michael, expressing his wishes as to the house he desired to secure :—

*" Paris, April 30th, 1841*

My dear Michael,

What I require is this. I must have a little garden overlooked, for with eyes on me I could not enjoy it. I want paths to be, or afterwards so formed as to enable three or four persons to walk abreast. If not paths, grass plats formed on the beds, for with the help of your neck or arm, dear Michael, I want to try and put my limbs under me : this is the only request for my last, and to you, perhaps, strange request ; but

, connected with my bodily and mental state, as matters to be sought for in my contemptible self I have so minutely particularised.

I would wish my little house to have a sunny side to all possible windows every day that the globe shines. I am a shivering being, and rely on his invigorating rays as does the drooping

house could be within view of our Nore stream, of which you and I have so often bounded, I shall never bound again, it would enhance

to go home the 10th of the next month (May) : for me a most expensive and tedious process. the road will take a shackle off me. My mind in the sunny nook in Kilkenny, where I may yet die easily, or live a little longer as happily

patient, as we have stated, to leave Paris, and homeward journey ; and so, to use the words of the "bundled every thing," and started for London here, on his journey, his invariable attendant, and him—Mrs. Banim was attacked by typhus and announces his position to Michael :—

"*Boulogne-Sur-Mer, May 20th, 1835.*

I, the 10th, as I told you I should do, although from a regimen to arrest throwing up blood, to me some weeks before. I arrived here the moment to cross to England the 16th, when my

on of the house in which he would pass his future life, and it may interest some readers to mark the similarity of that poet's home which Tennyson has so exquisitely described in "Gardener's Daughter" :—

Not wholly in the busy world, nor quite beyond it, blooms the garden that I love.  
From the humming city comes to it  
A sound of funeral or of marriage bells ;  
And, sitting muffled in dark leaves, you hear  
The windy clanging of the minster clock ;  
Although between it and the garden lies  
A league of grass, wash'd by a slow broad stream,  
That, stirr'd with languid pulses of the ear,  
Saves all its laxy lilies, and creeps on,  
Large-laden, to three arches of a bridge  
Crown'd with the minster-towers."

poor Ellen was struck down by Typhus Fever—which fastening on a previous cold, has so inflamed her chest and side, that I don't yet know if she is to be spared to me. At any rate, do as well as she can, I must not stir for a month at least—God's will be done. There is always something to be grateful for. Had Ellen taken ill on the road from Paris, amongst strangers, instead of here, surrounded by real affection, how much more must I have suffered.

Indeed, from men and women, French, and English, and Irish, in Boulogne, we find nothing but great kindness.

*May 24th.*

I am glad I did not send this yesterday; Ellen is better to-day, and the chances are all in her favour."

As "Ellen is better to-day, and the chances are all in her favour," and as he is on the road towards home, towards Kilkenny, with the garden not overlooked, and the flowers, and the sunshine, and the sparkling, winding, shady Nore, and with the soft warm wind of summer playing around him, and with kind English and French friends smiling by him, and helping him to restore Ellen, he must take up his pen, and he writes, and encloses, in the last quoted letter to Michael—

#### THE CALL FROM HOME.

From home, and hearth, and garden it resounds,  
From chamber, stair, and all the old house bounds,  
And from our boyhood's old play grounds.

And from my native skies and airs, which you  
Tell me must nerve my wretched form anew,  
Breathing forth hopes of life, alas! how few.

And from the humble chapel path we've trod  
So often 'morn and eve, to worship God,  
Or kneel, boy penitents, beneath his rod.

And from its humble grave yard, where repose  
Our grandsire's ashes and our mother's woes,  
That saint, who suffered with a smile to life's last close.

Brother, I come, you summon and I come;  
From love like yours I never more will roam,  
Yours is the call from brother and from home.

From the world's glare and struggle, loving some  
And hating none; to share my mother's tomb,  
Hoping to share her bliss, brother, I come.

In the succeeding parts of this Biography, we shall describe Banim in his own Irish home; somewhat improved in health; writing and hoping, and his heart cheered by visits from distinguished friends; and, strangest of all in Ireland, recognized as a man of genius, and respected, in his native town, though owing nothing to politics, and being merely a sick man, who was an honor to his country's literature.

### ART. III—SYDNEY SMITH.

*A Memoir of the Reverend Sydney Smith.* By his Daughter, Lady Holland. With a Selection from his Letters, Edited by Mrs. Austin. 2 vols. London : Longman and Co., 1855.

Men talk of that fiction called history, and of its twin-sister, historical romance, as instructive, amusing reading ; but, in our mind, the biography of distinguished writers, particularly of men who have been, within the last fifty years, remarkable as political writers, is infinitely more useful and interesting ; and the interest and usefulness are immeasurably increased when, as in the book before us, the biography is the work of writers intimately acquainted with the every-day life of him whose thoughts, words, and actions are recorded.

We have heard, and read it, objected to this *Memoir*, that it deals only with the private life of Sydney Smith, and that his public career receives little notice. To us, this complete picture of home life is the best, and chief attraction. We have been, thousands, in these Kingdoms, and in America, have been, earnest students of Sydney Smith's political and literary writings : we have longed to know how he wrote and how he lived : his services to rational freedom and civil liberty are to all men known. He sprang into literary and political life at a time which, as he thirty-six years afterwards wrote, "was an awful period for those who had the misfortune to entertain liberal opinions, and who were too honest to sell them for the ermine of the judge, or the lawn of the prelate :—a long and hopeless career in your profession, the chuckling grin of noodles, the sarcastic leer of the genuine political rogue—prebendaries, deans, and bishops made over your head—reverend renegades advanced to the highest dignities of the Church, for helping to rivet the fetters of Catholic and Protestant Dissenters, and no more chance of a Whig administration than of a thaw in Zembla—these were the penalties exacted for liberality of opinion at that period ; and not only was there no pay, but there were many stripes : the man who breathed a syllable against the senseless bigotry of the two Georges, or hinted at the abominable tyranny and persecution exercised upon Catholic Ireland, was shunned as unfit for the relations of social life. Not a murmur against any abuse was permitted ; to say a word against the sutoricide delays of

the Court of Chancery, or the cruel punishments of the Game Laws, or against any abuse which a rich man inflicted or a poor man suffered, was treason against the *Ploutocracy*, and was bitterly and steadily resented."\* Without fortune, without patronage, but with every thing to hope from a pliant, judicious dedication of his genius to the service of the Ministry, in his thirty-first year he abandoned all avenues to advancement by political prostitution of his intellect, and from that time to the hour of his death, we may apply to him his own noble eulogium upon the character of GRATTAN.

Men such as this require no record of their public lives from the pen of the biographer. Do we want a record of his sentiments upon the great questions of his time,—Catholic Emancipation, the Ballot, and Reform, we have them perfect in Peter Plymley's Letters, in the Speeches at Taunton, and in the papers of *The Edinburgh Review*. Do we require to know him, as he was amongst the first men of his time in genius, so he was amongst the first of that time's philanthropists,—we learn all in his essays entitled Prisons, Cruel Treatment of Untried Prisoners, Man Traps and Spring Guns, Mad Quakers, Botany Bay, Counsel for Prisoners, Poor Laws, Chimney Sweepers. Do we desire a knowledge of his opinions upon the great events in our national history,—his papers on Charles Fox, on Fox's Historical Work, on Captain Rock, and on America, place these before us. Do we wish to know his detestation of cant or fanaticism, we have but to read his papers on Methodism, and on the Society for the Suppression of Vice; and if any require to know how truly and unchangeably he was the defender of every just right and privilege of that church to which he was an honor, his letters to Archdeacon Singleton, to Lord John Russell, and his paper Persecuting Bishops, evince it all, in every page, most nobly. Had Sydney Smith been a renegade, a time-server, a hanger-on at great men's levees; and had he, after desecrating his genius, hid his head in a mitre, his daughter and his friend might now be bound to write the history of, that is to extenuate, the unworthy deeds of his public life; but having done none of these things; knowing that his whole public life was in his public writings, they tell his friends, that is, they tell all the world who love him, and goodness of heart, when gracing high qualities of mind, what

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\* See Preface to Works, page 5.—Ed. 1851.

kind of child, boy, husband, father, friend and priest, Sydney Smith was in the minds of those who knew him best.

And when one looks now through the pages of the book before us; when one recalls all the traits of Sydney Smith recorded in Jeffrey's *Life*; in Moore's *Diary*; in the late Lord Dudley and Ward's *Letters*; in Leonard Horner's *Life* of his brother Francis, we all feel, that in describing the character of Francis Horner, Sydney Smith but described his own.

This *Memoir* is of very great importance in correcting an error into which many persons have fallen, in estimating the character of Sydney. He has been generally looked upon as one who existed only to enjoy himself in society, and as a churchman who cared nothing for his duties, save to discharge them with a regularity just sufficient to enable him, with decency, to receive the emoluments of his appointments. This latter error the *Memoir* fully corrects; but the former opinion is most curiously dissipated, by a letter to Sir George Philips, and corroborates an assertion in Moore's *Diary*, that Sydney Smith's natural disposition was grave and thoughtful. Moore writes, under date May 27th, 1826: "Breakfasted at Rogers's: Sydney Smith, Lord Cawdor, G. Fortescue, and Warburton. Smith, full of comicality and fancy, kept us all in roars of laughter. In talking of the stories about drinkers catching fire, pursued the idea in every possible shape. The inconvenience of a man coming too near the candle when he was speaking, 'Sir, your observation has caught fire.' Then imagined a parson breaking into a blaze in the pulpit; the engines called to put him out; no water to be had, the man at the waterworks being a Unitarian or an Atheist. Said of some one, 'He has no command over his understanding; it is always getting between his legs and tripping him up.' Left Rogers's with Smith, to go and assist him in choosing a grand piano-forte: found him (*as I have often done before*) change at once from the gay, uproarious wag into as solemn, grave, and austere a person as any bench of judges or bishops could supply: *this, I rather think, is his natural character.*"\*

Writing, on the 28th February, 1836, to Sir George Philips, Smith himself thus observes upon his own character:—

"My dear Philips,—You say I have many comic ideas

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\* See "Memoirs, Journal and Correspondence of Thomas Moore." Vol. V. p. 75.

rising in my mind; this may be true, but the champagne bottle is no better for holding the champagne. Don't you remember the old story of Carlini, the French harlequin? \* I don't mean to say I am prone to melancholy; but I acknowledge my weakness enough to confess, that I want the aid of society, and dislike a solitary life."†

The volumes before us are the work of Sydney Smith's daughter, Lady Holland, wife of the well known physician, Sir Henry Holland, author of the interesting book, *Medical Notes and Experiences*; and of Mrs. Sarah Austin, the writer of some most admirable works, and translator of Ranke's *History of the Popes of Rome*,—the lady whom Macaulay has so justly lauded in his famous essay. The work is formed upon the plan adopted by Lord Cockburn in his biography of Jeffrey, the first volume containing the memoir, and second volume consisting of a selection from the letters of the subject; a change from the plan introduced by Mason in his *Life of Gray*, and which we do not consider, in most cases, an improvement.

That his daughter and a female friend should write the memoir of Sydney Smith is, in our opinion, natural. No history, as we have endeavored to show, of his public life was necessary; and of his private life none could write, so truly and so graceful, as two women whose association he had enjoyed. All his life long he had cherished and sought for female society. A mind like his, playful and brilliant, yet strong and vehement, when the exertion of those sterner qualities was needed, finds in the gentle intercourse of thoughtful women, who are not, in the faintest tinge, "blue," a charm and a solace such as men of deeper energy of character, but of lesser fancy, can hardly appreciate. For ourselves, we believe that if this memoir were the work of a man, its charm would be in a great degree diminished. We might possibly hear more of politics and of divinity, but we should certainly

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\* This refers to Carlini, the drollest Buffoon ever known on the Italian stage at Paris. He complained to a celebrated French physician of intense melancholy; and the doctor ordering him to frequent the theatres, particularly the Italian theatre, said, "If Carlini does not dispel your gloom your case must be desperate!" "Alas," replied the patient, "I am Carlini, and whilst I make all Paris laugh, I am myself actually dying with chagrin and melancholy."

† See "Memoir," Vol. II. p. 388.



know less, far less, of Foston and of Combe Florey. And, after all, what public life have literary politicians? That Sydney Smith thought little of his public career, is evidenced by a letter which he addressed, in the year 1844, to M. Eugène Robin, in which he observes:—"It is scarcely possible to speak much of self, and I have little or nothing to tell which has not been told before in my preface. I am seventy-four years of age; and being a Canon of St. Paul's in London, and a rector of a parish in the country, my time is divided equally between town and country. I am living amongst the best society in the metropolis, and at ease in my circumstances; in tolerable health, a mild Whig, a tolerating Churchman, and much given to talking, laughing, and noise. I dine with the rich in London, and physic the poor in the country; passing from the saucers of Dives to the sores of Lazarus. I am, upon the whole, a happy man; have found the world an entertaining world, and am thankful to Providence for the part allotted to me in it."\*

So much for his own views of his life; and herein, in this playful, half Epicurean, tone, lies a considerable portion of the interest of these volumes. We might know Sydney Smith as a patriot, as a politician, as a reviewer, or as a wit, but not knowing him as a man, as a man in his home life, we know him not at all. Therefore it is that we welcome this book, given to the world by two women, each of whom is eminently suited to discharge her peculiar part, with justice to her subject, and with entertainment to the reader.

The prefaces to these volumes are not the least interesting portion of their contents: the daughter writes, that some memorial of her father, from those who knew him, may record his struggles, his temptations, his honesty, and his patriotism: the friend edits, that the world may know this man's mind, as his letters display it; and thus both child and friend prove the truth of his own declaration, "I printed my reviews to show, if I could, that I had not passed my life merely in making jokes, but had made use of what little powers of pleasantry I might be endowed with, to discountenance bad, and to encourage liberal and wise principle."†

In the year 1771, an odd, inquisitive, sagacious man, named

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\* See "Memoir," Vol. II., p. 531.

† See Vol. II., p. 428,

Robert Smith, resided at Woodford, in Essex. He had, some years before this period, married a Miss Olier, the youngest daughter of a French emigrant, from Languedoc, driven over to England by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes; this emigrant married a Miss Barton, a collateral descendant of Sir Isaac Newton, through his mother's second marriage. Mr. Smith was, as we have stated, married to Miss Olier, but they parted at the church door, he sailed for America, she went home with her mother, with whom she remained until her husband's return from his wanderings. He was possessed of some money, which he diminished by roaming over the world for many years, and "by buying, altering, spoiling, and then selling about nineteen different places in England, till, in his old age, he at last settled at Bishop's Lydiard, in Somersetshire, where he died."

Mrs. Smith was a woman of noble mind and countenance, and reared her children in all the love and respect which these qualities command; even about her correspondence there was so great a charm, that whenever Sydney, or his brother Courtenay, received a letter from her, during the schoolboy days at Winchester, their young companions would gather round them and request to hear it read aloud. She died about the year 1805.

Sydney Smith was born at Woodford, in the year 1771, the second of four brothers and one sister. These were four odd, impulsive boys. They neglected play; gave every hour of leisure to study, often lying on the floor stretched over their books, discussing all the subjects arising, those often above their years, "with a warmth and fierceness as if life and death hung upon the issue," and the result was, as Sydney Smith used to say, "to make us the most intolerable and overbearing set of boys that can well be imagined, till later in life we found our level in the world."

Robert and Cecil, the eldest and third sons, were sent to Eton, where Robert, called by his schoolfellows Bobus, being then only eighteen, distinguished himself much, and with Canning, Frere, and John Smith, writing *The Microcosm*. He went from Eton to King's College, Cambridge, where he obtained considerable reputation, and was considered an admirable composer of Latin verse; he went out to India in 1804 as Advocate-General of Bengal, and according to Sir James Mackintosh, "his fame amongst the natives was greater than that of any pundit since the days of Menu." He returned to

England in 1812, and obtained a seat in Parliament. He was not distinguished in the House, but his ability was considerable. Canning used to say "Bobus's language is the essence of English." He loved Sydney sincerely, allowed him one hundred pounds per annum for many years, gave him £500, and contributed towards the support of his son at College. One of Sydney's first acts as a clergyman, was the performance of the ceremony of the marriage of Robert with Miss Vernon, aunt to the present Marquis of Lansdowne. He stood by Sydney's death-bed, and his own death took place one fortnight later, and thus a hope, expressed by the former in 1813, was fulfilled—

"Dear Bobus,

Pray take care of yourself. We shall both be a brown infragant powder in thirty or forty years. Let us contrive to last out for the same, or nearly the same time. Weary will the latter half of my pilgrimage be, if you leave me in the lurch."

Sydney was sent, at the age of six years, to a school at Southampton kept by the Rev. Dr. Marsh, and was thence, with his younger brother Courtenay, removed to Winchester. His life here was a hard one, but yet he and his brother so much distinguished themselves, that a round-robin was signed by their schoolfellows and presented to Dr. Warton, the Head Master or Warden of Winchester, "refusing to try for the College prizes if the Smiths were allowed to contend for them any more, as they always gained them." Referring to this period, Sydney used to say—"I believe, whilst a boy at school, I made above ten thousand Latin verses, and no man in his senses would dream in after-life of ever making another. So much for life and time wasted." Possibly the whole spirit of wisdom, pervading his admirable paper, *Too Much Latin and Greek\**, has its inspiration from his recollection of this time cast away.

He left Winchester as Captain, for New College, Oxford, entitled to a Scholarship, and afterwards to a Fellowship. He was too poor and too proud to mix much in College society. He was sent, by his father, in the interval between obtaining his Scholarship and his Fellowship, to Mont Villiers,

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\* See "Works," Ed. 1851, p. 162.

in Normandy, for the purpose of acquiring a knowledge of French, which he always afterwards spoke with fluency. He resided six months in France, but owing to the fierceness of the then raging Revolution, it was considered advisable for his safety that he should join one of the Jacobin Clubs of the town, and he was accordingly entered as "Le Citoyen Smit, Membre Affilié au Club des Jacobins de Mont Villiers."

Of his career in College little is told; he obtained his Fellowship as early as possible, and, from the time of its attainment, his father never gave him one farthing, but left him to support himself as best as he could upon the income of his Fellowship, about £100 per annum. He, however, not alone kept out of debt, but bound himself to pay £30, a debt which his brother Courtenay had contracted whilst at Winchester, and which, on leaving for India, he feared to declare to his father. Courtenay became Supreme Judge of the Adawlut Court, acquired reputation as a judge and Oriental scholar, returned in old age to England, and dying intestate about the year 1842, Sydney became possessed of one third of his fortune.

On leaving College, Sydney was inclined to adopt the Bar as his profession, but his father having educated Robert to the law, and having sent Courtenay and Cecil to India, had first resolved to send Sydney as a supercargo to China, but now pressed him to enter the Church: he agreed, and as he tells us, "When first I went into the Church, I had a curacy in the middle of Salisbury Plain." He lived in a village consisting of a few scattered cottages: once a week a butcher's cart came over from Salisbury; then only could meat be obtained, and he often dined on a mess of potatoes sprinkled with ketchup. He was too poor to buy books, and he was thus forced to cultivate the society of the squire, Mr. Beach, who, according to the fashion of the time, invited the curate to dine with him every Sunday; after the acquaintance, Mr. Beach requested him to resign the curacy, and to accompany his eldest son to the University of Weimar, in Saxony. They set out for Germany, but that country being disturbed by war, "in stress of politics" they "put into Edinburgh," where they remained five years.

When Sydney Smith and his pupil entered Edinburgh, in the year 1797, it numbered amongst its inhabitants men whose names have since then become famous through the world.

He became intimate with all, and amongst the most remarkable of his associates were Horner, Playfair, Scott, Dugald Stewart, John Allen, Brown, Leyden, Lord Webb Seymour, Lord Woodhouselee, Alison, Sir James Hall, but, as he himself states—"Among the first persons with whom I became acquainted were, Lord Jeffrey, Lord Murray, and Lord Brougham; all of these maintaining opinions upon political subjects a little too liberal for the dynasty of Dundas, then exercising supreme power over the northern division of the island."

After residing two years in Edinburgh he returned to England, for the purpose of marrying Miss Pybus, a friend and schoolfellow of his sister Maria. The union was approved by the lady's mother, but was opposed by her brother, Mr. Charles Pybus, who was one of the Lords of the Admiralty under Pitt.

The lady had but a very small fortune, and a pearl necklace, which was sold for £500, to enable the young couple to buy linen and other necessary articles; Sydney's whole resources consisting of his intellect, "and six small silver tea spoons which, from much wear, had become the ghosts of their former selves." Mr. Beach presented him, upon his marriage, with £1000, as a token of his appreciation of the care bestowed upon his eldest son, and at the same time requested him to take charge of his second son, with whom was entrusted to his care, by his guardians, Mr. Gordon, of Ellon Castle. For the care of each of those young men he received £400, the highest sum which had then been given to any but Dugald Stewart: the pupils are still living, and continued to retain for him, to his death, feelings of deep and warm affection.

During his residence in Edinburgh, he occasionally preached in the Episcopal Church, then served by Bishop Sandford; he attended the lectures on Moral Philosophy of Dugald Stewart and of his successor, Dr. Thomas Brown; he also attended, both in Edinburgh and in Oxford, the lectures on Medicine and Anatomy; indeed so attentive had he been to these latter studies in Oxford, that the professor, Sir Christopher Pegge, wished him to become a physician. Feeling the vast extent of usefulness which a knowledge of medicine throws open to a clergyman, he pursued the study so far in Edinburgh as to attend the Clinical Lectures of Dr. Gregory, and many instances are related of his skilful application in after life of the information thus acquired.

It is unnecessary here to refer to the establishment of *The Edinburgh Review*; it has been told so graphically by Sydney Smith, in the preface to his works, that Lady Holland extracts it, and whatever he has not told, is fully detailed in Lord Cockburn's *Jeffrey's Life and Correspondence*.\*

Having, in 1803, completed the education of his two pupils, he was induced by Mrs. Smith, who rated his ability highly, to remove to London, as affording a more extended sphere for the development of his genius. Accordingly, in the year 1804, he took up his residence in Doughty-street, Russell-square, and there amidst the lawyers, he soon became intimate with Romilly, Scarlett, and Mackintosh; to those may be added, Dr. Marcet, Dumont, Whishaw, Lord Dudley and Ward, Sharp, Samuel Rogers, and Luttrell.

His first sermon preached in London, was that called, in the second volume of his *Sermons*, "On Invasion," and was delivered before a large body of Volunteers in the summer of 1804; and a year or two afterwards he preached in aid of the poor Swiss. About this period he obtained, through Sir Thomas Barnard, the preachingship of the Foundling Hospital, and although worth but £50 a year, the office was gladly accepted. He endeavoured, at the same period, to obtain other employment in his profession; for a time all his efforts

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\* Lady Holland, at page 426 of the "Memoir," gives the following list of Sydney Smith's articles in "The Edinburgh Review":—

Vol.	Art.	Page.	Vol.	Art.	Page.	Vol.	Art.	Page.
1	2	18	12	9	151	32	6	389
1	3	24	13	2	25	33	3	68
1	9	83	13	5	77	33	5	91
1	12	94	13	4	333	34	5	109
1	16	113	14	3	40	34	2	320
1	18	122	14	11	145	34	8	422
1	20	128	14	5	353	35	5	92
1	6	314	14	13	490	35	7	129
1	10	382	15	3	40	35	2	286
2	2	30	15	3	299	36	6	110
2	4	53	16	7	158	36	3	353
2	6	86	16	3	326	37	2	325
2	14	186	16	7	399	37	7	432
2	17	172	17	4	330	38	4	85
2	22	202	17	8	393	39	2	43
2	2	287	18	3	325	39	2	299
2	4	330	21	4	93	40	2	31
2	10	398	22	4	67	40	7	427
3	12	146	23	8	189	41	7	143
3	7	334	31	2	44	42	4	367
3	9	355	31	6	182	43	2	292
3	12	177	31	2	295	43	7	395
10	4	299	32	2	28	44	2	47
10	6	329	32	3	309	45	3	74
11	5	341	32	6	111	45	7	423
12	5	32						

were vain, but after some delay he was requested to act as morning preacher at the Berkeley Chapel, in John-street, Berkeley Square. The chapel had been long deserted; its proprietor, Mr. Bowerbank, had been for some time anxious to sell it, but in a few weeks after Sydney Smith became the preacher, not a seat was to be had,—ladies and gentlemen being frequently forced to stand in the aisles throughout the service; and so it continued until Sydney left London in the year 1809. Dugald Stewart, Horner, the late Bishop of Norwich, all expressed their admiration of his powers as a preacher; and for our own part, we feel bound to state that no Christian, be his creed what it may, can read Sydney Smith's sermons without improvement—and for this simple reason, that they are all directed to subjects on which all agree. In addition to the fame which these sermons gained for him, he had the higher happiness of receiving letters informing him of the gratitude of the writers, and assuring him that his sermons had checked them in courses of vice.

About this period, by the proposal of Sir Thomas Barnard, he delivered a course of Lectures on Moral Philosophy at the Royal Institution. These were most successful; all parts of the Lecture-room were crowded, and even the lobbies and doors were occupied, and only those who came an hour before the opening could obtain seats. The next season galleries were erected: he continued to lecture during the three consecutive years. Sir Robert Peel talked of the lectures, and referred with admiration to them; and Horner and Jeffrey have likewise borne testimony to their ability. However, if we judge these lectures merely as discourses on Moral Philosophy, and *not as Sydney Smith's discourses*, our admiration is lessened, and we must attribute much of their success to his delivery, and to the qualities indicated by Horner, when he wrote of these lectures, "who could make such a mixture of odd paradox, quaint fun, manly sense, liberal opinions, and striking language?" Indeed the *reason why* the lectures succeeded is well shown in the tenth of the series, and it proves the couplet of Pope there quoted—

"True wit is nature to advantage drest,  
Oft thought before, but ne'er so well exprést."

After the first of the series of Lectures, he was allowed to name his own terms, and, from the proceeds of the entire course, he furnished his house in Orchard-street.

And yet, whilst all the world of London was gathering to hear these sermons and lectures, he thus writes to Jeffrey of the former :—" You talked of reviewing my sermons, now published : I should be obliged to you to lay aside the idea ; I know very well my sermons are quite insignificant."\* And thus he writes of the latter—" My lectures are just now at such an absurd pitch of celebrity, that I must lose a good deal of reputation before the public settles into a just equilibrium respecting them. I am most heartily ashamed of my own fame, because I am conscious I do not deserve it, and that the moment men of sense are provoked by the clamour to look into my claims, it will be at an end."† And in 1843, writing to Dr. Whewell, he observes :—" My lectures are gone to the dogs, and are utterly forgotten. I knew nothing of moral philosophy, but I was thoroughly aware that I wanted £200 to furnish my house. The success, however, was prodigious ; all Albemarle-street blocked up with carriages, and such an uproar as I never remember to have been excited by any other literary imposture. Every week I had a new theory about conception and perception ; and supported by a natural manner, a torrent of words, and an impudence scarcely credible in this prudent age. Still, in justice to myself, I must say there were some good things in them. But good and bad are all gone. By 'moral philosophy' you mean, as they mean at Edinburgh, mental philosophy ; *i. e.* the faculties of the mind, and the effects which our reasoning powers and our passions produce upon the actions of our lives."‡

His life in London at this period was happy as health, a good, honest heart, and true friends could make it. Supper parties were held once a week at his house, a general invitation being given to twenty or thirty friends, who came as they pleased, and the society was varied by chance invited guests ; but no display, save that of priceless wit, was made at these gatherings.

In the year 1806, the Whigs were for a short period in office. Sydney had become a welcome guest at Holland House, and with the first ray of the Whig sunshine he, having, as he said, " lived so long on the north side of the wall," hoped

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\* See "Memoir," Vol. II., p. 50

† See "Memoir," Vol. II., p. 16.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 487.



that some position of usefulness in the Church would now be offered to him, and through the exertions of Lord Holland, he obtained, from the Chancellor, Erskine, the living of Foston-le-Clay, in Yorkshire. No clergyman had resided at Foston for one hundred and fifty years; and the house was dilapidated in the extreme, and the glebe land consisted of three hundred and fifty acres of the stiffest clay, adjoining a remote village. He did not intend to reside in the parish, but, as Percival's Residence Bill was passed in the year 1808, he was compelled not alone to reside in his parish, but actually to build a parsonage—truly may it be said that the Residence Bill was “the most just in its intentions, and the most unjust in its effects.”

Having work to do he did it. He took lodgings at Heslington; he began to build his parsonage; he learned to take an interest in country affairs. Lady Holland writes:—

“He used to dig vigorously an hour or two each day in his garden, as he said, ‘to avoid sudden death,’ for he was even then inclined to *embonpoint*, and perhaps, as a young man, may have been considered somewhat clumsy in figure (though I never thought so), for I have often heard from my father that a college friend used to say to him, ‘Sydney, your sense, wit, and clumsiness, always gives me the idea of an *Athenian carter*.’ He spent much time in reading and composition; his activity was unceasing; I hardly remember seeing him unoccupied, but when engaged in conversation. He never considered his education as finished; he had always some object in hand to investigate. He read with great rapidity. I think it was said of Johnson, ‘Look at Johnson, tearing out the bowels of his book.’ It might be said of my father, that he was running off with their contents, for he galloped through the pages so rapidly, that we often laughed at him when he shut up a thick quarto as his morning's work, and said he meant he had looked at it, not read it. ‘Cross-examine me, then,’ said he; and we generally found he knew all that was worth knowing in it; though I do not think he had a very retentive memory. The same peculiarity characterized his compositions;—when he had any subject in hand, he was indefatigable in reading, searching, inquiring, seeking every source of information, and discussing it with any man of sense or cultivation who crossed his path. But having once mastered it, he would sit down, and you might see him committing his ideas to paper with the same rapidity that they flowed out in his conversation,—no hesitation, no erasures, no stopping to consider and round his periods, no writing for effect, but a pouring out of the fulness of his mind and feelings, for he was heart and soul in whatever he undertook. One could see by his countenance how much he was interested or amused as fresh images came clustering round his pen; he hardly ever altered or corrected what he had written (as I find by many manuscripts I have of his);

indeed, he was so impatient of this, that he could hardly bear the trouble of even looking over what he had written, but would not unfrequently throw the manuscript down on the table as soon as finished, and say, 'There, it is done; now, Kate, do look over it, and put in dots to the i's and strokes to the f's'—and he would sally forth to his morning's walk.

After his evening walk he would sit down to his singular writing establishment, which I shall describe hereafter, placed by the servant always in the same place; and here, after looking through business papers and bills with as much plodding method as an attorney's clerk, he would suddenly push them all aside, and, as if to refresh his mind, take up his pen. His power of abstraction was so great that he would begin to compose, with as much rapidity and ease as another man would write a letter, those essays which are before the world, or some of those sermons of which my mother has given a few to the public since his death; often reading what he had written, listening to our criticisms (as Molière did to his old woman), and this in the midst of all the conversation and interruptions of a family party, with talking or music going on."

He was a constant student too, and in kindness to the poor and in never-tiring love of children, he was a true brother-parson of *Doctor Primrose*.

He was not alone in his Yorkshire exile. Many friends visited him, and his time was all employed in the duties of his parish, in literary composition, or in the interchange of kindnesses. This life continued for three years, and thus he describes the events of the period:—

"A diner-out, a wit, and a popular preacher, I was suddenly caught up by the Archbishop of York, and transported to my living in Yorkshire, where there had not been a resident clergyman for a hundred and fifty years. Fresh from London, not knowing a turnip from a carrot, I was compelled to farm three hundred acres, and without capital to build a parsonage-house.

I asked and obtained three years' leave from the Archbishop, in order to effect an exchange, if possible; and fixed myself meantime at a small village two miles from York, in which was a fine old house of the time of Queen Elizabeth, where resided the last of the squires, with his lady, who looked as if she had walked straight out of the Ark, or had been the wife of Enoch. He was a perfect specimen of the Trullibers of old; he smoked, hunted, drank beer at his door with his grooms and dogs, and spelt over the county paper on Sundays.

At first, he heard I was a Jacobin and a dangerous fellow, and turned aside as I passed: but at length, when he found the peace of the village undisturbed, harvests much as usual, Juno and Ponto uninjured, he first bowed, then called, and at last reached such a pitch of confidence that he used to bring the papers, that I might explain the difficult words to him; actually discovered that I had

made a joke, laughed till I thought he would have died of convulsions, and ended by inviting me to see his dogs.

All my efforts for an exchange having failed, I asked and obtained from my friend the Archbishop another year to build in. And I then set my shoulder to the wheel in good earnest; sent for an architect; he produced plans which would have ruined me. I made him my bow: 'You build for glory, Sir; I, for use.' I returned him his plans, with five-and-twenty pounds, and sat down in my thinking-chair, and in a few hours Mrs. Sydney and I concocted a plan which has produced what I call the model of parsonage-houses.

I then took to horse to provide bricks and timber; was advised to make my own bricks, of my own clay; of course, when the kiln was opened, all bad; mounted my horse again, and in twenty-four hours had bought thousands of bricks and tons of timber. Was advised by neighbouring gentlemen to employ oxen: bought four,—Tug and Lug, Hawl and Crawl; but Tug and Lug took to fainting, and required buckets of sal-volatile, and Hawl and Crawl to lie down in the mud. So I did as I ought to have done at first,—took the advice of the farmer instead of the gentleman; sold my oxen, bought a team of horses, and at last, in spite of a frost which delayed me six weeks, in spite of walls running down with wet, in spite of the advice and remonstrances of friends who predicted our death, in spite of an infant of six months old, who had never been out of the house, I landed my family in my new house nine months after laying the first stone, on the 20th of March; and performed my promise to the letter to the Archbishop, by issuing forth at midnight with a lanthorn to meet the last cart, with the cook and the cat, which had stuck in the mud, and fairly established them before twelve o'clock at night in the new parsonage house;—a feat, taking ignorance, inexperience, and poverty into consideration, requiring, I assure you, no small degree of energy.

It made me a very poor man for many years, but I never repented it. I turned schoolmaster, to educate my son, as I could not afford to send him to school. Mrs. Sydney turned schoolmistress, to educate my girls, as I could not afford a governess. I turned farmer, as I could not let my land. A man-servant was too expensive; so I caught up a little garden-girl, made like a milestone, christened her Bunch, put a napkin in her hand, and made her my butler. The girls taught her to read, Mrs. Sydney to wait, and I undertook her morals; Bunch became the best butler in the county.

I had little furniture, so I bought a cart-load of deals; took a carpenter (who came to me for parish relief, called Jack Robinson) with a face like a full-moon, into my service; established him in a barn, and said, 'Jack, furnish my house.' You see the result!

At last it was suggested that a carriage was much wanted in the establishment; after diligent search, I discovered, in the back settlements of a York coachmaker, an ancient green chariot, supposed to have been the earliest invention of the kind. I brought it home in triumph to my admiring family. Being somewhat dilapidated, the village tailor lined it, the village blacksmith repaired it; nay, (but for Mrs. Sydney's earnest entreaties,) we believe the village

painter would have exercised his genius upon the exterior; it escaped this danger however, and the result was wonderful. Each year added to its charms: it grew younger and younger; a new wheel, a new spring; I christened it the *Immortal*; it was known all over the neighbourhood; the village boys cheered it, and the village dogs barked at it; but 'Faber meæ fortunæ,' was my motto, and we had no false shame.

Added to all these domestic cares, I was village parson, village doctor, village comforter, village magistrate, and Edinburgh Reviewer; so you see I had not much time left on my hands to regret London.

My house was considered the ugliest in the county, but all admitted it was one of the most comfortable; and we did not die, as our friends had predicted, of the damp walls of the parsonage."

The parsonage at Foston was at length finished, and the removal to, and life in it, are thus described by Lady Holland:—

"It was a cold, bright March day, with a biting east wind. The beds we left in the morning had to be packed up and slept on at night; waggon after waggon of furniture poured in every minute; the roads were so cut up that the carriage could not reach the door; and my mother lost her shoe in the mud, which was ankle-deep, whilst bringing her infant up to the house in her arms.

But oh, the shout of joy as we entered and took possession!—the first time in our lives that we had inhabited a house of our own. How we admired it, ugly as it was! With what pride my dear father welcomed us, and took us from room to room; old Molly Mills, the milk-woman, who had had charge of the house, grinning with delight in the background. We thought it a palace; yet the drawing-room had no door, the bare plaster walls ran down with wet, the windows were like ground-glass from the moisture which had to be wiped up several times a day by the housemaid. No carpets, no chairs, nothing unpacked; rough men bringing in rougher packages at every moment. But then was the time to behold my father!—amid the confusion, he thought for everybody, cared for everybody, encouraged everybody, kept everybody in good-humour. How he exerted himself! how his loud, rich voice might be heard in all directions, ordering, arranging, explaining, till the household storm gradually subsided! Each half-hour improved our condition; fires blazed in every room; at last we all sat down to our tea, spread by ourselves on a huge package before the drawing-room fire, sitting on boxes round it; and retired to sleep on our beds placed on the floor;—the happiest, merriest, and busiest family in Christendom. In a few days, under my father's active exertions, everything was arranged with tolerable comfort in the little household, and it began to assume its wonted appearance.

In speaking of the establishment of Foston, Annie Kay must not be forgotten. She entered our service at nineteen years of age, but possessing a degree of sense and lady-like feeling not often found in her situation of life,—first as nurse then as lady's-maid, then

—housekeeper, apothecary's boy, factotum, and friend. All who have been much at Foston or Combe Florey know Annie Kay; she was called into consultation on every family event, and proved herself a worthy oracle. Her counsels were delivered in the softest voice, with the sweetest smile, and in the broadest Yorkshire. She ended by nursing her old master through his long and painful illness, night and day; she was with him at his death; she followed him to his grave; she was remembered in his will; she survived him but two years, which she spent in my mother's house; and, after her long and faithful service of thirty years, was buried by my mother in the same cemetery as her master, respected and lamented by all his family, as the most faithful of servants and friends.

So much for the interior of the establishment. Out-of-doors reigned Molly Mills,—cow, pig, poultry, garden, and post woman; with her short red petticoat, her legs like millposts, her high cheek-bones red and shrivelled like winter apples; a perfect specimen of a 'yeowoman'; a sort of kindred spirit, too; for she was the wit of the village, and delighted in a crack with her master, when she could get it. She was as important in her vocation as Annie Kay in hers; and Molly here, and Molly there, might be heard in every direction. Molly was always merry, willing, active, and true as gold; she had little book-learning, but enough to bring up two fine athletic sons, as honest as herself; though, unlike her, they were never seen to smile, but were as solemn as two owls, and would not have said a civil thing to save their lives. They ruled the farm. Add to these, the pet donkey, Bitty, already introduced to the public; a tame fawn, at last dismissed for eating the maid's clothes, which he preferred to any other diet; and a lame goose, condemned at last to be roasted for eating all the fruit in the garden; together with Bunch and Jack Robinson already mentioned,—and you have the establishment."

Of his method of managing the household, Mrs. Marcet gives the following account:—

"I was coming down stairs the next morning (she continues), when Mr. Smith suddenly said to Bunch, who was passing, 'Bunch, do you like roast duck or boiled chicken?' Bunch had probably never tasted either one or the other in her life, but answered, without a moment's hesitation, 'Roast duck, please, Sir,' and disappeared. I laughed. 'You may laugh,' said he, 'but you have no idea of the labour it has cost me to give her that decision of character. The Yorkshire peasantry are the quickest and shrewdest in the world, but you can never get a direct answer from them; if you ask them even their own names, they always scratch their heads, and say, 'A's sur ai don't knaw, Sur'; but I have brought Bunch to such perfection, that she never hesitates now on any subject, however difficult. I am very strict with her. Would you like to hear her repeat her crimes? She has them by heart, and repeats them every day.'

'Come here, Bunch!' (calling out to her), 'come and repeat your crimes to Mrs. Marcet;' and Bunch, a clean, fair, squat, tidy little girl, about ten or twelve years of age, quite as a matter of

course, as grave as a judge, without the least hesitation, and with a loud voice, began to repeat—'Plate-snatching, gravy-spilling, door-slamming, blue-bottle fly-catching, and curtsy-bobbing.' 'Explain to Mrs. Marcet what blue-bottle fly-catching is.' 'Standing with my mouth open and not attending, Sir.' 'And what is curtsy-bobbing?' 'Curtseying to the centre of the earth, please, Sir.' 'Good girl! now you may go. She makes a capital waiter, I assure you; on *state* occasions Jack Robinson, my carpenter, takes off his apron and waits too, and does pretty well, but he sometimes naturally makes a mistake, and sticks a gimlet into the bread instead of a fork.'"

Of the house, and all its belonging, we have this graphic description, from the pen of a clerical friend afterwards promoted to the bench, who visited Sydney Smith, and sent by that friend's widow to Lady Holland:—

"A man's character is probably more faithfully represented in the arrangements of his home than in any other point; and Foston is a facsimile of its master's mind, from first to last. He had no architect, but I question whether a more compact, convenient house could well be imagined. In the midst of a field, commanding no very attractive view, he has contrived to give it an air of snugness and comfort, and its internal arrangements are perfect. The drawing-room is the colour you covet, the genuine chromium, with a sort of yellow flowering pattern. It is exquisitely filled with irregular regularities—tables, books, chairs, Indian wardrobes; everything finished in thorough taste, without the slightest reference to smartness or useless finery; and his inventive genius appears in every corner; his fires are blown into brightness by *shadrachs*, tubes furnished with air from without, opening into the centre of the fire; his poker, tongs, and shovel are secured from falling with that horrid crash which is so destructive to the nerves and temper.

His own study has no appearance of comfort; but as he reads and writes in his family circle, in spite of talking and other interruptions, this is of less consequence. In other respects it has its attractions: there, for instance, he keeps his rheumatic armour, all of which he displayed out of a large bag, giving me an illustrated lecture upon each component part. Fancy him in a fit of rheumatism, his legs in two narrow buckets, which he calls his jack-boots; round the throat a hollow tin collar; over each shoulder a large tin thing like a shoulder of mutton; on his head a hollow tin helmet, all filled with hot water; and fancy him expatiating upon each and all of them with ultra-energy.

His bedrooms are counterparts of the lower rooms; in mine there were twenty-eight large Piranesi prints of ancient Rome, mounted just as we do ours, but without frames, and, indeed, in every vacant part of the house he has them hung up.

His store-room is more like that of an Indianman than anything else, containing such a complete and well-assorted portion of every possible want or wish in a country establishment.

The same spirit prevails in his garden and farm : contrivance and singularity in every hole and corner.

'What, in the name of wonder, is that skeleton sort of machine in the middle of your field?' 'Oh, that is my universal Scratcher ; a framework so contrived, that every animal, from a lamb to a bullock, can rub and scratch itself with the greatest facility and luxury.'

I arrived there on Saturday evening, walking from York, by which I contrived to lose my way, and take possession of another man's home and drawing-room fireside for some time before the host appeared, and the mistake was discovered.

On Sunday we prepared for church ; he was hoarse, so I was to read ; against preaching I had provided by having no sermon. Good heavens ! what a set-out ! The family chariot, which he calls the *Immortal*, from having been altered and repaired in every possible way—the last novelty, a lining of green cloth, worked and fitted by the village tailor—appeared at the door, with a pair of shafts substituted for the pole, in which shafts stood one of his cart-horses, with the regular cart harness, and a driver by its side. In the inside the ladies were seated : on the dicky behind I mounted with him ; but his servant having placed the cushions without first putting in the wooden board, on sitting down, we sank through, to his great amusement. These preliminaries being adjusted, we set out.

The church resembles a barn more than anything else, in size and shape ; though, from two old Saxon doors, it shows claim to higher antiquity than most others. About fifty people were assembled ; I entered the reading-desk ; he followed the prayers with a plain, sound sermon upon the duty of forgiving injuries, but in manner and voice clearly proving that he felt what he said, and meant that others should feel it too.

His domestic establishment is on a par with the rest : his head servant is his carpenter, and never appears excepting on company days. We were waited upon by his usual *corps domestique*, one little girl, about fourteen years of age ; named, I believe, Mary or Fanny, but invariably called by them Bunch. With the most immovable gravity she stands before him when he gives his orders, the answers to which he makes her repeat verbatim, to ensure accuracy.

Not to lose time, he farms with a tremendous speaking-trumpet from his door ; a proper companion for which machine is a telescope, slung in leather, for observing what they are doing.

On Monday came Lady H. Hall, her two daughters and her two sons ; the latter, Captain B. Hall, a *rara avis* I have long wished to see ; and Peter Tytler, son (is he not ?) to the author. What a charm there is in good society and well informed people ! what would you not have given to have heard the mass of wit, sense, anecdote, and instruction that flowed incessantly !"

To this last quoted passage Lady Holland adds :—

"The equipage alluded to in this letter requires a little explanation. Our house was above a mile from the little church, with roads to it of the stiffest and deepest clay, hardly passable to women in wet weather or winter, and my mother was in delicate health. We

could not afford horses ; so my father, never ashamed of showing his poverty when he thought it right, hit upon this rude and cheap device, to enable his family to accompany him in all weathers to church. Ludicrous as this description may appear to the reader, yet the proprieties of life were attended to. The horse, the harness, the Immortal, and the carter, all wore their best and cleanest Sunday garb, and I think they excited respect rather than ridicule amidst his humble congregation.

A word, too, ought to be said in explanation of the drawing-room furniture alluded to in this letter with so much praise. It consisted of a few relics preserved from the valuable Indian furniture left by my grandmother, the greater part of which had been parted with by my mother for our benefit. All the rest was plain enough, though still in good taste. Economy, in the estimation of common minds, often means the absence of all taste and comfort ; my father had the rare art to combine it with both. For instance, he found it added much to the expense of building to have high walls ; he therefore threw the whole space of the roof into his bedrooms, coved the ceilings and papered them, and thus they were all airy, gay, cheap, and pretty. Cornices he found expensive ; so not one in the house, but the paper border, thrown on the ceiling with a line of shade under it. This relieved the eye, and atoned for their absence. Marble chimney-pieces were too dear ; so he hunted out a cheap, warm-looking Portland stone, had them cut after his own model, and the result was to produce some of the most cheerful, comfortable-looking fireplaces I remember, for as many shillings as the marble ones would have cost him pounds.

After my father became rich, at the end of life, he amusingly alludes, in one of his letters, to the joy my mother would feel on finding he had put up marble chimneypieces in his town-house.\*

In his youth my father had been very fond of the game of chess, but had left it off for many years. He suddenly took it into his head to resume it this winter, and selected me, *faute de mieux*, as his antagonist. His mode of play was very characteristic—bold, rapid attack, without a moment's pause or indecision, which I suspect would have exposed him to danger from a more experienced adversary ; but as it was, with a profound contempt for my skill, promising me a shilling if I beat him, he sat down with a book in his hand, looked up for an instant, made a move, and beat me regularly every night all through the winter. At last I won my shilling, but lost my playfellow ; he challenged me no more.

My father was very fond of singing, but rather slow in learning a song, though when once he had accomplished it, he sang it very correctly. As he never tired of his old friends, and had always some new one on the stocks, there was a tolerable variety of songs to select from ; and, with my mother's beautiful accompaniment (she was a very accomplished musician) and his own really fine voice, our trios succeeded in pleasing him so much that he would

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\* \* See Letter to Mrs. Holland in the Correspondence."



often *encore* himself. He was so perfectly natural, that though I think (and I have heard many people remark it) the general tendency of his conversation was to underrate himself, yet whenever he was particularly pleased or satisfied with anything he had said or done, he would say so as frankly as if he had been speaking of another person. 'There is one talent I think I have to a remarkable degree,' I have heard him say: 'there are substances in nature called amalgams, whose property is to combine incongruous materials; now I am a moral amalgam, and have a peculiar talent for mixing up human materials in society, however repellent their natures.' And certainly I have seen a party, composed of materials as ill-assorted as the individuals of the 'happy family' in Trafalgar-square, drawn out and attracted together by the charm of his manner, till at last you would have believed they had been born for one another."

In the year 1828 he was appointed to a stall in Bristol Cathedral, by Lord Lyndhurst, and his first sermon there was preached on the 5th of November, and, as he says, he gave "the most Protestant Mayor and Corporation in England, such a dose of toleration as shall last them many a year."

Having become a Prebendary of Bristol, he was entitled to one of the livings, and through the kindness of Lord Lyndhurst, he was enabled to exchange Foston for the smaller, but more beautifully situated, living of Combe Florey, near Taunton. Here the task of building was once more forced upon him, but, writes Lady Holland,—

"In the midst of our building operations, when the greater part of the roof of the house, which required renewing, was put together in rafters on the lawn, we received a visit from our friend Lord Jeffrey. I well remember our sitting out there amidst the rafters, surrounded by busy workmen, and animated by the delicious weather and the beauty of the scene around. He and my father gave full play to their fancy and imagination; and nothing could be more delightful than to sit and watch them, and listen to the playfulness and variety of their conversation. I have, I believe, omitted several of Lord Jeffrey's visits; having no other recollections of them, I am sorry to say, than that of the pleasure they always afforded to both old and young. But this, I think, was his last visit to us, and it was touching to observe these two eminent men, who had begun the struggle of life together, who had loved each other so long and so well, who had both now attained eminence and honour in their respective professions without one act of baseness, sitting together in this little earthly paradise, and, in their elder age, talking over and looking back on the past with all the pleasure and satisfaction of well-spent lives. Such scenes are pleasant and useful to dwell upon.

As a dignitary of the Church, my father now thought it more becoming to put his name to what he should hereafter write, and

he therefore withdrew from the *Edinburgh Review*; collecting and publishing about ten years after the greater part of his contributions to it. He says, on doing so:—"I see very little in my reviews to alter or repent of. I always endeavoured to fight against evil, and what I thought evil then I think evil now. I am heartily glad that all our disqualifying laws for religious opinions are abolished, and I see nothing in such measures but unmixed good and real increase of strength to the Establishment. To set on foot such a journal in such times, to contribute towards it for many years, to bear patiently the reproach and poverty which it caused, and to look back and see that I have nothing to retract, and no intemperance and violence to reproach myself with, is a career of life which I must think to be extremely fortunate.

'Strange and ludicrous are the changes in human affairs! The Tories are now on the treadmill, and the well-paid Whigs are riding in chariots; with many faces however looking out of the windows (including that of our Prime Minister), which I never remember to have seen in the days of poverty and depression of Whiggism. Liberty is now a lucrative business. Whoever has any institution to destroy, may consider himself as a commissioner, and his fortune made; and, to my utter and never-ending astonishment, I, an old *Edinburgh Reviewer*, find myself fighting, in the year 1839, against the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London for the existence of the National Church.'

"One of the earliest uses he made of his increase of wealth was to indulge himself by enlarging his library, and supplying those deficiencies before alluded to, which he had so long suffered under; and his books, which at Foston for many years had humbly occupied only the end of his little dining-room, now boldly spread themselves over three sides of a pretty odd room, dignified by the name of library,—about twenty-eight feet long and eight feet high,—ending in a bay-window supported by pillars, looking into the garden, and which he had obtained by throwing a pantry, a passage, and a shoe-hole together. In this pretty, gay room we breakfasted, he sat, and when alone we spent the evening with him. He used to say, 'No furniture so charming as books, even if you never open them, or read a single word.'"

In the year 1831 he was appointed, by Earl Grey, Prebendary of St. Paul's, in exchange for one of inferior value held in Bristol; and from this period until his death, the remarkable events of his life were, his Letters to Archdeacon Singleton, the collection and publication of his writings, and his Letters on American Debts.

Of the letters to Archdeacon Singleton, considered as specimens of close, clear, energetic reasoning, there can be no opinion save that they are, if possible, superior to the Letters of Peter Plymley. That the bill before the House was one most injurious and ill-considered cannot be denied; an din

defending the deans and chapters, in resisting the spoliation of the ecclesiastical corporations, Sydney Smith but acted from those convictions of right and justice which his good sense and honesty ever placed distinctly before him, as the guiding principles in every action of life. To resist this Whig measure was no desertion of the Whig party: it was not a churchman defending the abuses of an ecclesiastical polity, it was a priest defending the rights of his order; and that defence, whilst supporting the arguments for reformation, was strengthening every thing worthy preservation within the sanctuary. Doubtless his own interests were closely connected with the stability of the Chapters; but, after thirty-five years of total self-forgetfulness in all political shifts and changes; after having fought the battle for his party at a period when the Whigs were but a political rabble, and when to stand by them was to embrace beggary and suspicion of disaffection; after having thus acted, to accuse him of desertion or of selfishness, is to forget his character, and to forget noble deeds of heroic courage and daring self-devotion, which, to use his own expression, applied to another, "when Joseph Hume and Wilson Croker are powdered into the dust of death, will gain great and deserved fame."

Of Sydney Smith's wit and humor the two volumes afford many specimens. We have noted a selection of these, both from the *Memoir* and from the letters, and first insert those extracted from the former volume:—

"To these suppers occasionally came a country cousin of my father's,—a simple, warm-hearted rustic; and she used to come up to him and whisper, 'Now, Sydney, I know these are all very remarkable men; do tell me who they are.' 'Oh yes,' said Sydney, laughing, 'that is Hannibal,' pointing to Mr. Wishaw, 'he lost his leg in the Carthaginian War; and that is Socrates,' pointing to Luttrell; 'and that is Solon,' pointing to Horner,—'you have heard of Solon?' The girl opened her ears, eyes, and mouth with admiration, half doubting, half believing that Sydney was making fun of her: but perfectly convinced that if they were not the individuals in question, they were something quite as great.

It was on occasion of one of these suppers that Sir James Mackintosh happened to bring with him a raw Scotch cousin, an ensign in a Highland regiment. On hearing the name of his host he suddenly turned round, and, nudging Sir James, said in an audible whisper, 'Is that the great Sir Sydney?' 'Yes, yes,' said Sir James, much amused; and giving my father the hint, on the instant he assumed the military character, performed the part of the hero of Acre to perfection, fought all his battles over again, and showed how he had charged the Turks, to the infinite delight of the young

Scotchman, who was quite enchanted with the kindness and condescension of 'the great Sir Sudney,' as he called him, and to the absolute torture of the other guests, who were bursting with suppressed laughter at the scene before them. At last, after an evening of the most inimitable acting on the part both of my father and Sir James, nothing would serve the young Highlander but setting off, at twelve o'clock at night, to fetch the piper of his regiment to pipe to 'the great Sir Sudney,' who said he had never heard the bagpipes; upon which the whole party broke up and dispersed instantly, for Sir James said his Scotch cousin would infallibly cut his throat if he discovered his mistake. A few days afterwards, when Sir James Mackintosh and his Scotch cousin were walking in the streets, they met my father with my mother on his arm. He introduced her as his wife, upon which the Scotch cousin said in a low voice to Sir James, and looking at my mother, 'I did na ken the great Sir Sudney was married.' 'Why, no,' said Sir James, a little embarrassed and winking at him, 'not ex-act-ly married,—only an Egyptian slave he brought over with him; Fatima—you know—you understand.' My mother was long known in the little circle as Fatima."

"Amongst our rural delights at Heslington was the possession of a young donkey, which had been given up to our tender mercies from the time of its birth, and in whose education we employed a large portion of our spare time; and a most accomplished donkey it became under our tuition; it would walk up-stairs, pick pockets, follow us in our walks like a huge Newfoundland dog, and at the most distant sight of us in the field, with ears down and tail erect, it set off in full bray to meet us. These demonstrations on Bitty's part were met with not less affection on ours, and Bitty was almost considered a member of the family.

One day, when my elder brother and myself were training our beloved Bitty with a pocket-handkerchief for a bridle, and his head crowned with flowers, to run round our garden, who should arrive in the midst of our sport but Mr. Jeffrey. Finding my father out, he, with his usual kindness towards young people, immediately joined in our sport, and, to our infinite delight, mounted our donkey. He was proceeding in triumph, amidst our shouts of laughter, when my father and mother, in company, I believe, with Mr. Horner and Mr. Murray, returned from their walk, and beheld this scene from the garden-door. Though years and years have passed away since, I still remember the joy-inspiring laughter that burst from my father at this unexpected sight, as, advancing towards his old friend, with a face beaming with delight and with extended hands, he broke forth in the following impromptu:—

'Witty as Horatius Flaccus,  
As great a Jacobin as Gracchus;  
Short, though not as fat, as Bacchus,  
Riding on a little jackass.'

These lines were afterwards repeated by some one to Mr. ——— at Holland House, just before he was introduced for the first time to Mr. Jeffrey, and they caught his fancy to such a degree that he

could not get them out of his head, but kept repeating them in a low voice all the time Mr. Jeffrey was conversing with him.

I must end Bitty's history, as he has been introduced, by saying that he followed us to Foston; and after serving us faithfully for thirteen years, on our leaving Yorkshire was permitted by our kind friend Lord Carlisle to spend the rest of his days in idleness and plenty, in his beautiful park, with an unbounded command of thistles."

"Yet nobody's wit was of so high an order as Talleyrand's when it did come, or has so well stood the test of time. You remember when his friend Montrond was taken ill, and exclaimed, '*Mon ami, je sens les tourmens de l'enfer.*' '*Quoi! déjà?*' was his reply. And when he sat at dinner between Madame de Staël and Madame Récamier, the celebrated beauty, Madame de Staël, whose beauties were certainly not those of the person, jealous of his attentions to her rival, insisted upon knowing which he would save if they were both drowning. After seeking in vain to evade her, he at last turned towards her and said, with his usual shrug, '*Ah, Madame, vous savez nager.*' And when ——— exclaimed, '*Me voilà entre l'esprit et la beauté,*' he answered, '*Oui, et sans posséder ni l'un ni l'autre.*' And of Madame ——— '*Oui, elle est belle, très-belle; mais pour la toilette, cela commence trop tard, et finit trop tôt.*' Of Lord ——— he said, '*C'est la bienveillance même, mais la bienveillance la plus perturbative que j'ai jamais connu.*' To a friend of mine he said on one occasion, '*Miladi, voulez-vous me prêter ce livre?*' '*Oui, mais vous me le rendrez?*' '*Oui.*' '*Parole de honneur?*' '*Oui.*' '*Vous en êtes sûr?*' '*Oui, oui, miladi; mais, pour vous le rendre, il faut absolument d'abord me le prêter.*'

What a talker that Frenchman Buchon is! Macaulay is a Trap-pist compared to him.

I was, many years ago, talking in Talleyrand's presence to my brother Bobus, who was just then beginning his career at the Bar, and said, '*Mind, Bobus, when you are Chancellor I shall expect one of your best livings.*' '*Oui, mon ami,*' said Bobus, '*Mais d'abord je vous ferai commettre toutes les bassesses dont les prêtres sont capables.*' On which Talleyrand, throwing up his hands and eyes, exclaimed, with a shrug, '*Mais quelle latitude énorme!*'

The conversation then turned upon society in London, and its effect upon character. '*I always tell Lady P—— she has preserved the two impossible concomitants of a London life—a good complexion and a good heart. Most London dinners evaporate in whis-pers to one's next-door neighbour. I make it a rule never to speak a word to mine, but fire across the table; though I broke it once when I heard a lady who sat next me, in a low, sweet voice, say, 'No gravy, sir.' I had never seen her before, but I turned sud-denly round and said, 'Madam, I have been looking for a person who disliked gravy all my life; let us swear eternal friendship.' She looked astonished, but took the oath, and what is better, kept it. You laugh, Miss ———; but what more usual foundation for friendship, let me ask, than similarity of tastes?*'

Talking of tastes, my father quite shared in his friend Mrs. Opie's for light, heat, and fragrance. The first was almost a passion with

him, which he indulged by means of little tin lamps with mutton-fat, in the days of his poverty—these, when a little richer, to our great joy, were exchanged for oil-lamps—and lastly, in the days of his wealth, for a profusion of wax-lights. The heat of his patent fire-places has been mentioned, and his delight in flowers was extreme. He often went into the garden the moment he was dressed, and returned with his hands full of roses, to place them on the plates at breakfast. He liked to see the young people staying in his house dressed with natural flowers, and encouraged us to invent all sorts of flowery ornaments, such as earrings and necklaces, some of which were really very graceful.

The following are some fragments of my father's conversation in London.

Some one asked if the Bishop of —— was going to marry. 'Perhaps he may,' said my father; 'yet how can a bishop marry? How can he flirt? The most he can say is, 'I will see you in the vestry after service.'

'On, don't read those twelve volumes till they are made into a *consommé* of two. Lord Dudley did still better, he waited till they blew over.'

Talking of tithes: 'It is an atrocious way of paying the clergy. The custom of tithe in kind will seem incredible to our posterity; no one will believe in the ramiferous priest officiating in the cornfield.'

'Our friend —— makes all the country smell like Piccadilly.'

An argument arose, in which my father observed how many of the most eminent men of the world had been diminutive in person, and after naming several among the ancients, he added, 'Why, look there at Jeffrey; and there is my little friend ——, who has not body enough to cover his mind decently with; his intellect is improperly exposed.'

'Oh, don't mind the caprices of fashionable women; they are as gross as poodles fed on milk and muffins.'

'Fox wrote drop by drop.'

'Simplicity is a great object in a great book; it is not wanted in a short one.'

'You will generally see in human life the round man and the angular man planted in the wrong hole; but the Bishop of ——, being a round man has fallen into a triangular hole, and is far better off than many triangular men who have fallen into round holes.'

'The great charm of Sheridan's speaking was his multifariousness of style.'

'When I took my Yorkshire servants into Somersetshire, I found that they thought making a drink out of apples was a tempting of Providence, who had intended barley to be the only natural material of intoxication.'

'We naturally lose illusions as we get older, like teeth, but there is no Cartwright to fit a new set into our understandings. I have, alas, only one illusion left, and that is the Archbishop of Canterbury.'

'Speaking of the long debates in the House; 'Why will not people remember the Flood? If they had lived before it, with the patriarchs, they might have talked any stuff they pleased; but do let them

remember how little time they have under this new order of things.'

'The charm of London is that you are never glad or sorry for ten minutes together; in the country you are the one and the other for weeks.'

There is a New Zealand attorney arrived in London, with 6s. 8d. tattooed all over his face.'

'Yes, he has spent all his life in letting down empty buckets into empty wells, and he is frittering away his age in trying to draw them up again.'

'If you masthead a sailor for not doing his duty, why should you not weathercock a parishioner for refusing to pay tithes?'

'How is——?' 'He is not very well,' 'Why what is the matter?'

'Oh, don't you know he has produced a couplet? When our friend is delivered of a couplet, with infinite labour and pain, he takes to his bed, has straw laid down, the knocker tied up, expects his friends to call and make enquiries, and the answer at the door invariably is, 'Mr. —— and his little couplet are as well as can be expected.' When he produces an Alexandrine he keeps his bed a day longer.'

'You will find a Scotchman always says what is undermost. I, on the contrary, say everything that comes uppermost, and have all sorts of bad jokes put upon me in consequence. An American published a book, and declared I had told him there were more mad Quakers in lunatic asylums than any other sect;—quite an invention on his part. Another time Prince P. M. published my conversations; so when I next met him, I enquired whether this was to be a printed or manuscript one, as I should talk accordingly. He did his best to blush.'

One evening, when drinking tea with Mrs. Austin, the servant entering into a crowded room, with a boiling tea-kettle in his hand, it seemed doubtful, nay impossible, he should make his way among the numerous groups; but, on the first approach of the steaming kettle, the crowd receded on all sides, my father amongst the rest, though carefully watching the progress of the lad to the table:— 'I declare,' said he (addressing Mrs. Austin), 'a man who wishes to make his way in life could do nothing better than go through the world with a boiling tea-kettle in his hand.'

'Never neglect your fireplaces: I have paid great attention to mine, and could burn you all out in a moment. Much of the cheerfulness of life depends upon it. Who could be miserable with that fire? What makes a fire so pleasant is, I think, that it is a live thing in a dead room.'

'Such is the horror the French have of our *cuisine*, that at the dinner given in honour of Guizot at the Athenæum, they say his cook was heard to exclaim, 'Ah, mon pauvre maitre! je ne le reverrai plus.'

'Lord Wenlock told me that his ground-rent cost him five pounds a foot; that is about the price of a London footman six foot high,—thirty guineas per annum.'

'I believe the parallelogram between Oxford-street, Piccadilly, Regent-street, and Hyde Park, encloses more intelligence and human

ability, to say nothing of wealth and beauty, than the world has ever collected in such a space before.'

'When I praised the author of the New Poor Law the other day, the gentlemen at table took it to themselves, and blushed up to the eyes.'

'Yes! you find people ready enough to do the Samaritan, without the oil and twopence.'

'It is a great proof of shyness to crumble bread at dinner. 'Oh, I see you are afraid of me (turning to a young lady who sat by him), 'you crumble your bread.' I do it when I sit by the Bishop of London, and with both hands when I sit by the Archbishop.'

Addressing Rogers: 'My dear R., if we were both in America, we should be tarred and feathered; and, lovely as we are by nature, I should be an ostrich and you an emu.'

'I once saw a dressed statue of Venus in a serious house—the Venus Millinaria.'

'Ah, you flavour everything; you are the vanille of society.'

'I think it was Luttrell who used to say, '—'s face always reminded him of boiled mutton and near relations.'

'I fully intended going to America; but my parishioners held a meeting, and came to a resolution that they could not trust me with the canvas-back ducks; and I felt they were right; so gave up the project.'

'Of course, if I ever did go to a fancy ball at all, I should go as a Dissenter.'

'Some people seem to be born out of their proper century. — should have lived in the Italian republics, and — under Charles II.'

'My living in Yorkshire was so far out of the way, that it was actually twelve miles from a lemon.'

'Don't you know, as the French say, there are three sexes—men, women, and clergymen.'

'One of my great objections to the country is, that you get your letters but once a day; here they come every five minutes.'

On some one offering him oat-cake, 'No, I can't eat oat-cake, it is too rich for me.'

'Harrogate seemed to me the most heaven-forgotten country under the sun. When I saw it, there were only nine mangy fire-trees there; and even they all leant away from it.'

'Dining at Mr. Grenville's he as usual arrived before the rest of the party; some ladies were shortly after announced; as Mr. Grenville, with his graceful dignity and cheerfulness, went forward to receive them, my father, looking after him, exclaimed to Mr. Panizzi, 'There, that is the man from whom we all ought to learn how to grow old!' The conversation at table turned on a subject lately treated of in Sir Charles Lyell's book, the phenomena which the earth might present to the geologists of some future period; 'Let us imagine,' said my father, 'an excavation on the site of St. Paul's. Fancy a lecture, by the Owen of some future age, on the thigh-bone of a Minor Canon, or the tooth of a Dean,—the form, qualities, the knowledge, tastes, propensities, he would discover from them.' And off he went, his imagination playing on this idea in every possible way.



Some one spoke of the state of financial embarrassment of the London University at that time. 'Yes, it is so great, that I understand they have already seized on the air-pump, the exhausted receiver, and galvanic batteries; and that bailiffs have been seen chasing the Professor of Modern History round the quadrangle.'

Conversing in the evening, with a small circle, round Miss Berry's tea-table (who, though far advanced towards the fourscore years and ten which she afterwards attained, was still remarkable for her vigour of mind and beauty of person), my father observed the entrance of a no less remarkable person, both for talents and years, dressed in a beautiful crimson velvet gown; he started up to meet his fine old friend, exclaiming, 'Exactly the colour of my preaching cushion!' and leading her forward to the light, he pretended to be lost in admiration, saying, 'I really can hardly keep my hands off you; I shall be preaching on you, I fear,' etc., and played with the subject to the infinite amusement of his old friend and the little circle assembled round her.

'Playfair was certainly the most delightful philosopher I ever knew.'

'Have you heard of Niebuhr's discoveries? All Roman history reversed; Tarquin turning out an excellent family man, and Lucretia a very doubtful character, whom Lady —— would not have visited.'

'The ladies having left the room, at a dinner at Sir G. Philips's, the conversation turned on the black population of America. My father, turning to an eminent American jurist, who was here some years ago, 'Pray, Mr. ——, tell us why you can't live on better terms with your black population.' 'Why, to tell you the truth, Mr. Smith, they smell so abominably that we can't bear them near us.' 'Possibly not,' said my father, 'but men must not be led by the nose in that way: if you don't like asking them to dinner, it is surely no reason why you should not make *citizens* of them.'

'Et si non alium latè jactaret odorem,  
*Civis erat.*'"

'Don't talk to me of not being able to cough a speaker down: try the hooping-cough.'

Mr. Monckton Milnes was talking to Alderman ——, when the latter turned away: 'You were speaking,' said Sydney, 'to the Lord Mayor elect. I myself felt in his presence like the Roman whom Pyrrhus tried to frighten with an elephant, and remained calm.'

'When so showy a woman as Mrs. —— appears at a place, though there is no garrison within twelve miles, the horizon is immediately clouded with majors.'

'To take Macaulay out of literature and society, and put him in the House of Commons, is like taking the chief physician out of London during a pestilence.'

'How bored children are with the wisdom of Telemachus! they can't think why Calypso is so fond of him.'

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\* Virgil, *Georgics* ii. 132. *Laurus* in the original.

Some one observing the wonderful improvement in — since his success, 'Ah!' he said, 'praise is the best diet for us, after all.'

One day, Mr. Rogers took Mr. Moore and my father home in his carriage, from a breakfast; and insisted on showing them, by the way, Dryden's house, in some obscure street. It was very wet; the house looked very much like other old houses; and having thin shoes on, they both remonstrated; but in vain. Rogers got out, and stood expecting them. 'Oh! you see why Rogers don't mind getting out,' exclaimed my father, laughing and leaning out of the carriage, 'he has got goloshes on—but, Rogers, lend us each a golosh, and we will then stand on one leg, and admire as long as you please.'

'When Prescott comes to England, a Caspian Sea of soup awaits him.'

'An American said to me, 'You are so funny, Mr. Smith! do you know, you remind me of our great joker, Dr. Chamberlaque.' 'I am much honoured,' I replied, 'but I was not aware you had such a functionary in the United States.'

At Mr. Romilly's there arose a discussion on the *Inferno* of Dante, and the tortures he had invented. 'He may be a great poet,' said my father, 'but as to invention, I consider him a mere bungler, —no imagination, no knowledge of the human heart. If I had taken it in hand, I would show you what torture really was; for instance (turning merrily to his old friend Mrs. Marcet), you should be doomed to listen, for a thousand years, to conversations between Caroline and Emily, where Caroline should always give wrong explanations in chemistry, and Emily in the end be unable to distinguish an acid from an alkali. You, Macaulay, let me consider?—oh, you should be dumb. False dates and facts of the reign of Queen Anne should for ever be shouted in your ears; all liberal and honest opinions should be ridiculed in your presence; and you should not be able to say a single word during that period in their defence.' 'And what would you condemn me to, Mr. Sydney?' said a young mother. 'Why, you should for ever see those three sweet little girls of yours on the point of falling downstairs, and never be able to save them. There, what tortures are there in Dante equal to these?'

'Daniel Webster struck me much like a steam-engine in trousers.'

'When I began to thump the cushion of my pulpit, on first coming to Foston, as is my wont when I preach, the accumulated dust of a hundred and fifty years made such a cloud, that for some minutes I lost sight of my congregation.'

'Nothing amuses me more than to observe the utter want of perception of a joke in some minds. Mrs. Jackson called the other day, and spoke of the oppressive heat of last week. 'Heat, Ma'am!' I said; 'it was so dreadful here, that I found there was nothing left for it but to take off my flesh and sit in my bones.' 'Take off your flesh and sit in your bones, Sir! Oh, Mr. Smith! how could you do that?' she exclaimed, with the utmost gravity. 'Nothing more easy, Ma'am; come and see next time.' But she ordered her carriage, and evidently thought it a very unorthodox proceeding.'

'Miss —, too, the other day, walking round the grounds at

Combe Florey, exclaimed, 'Oh, why do you chain up that fine Newfoundland dog, Mr. Smith?' 'Because it has a passion for break-fasting on parish boys.' 'Parish boys!' she exclaimed, 'does he really eat boys, Mr. Smith?' 'Yes, he devours them, buttons and all.' Her face of horror made me die of laughing.'

A most curious instance of this slow perception of humour occurred once in Brook-street, where a gentleman of some rank dined at our house, with a large party, of which my father and Mr. Luttrell formed a portion. My father was in high spirits, and in one of his happiest veins; and much brilliant conversation passed around from Mr. Luttrell and others. Mr. — sat through it all with the utmost gravity. This seemed only to stimulate my father, who became more and more brilliant, till the table was in a perfect roar of laughter. The servants even, forgetting all decorum, were obliged to turn away to conceal their mirth. Mr. — alone sat unmoved, and gazing with solemn wonder at the scene around. Luttrell was so struck by this that he said, 'Mr. — was a natural phenomenon whom he must observe;' so letting the side-dishes pass by, he took out his eye-glass to watch. At last my father accidentally struck out a subject (which, for social reasons, I must not give, though it was inimitable,) which touched the right spring, and he could resist no longer, but actually laughed out. Luttrell shouted victory in my ear; and resumed his wonted attention to the dinner, saying, he had never witnessed so curious a scene.

The conversation turned upon pictures. 'I like pictures without knowing anything about them; but I hate coxcombry in the fine arts, as well as in anything else. I got into dreadful disgrace with Sir G. B. once, who, standing before a picture at Bowood, exclaimed, turning to me, 'Immense breadth of light and shade!' I innocently said, 'Yes;—about an inch and a half.' He gave me a look that ought to have killed me.'

At a large dinner party my father, or some one else, announced the death of Mr. Dugald Stewart; one whose name ever brings with it feelings of respect for his talents and high character. The news was received with so much levity by a lady of rank, who sat by him, that he turned round and said, 'Madam, when we are told of the death of so great a man as Mr. Dugald Stewart, it is usual, in civilized society, to look grave for at least the space of five seconds.'

We were all assembled to look at a turtle that had been sent to the house of a friend, when a child of the party stooped down and began eagerly stroking the shell of the turtle. 'Why are you doing that B —?' said my father. 'Oh, to please the turtle.' 'Why, child, you might as well stroke the dome of St. Paul's, to please the Dean and Chapter.'

Some one naming — as not very orthodox, 'Accuse a man of being a Socinian, and it is all over with him; for the country gentlemen all think it has something to do with poaching'

'I hate bare walls; so I cover mine, you see, with pictures. The public, it must be owned, treat them with great contempt; and even Hibbert, who has been brought up in the midst of fine pictures, and might know better, never will admire them. But look at that sea-

piece, now; what would you desire more? It is true, the moon in the corner was rather dingy when I first bought it; so I had a new moon put in for half-a-crown, and now I consider it perfect."

"In the summer of 1843, we had a visit from Mr. Moore, a visit often before promised, but never accomplished. The weather and the place were lovely, and seemed to inspire the charming little poet, who talked and sang in his peculiar fashion, like any nightingale of the Flower Valley, to the delight of us all. In true poet style, when he departed, he left various articles of his wardrobe scattered about. On my father writing to inform him of this, he sent the following answer:—

‘*Sloperton, 1843.*

My dear Sydney,

Your lively letter (what else could it be?) was found by me here on my return from Bowood; and with it a shoal of other letters, which it has taken me almost ever since to answer. I began my answer to yours in rhyme, contrasting the recollections I had brought away from you, with the sort of treasures you had supposed me to have left behind. This is part of it:—

Rev. Sir, having duly received by the post  
Your list of the articles missing and lost  
By a certain small poet, well known on the road,  
Who visited lately your flowery abode;  
We have balanced what Hume calls ‘*the tittle o’ the whole*,  
Making all due allowance for what the bard stole;  
And hoping th’ enclosed will be found quite correct,  
Have the honour, Rev. Sir, to be yours with respect.  
Left behind a kid glove, once the half of a pair,  
An odd stocking, whose fellow is—Heaven knows where;  
And (to match these odd fellows) a couplet sublime,  
Wanting nought to complete it but reason and rhyme.  
Such, it seems, are the only small goods you can find,  
That this runaway bard in his flight left behind;  
But in settling the account, just remember, I pray,  
What rich recollections the rogue took away;  
What visions for ever of sunny Combe Florey,  
Its cradle of hills, where it slumbers in glory,  
Its Sydney himself, and the countless bright things  
Which his tongue or his pen, from the deep shining springs  
Of his wisdom and wit, ever flowingly brings.

I have not time to recollect any more; besides I was getting rather out of my depth in those deep shining springs, though not out of yours. Kindest regards to the ladies, not forgetting the pretty Hebe\* of the breakfast table the day I came away.

Yours ever most truly,

THOMAS MOORE.\*

‘*Bowood, August, Tuesday 22nd, 1843.*

My dear Sydney,

You said, in your acknowledgment of my late versicles, that you had never been be-rhymed before. This startled me into the recollection that I had myself once before made free with you in that way; but where the evidence was of my presumption, I could not

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\* Sir Henry Holland's youngest daughter.

remember. The verses however, written some three or four years ago, have just turned up, and here they are for you. I forgot, by the bye, to tell you that, a day or two after my return from Combe Florey (*I like to write that name*). I was persuaded to get into a gig with Lady Kerry, and let her drive me some miles. Next day I found out that, but a day or two before, it had run away with her!—no bad taste, certainly in the horse;—but it shows what one gets by consorting with young countesses and frisky ecclesiastics.\*

Yours ever,

THOMAS MOORE.

“And still let us laugh, preach the world as it may,  
Where the cream of the joke is, the swarm will soon follow;  
Heroics are very fine things in their way.  
But the laugh, at the long run, will carry it hollow.

Yes, Jocus! gay god, whom the Gentiles supplied,  
And whose worship not even among Christians declines;  
In our senates thou’st languish’d, since Sheridan died,  
But Sydney still keeps thee alive in our shrines.

Rare Sydney! thrice honour’d the stall where he sits,  
And be his every honour he deigneth to climb at!  
Had England a hierarchy form’d all of wits,  
Whom, but Sydney, would England proclaim as its primate?

And long may he flourish, frank, merry, and brave,  
A Horace to feast with, a Pascal† to read!  
While he laughs, all is safe; but when Sydney grows grave,  
We shall then think the Church is in danger indeed.”

“This winter Miss Edgeworth visited London for the last time. During her visit she saw much of my father; and her talents, as well as her love and thorough knowledge of Ireland, made her conversation peculiarly agreeable to him. I wish I had kept some notes of these conversations, which were very remarkable; but I have only a characteristic and amusing letter she wrote to me soon after her return home, from which the following is an extract.

‘I have not the absurd presumption to think your father would leave London or Combe Florey for Ireland, *voluntarily*; but I wish some Irish bishopric were forced upon him, and that his own sense of national charity and humanity would forbid him to refuse. Then, obliged to reside amongst us, he would see, in the twinkling of an eye (such an eye as his), all our manifold grievances up and down the country. One word, one *bon mot* of his, would do more for us, I guess, than Mr. —’s four hundred pages, and all the like, with which we have been bored. One letter from Sydney Smith on the affairs of Ireland, with his *name* to it, and after having *been there*, would do more for us than his letters did for America and England;—a bold assertion, you will say, and so it is; but I *calculate* that Pat is a far better subject for wit than Jonathan; it only plays round

\* Mr. Smith had driven Mr. Moore with a somewhat frisky horse. Mr. Moore got out of the gig, and walked home.

† ‘Some parts of the ‘Provinciales’ may be said to be of the highest order of *jeux d’esprit*.’—Note by Mr. Moore.

Jonathan's head, but it goes to Pat's heart,—to the very bottom of his heart, where he loves it; and he don't care whether it is for or against him, so that it is *real* wit and fun. Now Pat would doat upon your father, and kiss the rod with all his soul, he would, —the lash just lifted,—when he'd see the laugh on the face, the kind smile, that would tell him it was all for his good.

"Your father would lead Pat (for he'd never drive him) to the world's end, and maybe to common sense at the end,—might open his eyes to the true state of things and persons, and cause him to *ax* himself how it comes that, if he be so distressed by the Sassenach laudlords that he can't keep soul and body together, nor one farthing for the wife and children, after paying the *rint* for the land, still and nevertheless he can pay King Dan's *rint*, *aisy*,—thousands of pounds, not for lands or potatoes, but just for castles in the air. Methinks I hear Pat saying the words, and see him jump to the conclusion, that maybe the *gintleman*, his reverence, that '*has the way with him*,'\* might be the man after all to do them all the good in life, and asking nothing at all from them. 'Better, sure, than Dan, after all! and we will follow him through thick and thin. Why no? What though he is his reverence, the Church, that is our *cleargy*, won't object to him; for he was never an inimy any way, but always for paying them off handsome, and fools if they don't take it now. So down with King Dan, for he's no good! and up with Sydney—he's the *man*, king of *glory*!'

"But, visions of glory, and of *good* better than glory, spare my longing sight! else I shall never come to an end of this *note*. *Note* indeed! I beg your pardon.

"Yours affectionately,

"MARIA EDGEWORTH."

"A foreigner, on one occasion, indulging in sceptical doubts of the existence of an overruling Providence in his presence, Sydney, who had observed him evidently well satisfied with his repast, said, 'You must admit there is great genius and thought in that dish.' 'Admirable!' he replied; 'nothing can be better.' 'May I then ask, are you prepared to deny the existence of the cook?'"

My father "was sitting at breakfast one morning in the library at Combe Florey," said Mrs. Marcet, who was staying with us, "when a poor woman came, begging him to christen a new-born infant, without loss of time, as she thought it was dying. Mr. Smith instantly quitted the breakfast-table for this purpose, and went off to her cottage. On his return, we inquired in what state he had left

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\* This expression, "*that has the way with him*," refers to a conversation my father had with Dr. Doyle, at a time he was anxious to learn as far as possible what effect the measures he was proposing would have upon the Catholics. He proposed that Government should pay the Catholic priests. "They would not take it," said Dr. Doyle. "Do you mean to say, that if every priest in Ireland received to-morrow morning a Government letter with a hundred pounds, *FIRST QUARTER* of their year's income, that they would refuse it?" "Ah, Mr. Smith," said Dr. Doyle, "you've such a way of putting things!"

the poor babe. 'Why,' said he, 'I first gave it a dose of castor-oil, and then I christened it; so now the poor child is ready for either world.'

I long to give some sketch of these breakfasts, and the mode of life at Combe Florey, where there were often assembled guests that would have made any table agreeable anywhere; but it would be difficult to convey an adequate idea of the beauty, gaiety, and happiness of the scene in which they took place, or the charm that he infused into the society assembled round his breakfast-table. The room, an oblong, was, as I have already described, surrounded on three sides by books, and ended in a bay-window opening into the garden: not brown, dark, dull-looking volumes, but all in the brightest bindings; for he carried his system of furnishing for gaiety even to the dress of his books.

He would come down into this long, low room in the morning like a 'giant refreshed to run his course,' bright and happy as the scene around him. 'Thank God for Combe Florey!' he would exclaim, throwing himself into his red arm-chair, and looking round; 'I feel like a bridegroom in the honeymoon.' And in truth I doubt if ever bridegroom felt so joyous, or at least made others feel so joyous, as he did on these occasions. 'Ring the bell, Saba,' the usual refrain, by the bye, in every pause, for he contrived to keep everybody actively employed around him, and nobody ever objected to be so employed. 'Ring the bell, Saba.' Enter the servant, D—. 'D—, glorify the room.' This meant that the three Venetian windows of the bay were to be flung open, displaying the garden on every side, and letting in a blaze of sunshine and flowers.' D— glorifies the room with the utmost gravity, and departs. 'You would not believe it,' he said, 'to look at him now, but D— is a reformed Quaker. Yes, he quaked, or did quake; his brother quakes still: but D— is now thoroughly orthodox. I should not like to be a Dissenter in his way; he is to be one of my vergers at St. Paul's some day. Lady B— calls them my virgins. She asked me the other day, 'Pray, Mr. Smith, is it true that you walk down St. Paul's with three virgins holding silver pokers before you?' I shook my head, and looked very grave, and bid her come and see. Some enemy of the Church, some Dissenter, had clearly been misleading her.'

'There, now,' sitting down at the breakfast-table, 'take a lesson of economy. You never breakfasted in a parsonage before, did you? There, you see, my china is all white, so if broken can always be renewed; the same with my plates at dinner: did you observe my plates? every one a different pattern, some of them *sweet articles*; it was a pleasure to dine upon such a plate as I had last night. It is true, Mrs. Sydney, who is a great herald, is shocked because some of them have the arms of a royal duke or a knight of the garter on them, but that does not signify to me. My plan is to go into a china-shop and bid them show me every plate they have which does not cost more than half-a-crown: you see the result.'

'I think breakfasts so pleasant because no one is conceited before one o'clock.'

Mrs. Marcet admired his ham. 'Oh,' said he, 'our hams are the only true hams; yours are Shems and Japhets.'

'Some one, speaking of the character and writings of Mr. — ; 'Yes, I have the greatest possible respect for him; but, from his feeble voice, he always reminds me of a liberal blue-bottle fly. He gets his head down and his hand on your button, and pours into you an uninterrupted stream of Whiggism in a low buzz. I have known him intimately, and conversed constantly with him for the last thirty years, and give him credit for the most enlightened mind, and a genuine love of public virtue; but I can safely say that during that period I have never heard one single syllable he has uttered.'

Mrs. Marcet complaining she could not sleep: 'I can furnish you,' he said, 'with a perfect soporific. I have published two volumes of sermons; take them to bed with you. I recommended them once to Blanco White, and before the third page he was fast.'

'This is the only sensible spring I remember (1840): it is a real March of intellect.'

'If I were to select a figure to go through life with, I think it should be Windham's figure and Canning's face.'

"Have you never observed what a dislike servants have to anything cheap? they hate saving their master's money. I tried this experiment with great success the other day. Finding we consumed a great deal of soap, I sat down in my thinking-chair, and took the soap question into consideration, and I found reason to suspect that we were using a very expensive article, where a much cheaper one would serve the purpose better. I ordered half-a-dozen pounds of both sorts, but took the precaution of changing the papers on which the prices were marked, before giving them into the hands of Betty. 'Well, Betty, which soap do you find washes best?' 'Oh, please Sir, the dearest, in the blue paper; it makes a lather as well again as the other.' 'Well, Betty, you shall always have it, then;' and thus the unsuspecting Betty saved me some pounds a year, and washed the clothes better."

"Once, when talking with Lord — on the subject of Bible names, I could not remember the name of one of Job's daughters. 'Kezia,' said he immediately. Surprised, I congratulated him upon being so well read in Bible lore. 'Oh!' said he, 'my three greyhounds are named after Job's daughters.'"

"On some one of his guests lamenting they had left something behind: 'Ah!' he said, 'that would not have happened if you had had a screaming gate.' 'A screaming gate? what do you mean, Mr. Smith?' 'Yes, everybody should have a screaming gate. We all arrived once at a friend's house just before dinner, hot, tired, and dusty,—a large party assembled,—and found all the keys of our trunks had been left behind; since then I have established a screaming gate. We never set out on our journey now without stopping at a gate about ten minutes' distance from the house, to consider what we have left behind: the result has been excellent.'"

"On meeting a young lady who had just entered the garden, and shaking hands with her: 'I must,' he said, give you a lesson in shaking hands, I see. There is nothing more characteristic than shakes of the hand. I have classified them. Lister, when he was here, illustrated some of them. Ask Mrs. Sydney to show you his sketches



of them when you go in. There is the *high official*,—the body erect, and a rapid, short shake near the chin. There is the *mort-main*,—the flat hand introduced into your palm, and hardly conscious of its contiguity. The *digital*,—one finger held out, much used by the high clergy. There is the *shakus rusticus*, where your hand is seized in an iron grasp, betokening rude health, warm heart, and distance from the Metropolis; but producing a strong sense of relief on your part when you find your hand released and your fingers unbroken. The next to this is the *retentive shake*,—one which, beginning with vigour, pauses as it were to take breath, but without relinquishing its prey, and before you are aware begins again, till you feel anxious as to the result, and have no shake left in you. There are other varieties, but this is enough for one lesson.

On examining some new flowers in the garden, a beautiful girl, who was of the party, exclaimed, 'Oh, Mr Sydney! this pea will never come to perfection.' 'Permit me, then,' said he, gently taking her hand and walking towards the plant, 'to lead perfection to the pea.'

"On Miss——, and her friend Dr.——'s daughter passing through the room, some one remarked what a pretty contrast their different styles of beauty made. 'Yes,' he said, 'Miss —— reminds me of a youthful Minerva; and her friend, as Dr.——'s daughter, must be, you know, the Venus de Medicis.'

Talking of Switzerland; 'Well, what are they doing now in the irritable little republic? They say a change in the hour of shutting the gates convulsed the whole canton of Geneva. Have they deposed M—— yet? You remember ——'s answer, when they sent him a decree that he could not be permitted to fire in the republic? 'Very well,' said he, 'it makes no sort of difference to me; I can very easily fire over the republic.'

Some one mentioning a marriage about to take place; 'Why, it is like the union of an acid and an alkali; the result must be a *tertium quid*, or neutral salt.'

'What a beautiful thought (reading from a book in his hand); a sun-beam passes through pollution unpolluted.'

'Ah! what female heart can withstand a red-coat? I think this should be a part of female education; it is much neglected. As you have the rocking-horse to accustom them to ride, I would have military dolls in the nursery, to harden their hearts against officers and red-coats. I found myself in company with some officers at the country-house of a friend once; and as the repast advanced, the colonel became very eloquent, and communicated to us a military definition of vice and virtue. 'Vice,' he said, 'was a d——d cocked-tailed fellow; and virtue,' said he (striking the table with his fist, to enforce the description), 'was a fellow fenced about for the good of the service.' We all hurst into such an uncontrollable paroxysm laughter, that I began to fear the honest colonel might think it for the good of the service to shoot us through the head; so, for the good of the Church, hastened to agree with him, and we parted very good friends.'

'Yes, Mr. —— has great good sense, but I never met a manner more entirely without frill.'

Talking of Lord Denman: 'What a face he has! how well he looks his part! He is stamped by nature for a Chief Justice. He is an honourable, high-minded man. I have a great respect for him.'

'I will explain it to you,' said Mr. D——. 'Oh, pray don't, my dear D——,' said Sydney laughing; 'I did understand a little about the Scotch kirk before you undertook to explain it to me yesterday; but now my mind is like a London fog on the subject.'

'But I came up to speak to Annie Kay. Where is Annie Kay? Ring the bell for Annie Kay.' Kay appeared. 'Bring me my medicine-book, Annie Kay. Kay is my apothecary's boy, and makes up my medicines.' Kay appears with the book. 'I am a great doctor; would you like to hear some of my medicines?' 'Oh yes, Mr. Sydney.' 'There is the Gentle-jog, a pleasure to take it,—the Bull-dog, for more serious cases,—Peter's puke,—Heart's delight, the comfort of all the old women in the village,—Rub-a-dub, a capital embrocation,—Dead-stop, settles the matter at once,—Up-with-it-then needs no explanation; and so on. Now, Annie Kay, give Mrs. Spratt a bottle of Rub-a-dub; and to Mr. Coles a dose of Dead-stop and twenty drops of laudanum.'

'This is the house to be ill in' (turning to us); 'indeed everybody who comes is expected to take a little something; I consider it a delicate compliment when my guests have a slight illness here. We have contrivances for everything. Have you seen my patent armour? No? Annie Kay, bring my patent armour. Now, look here: if you have a stiff neck or swelled face, here is this sweet case of tin filled with hot water, and covered with flannel, to put round your neck, and you are well directly. Likewise, a patent tin shoulder, in case of rheumatism. There you see a stomach-tin, the greatest comfort in life; and lastly, here is a tin slipper, to be filled with hot water, which you can sit with in the drawing-room, should you come in chilled, without wetting your feet. Come and see my apothecary's shop.'

We all went downstairs, and entered a room filled entirely on one side with medicines, and on the other with every description of groceries and household or agricultural necessities; in the centre, a large chest, forming a table, and divided into compartments for soap, candles, salt, and sugar.

'Here you see,' said he, 'every human want before you:—

'Man wants but little here below,

As beef, veal, mutton, pork, lamb, venison show;'

spreading out his arms to exhibit everything, and laughing. 'Life is a difficult thing in the country, I assure you, and it requires a good deal of forethought to steer the ship, when you live twelve miles from a lemon.'

'By the bye, that reminds me of one of our greatest domestic triumphs. Some years ago my friend C——, the arch-epicure of the Northern Circuit, was dining with me in the country. On sitting down to dinner, he turned round to the servant, and desired him to look in his great-coat pocket, and he would find a lemon; 'For,' he

said, 'I thought it likely you might have duck and green-peas for dinner, and therefore thought it prudent, at this distance from a town, to provide a lemon.' I turned round, and exclaimed indignantly, 'Bunch, bring in the lemon-bag!' and Bunch appeared with a bag containing a dozen lemons. He respected us wonderfully after that. Oh, it is reported that he goes to bed with concentrated lozenges of wild-duck, so as to have the taste constantly in his mouth when he wakes in the night.'

'Look here, this is a stomach-pump; you can't die here. Bobus roared with laughter when I showed it to him, but I saved my footman's life by it.\* He swallowed as much arsenic as would have poisoned all the rats in the House of Lords; but I pumped lime-water into him night and day for many hours at a time, and there he is. This is my medical department. Saba used to be my apothecary's boy before Dr. Holland carried her off; Annie Kay is now promoted to it.'

We spent some time in examining the wonders of the shop, as he called it; he showing us all sorts of contrivances and comforts for both rich and poor; and, in doing so, exhibiting at the same time that mixture of sense, nonsense, forethought, and gaiety, so peculiar to himself, and which gave a charm even to the details of a grocer's shop. We then returned to the drawing-room: in a short time he followed us up, with another book in his hand. 'Mrs. Sydney, I find the cook wants yeast and eggs.' 'Yes, she has not been able to get any.' 'Why did you not write it down in *my book*, then? I always tell Mrs. Sydney, when she wants anything, to write it down in *my book*; once down in *my book*, and it is done directly. Look here, it is divided into different heads,—the carpenter, the blacksmith, the farm, the sick, the house, etc. etc.; that is the way to keep house in the country. Every day I look through these wants, and remedy them. Now, Mrs. Sydney, you want eggs and yeast. I will mount the boys on the ponies, and they shall scour the country forthwith, and you shall be supplied with yeast and eggs till you cry, Hold! hold! enough!'

Then, looking round on us: 'I wish I could sew. I believe one reason why women are so much more cheerful, generally, than men, is because they can work, and vary more their employments.'

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\* Literally true. The man had a passion for dough, and, returning hungry one night, found a lump of dough which had been prepared with arsenic for the rats, left most improperly by the gardener, on the kitchen dresser; and, indulging his passion, he devoured a considerable quantity of it. The punishment was speedy; my father was called up, and, on hearing what had happened, put the stomach-pump instantly into use, and, turning to his medical books, applied incessantly the proper remedies all night, till the arrival of the medical man in the morning. The remaining dough was analysed, and I am afraid to state from memory the number of grains of arsenic he had swallowed. The medical man said, nothing but the promptness of my father's remedies could possibly have saved the poor man's life, which remained doubtful for many days; and it was months before he recovered from its effects. But he lived to show his gratitude to his master by his watchful and tender care of him in his last illness.

Lady——used to teach her sons carpet-work. All men ought to learn to sew.'

Speaking of manners as a part of education: 'Yes, manners are often too much neglected; they are most important to men, no less than to women. I believe the English are the most disagreeable people under the sun; not so much because Mr. John Bull disdains to talk, as that the respected individual has nothing to say, and because he totally neglects manners. Look at a French carter; he takes off his hat to his neighbour carter, and inquires after *'la santé de madame,'* with a bow that would not have disgraced Sir Charles Grandison; and I have often seen a French soubrette with a far better manner than an English Duchess. Life is too short to get over a bad manner; besides, manners are the shadows of virtue.'

'It is astonishing the influence foolish apothegms have upon the mass of mankind, though they are not unfrequently fallacies.'

"Did you ever hear my definition of marriage? It is, that it resembles a pair of shears, so joined that they cannot be separated; often moving in opposite directions, yet always punishing any one who comes between them.'

Some one speaking of Macaulay: 'Yes, I take great credit to myself; I always prophesied his greatness from the first moment I saw him, then a very young and unknown man, on the Northern Circuit. There are no limits to his knowledge, on small subjects as well as great; he is like a book in breeches. . . . Yes, I agree, he is certainly more agreeable since his return from India. His enemies might perhaps have said before (though I never did so) that he talked rather too much; but now he has occasional flashes of silence, that make his conversation perfectly delightful. But what is far better and more important than all this is, that I believe Macaulay to be incorruptible. You might lay ribbons, stars, garters, wealth, titles, before him in vain. He has an honest, genuine love of his country, and the world could not bribe him to neglect her interests.'

Talking of absence: 'The oddest instance of absence of mind happened to me once in forgetting my own name. I knocked at a door in London; asked, Is Mrs. B—— at home? 'Yes, Sir; pray what name shall I say?' I looked in the man's face astonished:—what name? what name? ay, that is the question; what is my name? I believe the man thought me mad; but it is literally true, that during the space of two or three minutes I had no more idea who I was than if I had never existed. I did not know whether I was a Dis-senter or a layman. I felt as dull as Sternhold and Hopkins. At last, to my great relief, it flashed across me that I was Sydney Smith.'

'I heard of a clergyman who went jogging along the road till he came to the turnpike. 'What is to pay?' 'Pay, Sir? for what?' asked the turnpike-man. 'Why, for my horse, to be sure.' 'Your horse, Sir? what horse? Here is no horse, Sir.' 'No horse? God bless me!' said he suddenly, looking down between his legs, 'I thought I was on horseback.'

'Lord Dudley was one of the most absent men I think I ever met in society. One day he met me in the street, and invited me to meet myself. 'Dine with me to-day; dine with me, and I will get Sydney

Smith to meet you.' I admitted the temptation he held out to me, but said I was engaged to meet him elsewhere. Another time, on meeting me, he turned back, put his arm through mine, muttering, 'I don't mind walking with him a little way; I'll walk with him as far as the end of the street.' As we proceeded together, W—— passed: 'That is the villain,' exclaimed he, 'who helped me yesterday to asparagus, and gave me no toast.' He very nearly overset my gravity once in the pulpit. He was sitting immediately under me, apparently very attentive, when suddenly he took up his stick as if he had been in the House of Commons, and tapping on the ground with it, cried out in a low but very audible whisper, 'Hear! hear! hear!'

'By the bye, it happened to be a charity sermon, and I considered it a wonderful proof of my eloquence, that it actually moved old Lady C—— to borrow a sovereign from Dudley, and that he actually gave it her, though knowing he must take a long farewell of it. I was told afterwards by Lady S—— that she rejoiced to see it had brought 'iron tears down Pluto's cheek' (meaning by that her husband), certainly little given to the melting mood in any sense.

'One speech, I remember, of Dudley's gratified me much. When I took leave of him, on quitting London to go into Yorkshire, he said to me, 'You have been laughing at me constantly, Sydney, for the last seven years, and yet in all that time you never said a single thing to me that I wished unsaid.' This, I confess, pleased me. . . . But I must go and scour the country for yeast and eggs;'—and off he went.

After luncheon appeared at the door a low green garden chair, holding two, and drawn by the two donkeys already introduced; but despoiled, to their obvious relief, of their antlers. 'This was built by my village carpenter,' said he, 'but its chief merit is that it cannot be overturned. You need not fear my driving now; Mrs. Sydney will give me an excellent character. She was very much afraid of me when I first took to driving her in Yorkshire, but she raised my wages before the first month. I am become an excellent whip, I assure you.' So saying, he mounted into the little vehicle, and set off with his lady at a foot's pace, we following in his train down the pretty valley into which the garden opened, and through his wood walks, till we came out upon a fine table-land above the house, commanding a splendid view of the fine range of the Quantock Hills on the one side, and the rich vale of Taunton on the other.

'There!' said he, 'behold all the wonders of the world beneath you! can anything be more exquisite, more beautiful? I often come up here to meditate. I think of building a Gazebo here. The landscape is perfect; it wants nothing but water and a wise man. I think it was Jekyll who used to say, that 'the further he went west, the more convinced he felt that the wise men did come from the east.' We have not such an article. You might ride from the rising up of the sun until the going down thereof in these regions, and not find one (I mean a real philosopher) whom you would consult on the great affairs of life. We are thoroughly primitive; agriculture and agricultural tools are fifty years behind the rest of England.'

'A neighbouring squire called on me the other day, and informed me he had been reading a delightful book. The fact of his having any literary pursuits at all was equally agreeable and surprising to me, and I inquired the subject of his studies. 'Oh!' said he, 'the Arabian Nights' Entertainments; I have just got it, and I advise you to read it. I assure you, Mr. Smith, you will find it a most amusing book.' I thanked him, cordially agreed with him, but ventured to suggest that the book was not entirely unknown to me.'

'A joke goes a great way in the country. I have known one last pretty well for seven years. I remember making a joke after a meeting of the clergy, in Yorkshire, where there was a Rev. Mr. Buckle, who never spoke when I gave his health; saying, that he was a buckle without a tongue. Most persons within hearing laughed, but my next neighbour sat unmoved and sunk in thought. At last, a quarter of an hour after we had all done, he suddenly nudged me, exclaiming, 'I see *now* what you meant, Mr. Smith; you meant a joke.' 'Yes,' I said, 'Sir, I believe I did.' Upon which he began laughing so heartily, that I thought he would choke, and was obliged to pat him on the back.'

Talking of the singular degree of obstinacy of Miss —, on the most difficult and doubtful subjects, 'Oh! nothing but a surgical operation will avail; it must be cut out of her.'

'I see you will not believe it, but I was once very shy.' 'Were you indeed, Mr. Smith? how did you cure yourself?' 'Why it was not very long before I made two very useful discoveries: first, that all mankind were not solely employed in observing me (a belief that all young people have;) and next, that shamming was of no use; that the world was very clear-sighted, and soon estimated a man at his just value. This cured me, and I determined to be natural, and let the world find me out.'

'Oh yes! we both talk a great deal, but I don't believe Macaulay ever did hear my voice,' he exclaimed, laughing. 'Sometimes, when I have told a good story, I have thought to myself, Poor Macaulay! he will be very sorry some day to have missed hearing that.'

'Other rules vary; this is the only one you will find without exception,—that, in this world, the salary or reward is always in the inverse ratio of the duties performed.'

Some one speaking of Mr. Grenville: 'I always feel better for being in Mr. Grenville's company; it is a beautiful sunset. You know the man in a regiment who is selected to stand out before them as their model; he is called the fogleman. Now, Mr. Grenville I always consider as the fogleman of old-age. He has contrived to combine the freshness and greenness of mind belonging to youth, with the dignity and wisdom of age.'

Some one wondering at his praises of —, and telling Sydney that he often abused him: 'Oh!' said my father, laughing, 'I know he does not spare me, but that is no reason I should not praise him. At all times I had rather be the *ox* than the *butcher*.'

Talking of Sheridan: 'Creedy told me, once, when dining with

Sheridan, after the ladies had departed, he drew the chair to the fire, and confided to Creevy that they had just had a fortune left them. 'Mrs. Sheridan and I,' said he, 'have made the solemn vow to each other to mention it to no one, and nothing induces me now to confide it to you but the absolute conviction that Mrs. Sheridan is at this moment confiding it to Mrs. Creevy upstairs.' Soon after this I went to visit him in the country with a large party; he had taken a villa. No expense was spared; a magnificent dinner, excellent wines, but not a candle to be had to go to bed by in the house; in the morning no butter appeared, or was to be procured for breakfast. He said, it was not a butter country, he believed. But with Sheridan for host, and the charm of his wit and conversation, who cared for candles, butter, or anything else? In the evening there was a quarrel amongst the fiddlers, they absolutely refusing to play with a blind fiddler, who had unexpectedly arrived and insisted upon performing with them. He turned out at last to be Mathews; his acting was quite inimitable.

This brought us home again. Meeting at the door his grandson, returning quite exhausted with a prodigious walk: 'Oh, foolish boy! remember, head for glory, feet for use.'

He then left us, and might be seen in his pretty library; sometimes in his arm-chair, seated, with books of different kind piled round him, some grave, some gay, as his humour varied from hour to hour. And this rapid change of mood, which I see his friend Mr. Moore remarks upon, was one thing amongst many which gave such freshness and raciness to his conversation: you never could guess what would come next. At other times seated at a large table in the bay-window, with his desk before him—on one end of this table a case, something like a small deal music-stand, filled with manuscript books—on the other a large deal tray, filled with a leaden ink-stand, containing ink enough for a county; a magnifying glass; a carpenter's rule; several large steel pens, which it was high treason to touch; a glass bowl full of snot and water, to clean these precious pens; and some red tape, which he called 'one of the grammars of life'; a measuring line, and various other articles, more useful than ornamental. At this writing establishment, unique of its kind, he could turn his mind with equal facility, in company or alone, to any subject, whether of business, study, politics, instruction, or amusement, and move the minds of his hearers to laughter or tears at his pleasure."

"That pudding! yes, that was the pudding Lady Holland asked the recipe for when she came to see us. I shook my head, and said it could not be done, even for her ladyship. She became more urgent; Mrs. Sydney was soft-hearted, and gave it. The glory of it almost turned my cook's head: she has never been the same since. But our forte in the culinary line is our salads: I pique myself on our salads. Saba always dresses them after my recipe. I have put it into verse. Taste it, and if you like it, I will give it you. I was not aware how much it had contributed to my reputation, till I met Lady — at Bowood, who begged to be introduced to me, saying, she had so long wished to know me. I was of course highly flat-

tered, till she added, 'For, Mr. Smith, I have heard so much of your recipe for salads, that I was most anxious to obtain it from you.' Such and so various are the sources of fame!

'To make this condiment, your poet begs  
The pounded yellow of two hard-boil'd eggs;  
Two boil'd potatoes, pass'd through kitchen sieve,  
Smoothness and softness to the salad give.  
Let onion stoms lurk within the bowl,  
And, half-suspected, animate the whole.  
Of mordant mustard add a single spoon,  
Distrust the condiment that bites so soon;  
But deem it not, thou man of herbs, a fault,  
To add a double quantity of salt.  
And, lastly, o'er the flav'our'd compound toss  
A magic soupçon of anchovy sauce.  
Oh, green and glorious! Oh, herbaceous treat!  
'Twould tempt the dying anchoress to eat:  
Back to the world he'd turn his fleeting soul,  
And plunge his fingers in the salad-bowl!  
Bereftly full, the epicure would say,  
Fate cannot harm me, I have dined to-day.'"

" 'Have you heard my parody on Pope?—

'Why has not man a collar and a log?  
For this plain reason—man is not a dog.  
Why is not man served up with sauce in dish?  
For this plain reason—man is not a fish.

There are a great many other *whys*, but I will spare you.'

'Was not — very disagreeable?' 'Why, he was as disagreeable as the occasion would permit,' Luttrell said.

Nobody was more witty or more bitter than Lord Ellenborough. A young lawyer, trembling with fear, rose to make his first speech, and began: 'My lord, my unfortunate client—My, lord, my unfortunate client—My lord—' 'Go on, Sir, go on,' said Lord E.; 'as far as you have proceeded hitherto, the Court is entirely with you.' This was perhaps irresistible; but yet, how wicked! how cruel! it deserves a thousand years' punishment at least.

'Luttrell used to say, 'I hate the sight of monkeys, they remind me so of poor relations.'

'Oh, they were all so beautiful, that Paris could not have decided between them, but would have cut his apple in slices.'

'When I went into Rundell and Bridges', there were heaps of diamonds lying loose about the counter. I never saw so many temptations, and so little apparent watchfulness. I thought there were many sops, and no Cerberus. But they told me, when I asked, that there were unseen eyes directed upon me in every part of the shop.'

Speaking of Lady Murray's mother, who had a most benevolent countenance: 'Her smile is so radiant, that I believe it would force even a gooseberry-bush into flower.'

Some young person, answering on a subject in discussion, 'I don't know that,' he said, smiling, 'Ah! what you don't know would make a great book, as C— replied to B—.'

'I never go to tragedies, my heart is too soft. There is too much real misery in life. But what a face she had! The gods do not bestow such a face as Mrs. Siddons' on the stage more than once in



a century. I knew her very well, and she had the good taste to laugh heartily at my jokes; she was an excellent person, but she was not remarkable out of her profession, and never got out of tragedy even in common life. She used to *stab* the potatoes; and said, 'boy, give me a knife!' as she would have said, 'give me the dagger!'

'Oh, Mrs. Sydney believes it is all true; and when I went with her to the play, I was always obliged to sit behind her, and whisper, 'Why, Kate, he is not *really* going to kill her,—she is not really dead, you know;' or she would have cried her eyes out, and gone into hysterics.'

'All gentlemen and ladies at too much. I made a calculation, and found I must have consumed some waggon-loads too much in the course of my life. Lock up the mouth, and you have gained the victory. I believe our friend, Lady Morley, has hit upon the right plan in dining modestly at two. When we are absorbed in side-dishes, and perplexed with variety of wines, she sits amongst us, lightly flirting with a potato, in full possession of her faculties, and at liberty to make the best use of them,—a liberty, it must be owned, she does not neglect, for how agreeable she is! I like Lady Morley; she is what I call *good company*.'

'Never was known such a summer as this; water is selling at threepence a pint, My cows drink beer, my horses ale.'

'The French certainly understand the art of furnishing better than we do; the profusion of glass in their rooms gives such gaiety. I remember entering a room with glass all round it, at the French Embassy, and saw myself reflected on every side. I took it for a meeting of the clergy, and was delighted of course.'

'In composing, as a general rule, run your pen through every other word you have written; you have no idea what vigour it will give your style.'

The conversation turning on ———, I forget who, it was said so well, 'There is the same difference between their tongues as between the hour and the minute hand; one goes ten times as fast, and the other signifies ten times as much.'

'I think no house is well fitted up in the country without people of all ages. There should be an old man or woman to pet; a parrot, a child, a monkey;—something, as the French say, to love and to despise. I have just bought a parrot, to keep my servants in good humour.'

'No, I don't like dogs; I always expect them to go mad. A lady asked me once for a motto for her dog Spot. I proposed, 'Out, damned Spot!' but she did not think it sentimental enough. You remember the story of the French Marquise, who, when her pet lap-dog bit a piece out of her footman's leg, exclaimed, 'Ah, poor little beast! I hope it won't make him sick.' I called one day on Mrs. ———, and her lap-dog flew at my leg and bit it. After pitying her dog, like the French Marquise, she did all she could to comfort me, by assuring me the dog was a Dissenter, and hated the Church, and was brought up in a Tory family. But whether the bite came from madness or Dissent, I knew myself too well to neglect it; and went on the instant to a surgeon and had it cut out, making a mem. on the way to enter that house no more.'

'If you want to make much of a small income, always ask yourself these two questions:—first, do I really want it? secondly, can I do without it? These two questions, answered honestly, will double your fortune. I have always inculcated it in my family.'

'Lady —— is a remarkably clever, agreeable woman, but Nature has made one trifling omission—a heart; I do like a little heart, I must confess.'

'I never was asked in all my life to be a trustee or an executor. No one believes that I can be a plodding man of business, as mindful of its dry details as the gravest and most stupid man alive.'

'I have heard that one of the American ministers in this country was so oppressed by the numbers of his countrymen applying for introductions, that he was obliged at last to set up sham Sydney Smiths and false Macaulays. But they can't have been good counterfeits; for a most respectable American, on his return home, was heard describing Sydney Smith, as a thin, grave, dull, old fellow; and as to Macaulay (said he), I never met a more silent man in all my life!'

Talking of Mrs. ——: 'She has not very clear ideas, though, about the tides. I remember, at a large party at —— House, her insisting that it was always high tide at London-bridge at twelve o'clock. She referred to me: 'Now, Mr. Smith, is it not so?' I answered, 'It used not to be so, I believe, formerly, but perhaps the Lord Mayor and Aldermen have altered it lately.'

'Mr. —— once came to see us in Yorkshire; and he was so small and so active, he looked exactly like a little spirit running about in a kind of undress without a body.'

Speaking of a robbery: 'It is Bacon, I think, who says so beautifully, 'He that robs in darkness breaks God's lock.' How fine that is!'

On some persons mentioning Mr. ——: 'Yes, I honour him for his talents and character, and his misfortunes have softened the little asperities of his manner, and made him much more agreeable. Tears are the waters of the heart.'

'People complain of their servants: I never had a bad one; but then I study their comforts, that is one recipe for securing good servants.'

'Dante, in his *'Purgatoria,'* would have assigned five hundred years of *assenting* to ——, and as many to —— of *praising* his fellow-creatures.'

'I have divided mankind into classes. There is the Noodle,—very numerous, but well-known,—the Affliction-woman,—a valuable member of society, generally an ancient spinster, or distant relation of the family, in small circumstances: the moment she hears of any accident or distress in the family, she sets off, packs up her little bag, and is immediately established there, to comfort, flatter, fetch, and carry. The Up-takers,—a class of people who only see through their fingers' ends, and go through a room taking up and touching

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\* He hardly ever lost a servant but from marriage or death.

everything, however visible and however tender. The Clearers,—who begin at the dish before them, and go on picking or tasting till it is cleared, however large the company, small the supply, and rare the contents. The Sheep-walkers,—those who never deviate from the beaten track, who think as their fathers have thought since the flood, who start from a new idea as they would from guilt. The Lemon-squeezers of society,—people who act on you as a wet blanket, who see a cloud in the sunshine, the nails of the coffin in the ribbons of the bride, predictors of evil, extinguishers of hope; who, where there are two ideas, see only the worst,—people whose very look curdles the milk, and sets your teeth on edge. The Let-well-aloners,—cousins-german to the Noodle, yet a variety; people who have begun to think and to act, but are timid, and afraid to try their wings, and tremble at the sound of their own footsteps as they advance, and think it safer to stand still. Then the Washerwomen,—very numerous, who exclaim, ‘Well! as sure as ever I put on my best bonnet, it is certain to rain,’ etc. There are many more, but I forget them.

‘Oh yes! there is another class, as you say; people who are always treading on your gouty foot, or talking in your deaf ear, or asking you to give them something with your lame hand, stirring up your weak point, rubbing your sore, etc.’

‘The advice I sent to the Bishop of New Zealand, when he had to receive the cannibal chiefs there, was to say to them, ‘I deeply regret, Sirs, to have nothing on my own table suited to your tastes, but you will find plenty of cold curates and roasted clergyman on the sideboard;’ and if, in spite of this prudent provision, his visitors should end their repast by eating him likewise, why I could only add, ‘I sincerely hoped he would disagree with them.’ In this last sentiment he must cordially have agreed with me; and, upon the whole, he must have considered it a useful hint, and would take it kindly. Don’t you think so?’

On joining us in the drawing-room, and sitting down to the tea-table: ‘Thank God for tea! What would the world do without tea? how did it exist? I am glad I was not born before tea. I can drink any quantity when I have not tasted wine; otherwise I am haunted by blue-devils by day, and dragons by night. If you want to improve your understanding, drink coffee. Sir James Mackintosh used to say, he believed the difference between one man and another was produced by the quantity of coffee he drank.’

‘O’Connell presented me to the Irish members as the powerful and entertaining advocate of the Irish Catholic claims.’

Talking of the ardour of country gentleman for preserving game: ‘I believe ——— would die for his game. He is truly a pheasant-minded man; he revenged himself upon me by telling all the Joe Millers he could find as my jokes.’

‘Oh, the Dean of ——— deserves to be preached to death by wild curates.’

Talking of New Year’s Day and Christmas: ‘No, the returns of those fixed periods always make me melancholy. I am glad when we have fairly turned the corner, and started afresh. I feel, like

my friend Mackintosh, 'there is another child of Time lost,' as the year departs.

'What a loss you had in not knowing Mackintosh! how was it? . . . Yes, his manner was cold; his shake of the hand came under the genus 'mortmain;' but his heart was overflowing with benevolence. I like that simile I made on him in my letter, of 'a great ship cutting its cable;'—it is fine, and it well described Mackintosh. His chief foible was indiscriminate praise. I amused myself the other day,' said he, laughing, 'in writing a termination of a speech for him; would you like to hear it? I will read it to you:—'

'It is impossible to conclude these observations without expressing the obligations I am under to a person in a much more humble scene of life,—I mean, Sir, the hackney-coachman by whom I have been driven to this meeting. To pass safely through the streets of a crowded metropolis must require, on the part of the driver, no common assemblage of qualities. . . . He must have caution without timidity, activity without precipitation, and courage without rashness; he must have a clear perception of his object, and a dexterous use of his means. I can safely say of the individual in question, that, for a moderate reward, he has displayed unwearied skill; and to him I shall never forget that I owe unfractured integrity of limb, exemption from pain, and perhaps prolongation of existence.

'Nor can I pass over the encouraging cheerfulness with which I was received by the waiter, nor the useful blaze of light communicated by the link-boys, as I descended from the carriage. It was with no common pleasure that I remarked in these men, not the mercenary bustle of venal service, but the genuine effusions of untutored benevolence; not the rapacity of subordinate agency, but the alacrity of humble friendship. What may not be said of a country where all the little accidents of life bring forth the hidden qualities of the heart,—where her vehicles are driven, her streets illuminated, and her bells answered, by men teeming with all the refinements of civilized life?

'I cannot conclude, Sir, without thanking you for the very clear and distinct manner in which you have announced the proposition on which we are to vote. It is but common justice to add, that public assemblies rarely witness articulation so perfect, language so select, and a manner so eminently remarkable for everything that is kind, impartial, and just."

"On returning to the drawing-room, he usually asked for a little music. 'If I were to begin life again, I would devote much time to music. All musical people seem to me happy; it is the most engrossing pursuit; almost the only innocent and unpunished passion.

'Never give way to melancholy: nothing encroaches more; I fight against it vigorously.\* One great remedy is, to take short views of life. Are you happy now? Are you likely to remain so till this evening? or next week? or next month? or next year? Then why destroy present happiness by a distant misery, which may never come at all,

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\* Yet I see, in his note-book,—'I wish I were of a more sanguine temperament; I always anticipate the worst.'

or you may never live to see it? for every substantial grief has twenty shadows, and most of them shadows of your own making.'

Speaking of ———: 'It was a beautiful old-age; how fine those lines of Waller are—

'The soul's dark cottage, batter'd and decay'd,  
Let in new lights through chinks that time has made!'

'Yes; ——— was merry, not wise. You know, a man of small understanding is merry where he can, not where he should. Lightning must, I think, be the wit of heaven.'

Mr. P. ——— said to him, 'I always write best with an amanuensis.' 'Oh! but are you quite sure he puts down what you dictate, my dear P.?'

Speaking of a Revolutionist: 'No man, I fear, can effect great benefits for his country without some sacrifice of the minor virtues.'

'I often think what a different man I might have been if, like my friend Lord Holland, and others, I had passed my life with all that is most worth seeing and hearing in Europe, instead of being confined through the greater part of it to the society of the parish-clerk. I always feel it is combating with unequal weapons; but I have made a tolerable fight of it, nevertheless. I am rather an admirer of O'Connell: he, it cannot be denied, has done a great deal for Ireland, and, on the whole, I believe he meant well; but 'hell,' as Johnson says, 'is paved with good intentions.'"

From the volume of letters we have gathered the following:—

"I take the liberty to send you two brace of grouse,—curious, because killed by a Scotch metaphysician; in other and better language, they are mere ideas, shot by other ideas, out of a pure intellectual notion, called a gun.

I found a great number of philosophers in Edinburgh, in a high state of obscurity and metaphysics."

"If I could envy any man for successful ill-nature, I should envy Lord Byron for his skill in satirical nomenclature."

"Nothing can be more disgusting than an Oratorio. How absurd, to see five hundred people fiddling like madmen about the Israelites in the Red Sea! Lord Morpeth pretends to say he was pleased, but I see a great change in him since the music-meeting. Pray tell Luttrell he did wrong not to come to the music. It tired me to death; it would have pleased him. He is a melodious person, and much given to sacred music. In his fits of absence I have heard him hum the Hundredth Psalm! (Old Version)."

"P. ———'s single turnips turned out extremely well; he is about to publish a tract 'On the Effect of Solitude on Vegetables.'"

"It struck me last night, as I was lying in bed, that Mackintosh, if he were to write on pepper, would thus describe it:—

'Pepper may philosophically be described as a dusty and highly-pulverized seed of an oriental fruit; an article rather of condiment than diet, which, dispersed lightly over the surface of food with no other rule than the caprice of the consumer, communicates pleasure,

rather than affords nutrition; and, by adding a tropical flavour to the gross and succulent viands of the North, approximates the different regions of the earth, explains the objects of commerce, and justifies the industry of man."

"I met John Russell at Exeter. The people along the road were very much disappointed by his smallness. I told them he was much larger before the Bill was thrown out, but was reduced by excessive anxiety about the people. This brought tears into their eyes!"

"The Ambassador lent us his box yesterday, and I heard Rubini and Grisi, Lablache and Tamburini. The opera, by Bellini, 'I Puritani,' was dreadfully tiresome, and unintelligible in its plan. I hope it is the last opera I shall ever go to."

"One evil in old-age is, that as your time is come, you think every little illness is the beginning of the end. When a man expects to be arrested, every knock at the door is an alarm."

"I am pretty well, except gout, asthma, and pains in all the bones, and all the flesh, of my body. What a very singular disease gout is! It seems as if the stomach fell down into the feet. The smallest deviation from right diet is immediately punished by limping and lameness, and the innocent ankle and blameless instep are tortured for the vices of the nobler organs. The stomach having found this easy way of getting rid of inconveniences, becomes cruelly despotic, and punishes for the least offences. A plum, a glass of champagne, excess in joy, excess in grief,—any crime, however small, is sufficient for redness, swelling, spasms, and large shoes."

"Time goes on well. I do all I can to love the country, and endeavour to believe those poetical lies which I read in Rogers and others, on the subject; which said deviations from truth were, by Rogers, all written in St. James's-place."

"I am studying the death of Louis XVI. Did he die heroically? or did he struggle on the scaffold? Was that struggle (for I believe there was one) for permission to speak? or from indignation at not being suffered to act for himself at the last moment, and to place himself under the axe? Make this out for me, if you please, and speak of it to me when I come to London. I don't believe the Abbé Edgeworth's 'Son of St. Louis, *montez au ciel!*' It seems necessary that great people should die with some sonorous and quotable saying. Mr. Pitt said something not intelligible in his last moments: G. Rose made it out to be, 'Save my country, Heaven!' The nurse, on being interrogated, said that he asked for barley-water."

"I am a decided duodecimalist. — is losing his head. When he brings forward his Suckling Act, he will be considered as quite mad. No woman to be allowed to suckle her own child without medical certificates. Three classes—viz. free sucklers, half sucklers, and spoon-meat mothers. Mothers whose supply is uncertain, to suckle upon affidavit! How is it possible that an Act of Parliament can supply the place of nature and natural affection? Have you any nonsense equal to this in Northumberland?"

"TO CHARLES DICKENS, ESQ.:

*Charles-street, Berkeley-square, June 11th, 1839.*

My dear Sir,

Nobody more, and more justly, talked of than yourself.

The Miss Berrys, now at Richmond, live only to become acquainted with you, and have commissioned me to request you to dine with them Friday, the 29th, or Monday, July 1st, to meet a Canon of St. Paul's, the Rector of Combe Florey, and the Vicar of Halberton, —all equally well known to you; to say nothing of other and better people. The Miss Berrys and Lady Charlotte Lindsay have not the smallest objection to be put into a Number, but, on the contrary, would be proud of the distinction; and Lady Charlotte, in particular, you may marry to Newman Noggs. Pray come; it is as much as my place is worth to send them a refusal."

We have extracted these various passages, as they show the phases of a mind remarkable in all its aspects. They will only amuse the thoughtless; but, to those who read to study the truths contained in them; who can comprehend the wisdom, the deep-hearted goodness, the honest, open, manly spirit pervading the whole, they have a lesson in the conduct of life more precious than the teaching of many a grave, didactic moral treatise. If we consider his patient endurance of neglect; his regard for the advancement of merit; his scorn of all meanness; his unflinching courage in exposing wrong and oppression; his kindness to the poor; his love of children; his quaint, wise modes of imparting instruction, or of conveying admonition; his total freedom from party malice or political or sectarian spite,\* these extracts excite our admiration, awake us to emulousness, and make us thankful that, amidst the clash of the political and religious mêlé of the past fifty years, one man existed who, though possessing powers of raillery, and wit, and eloquence superior to Voltaire and to Swift, yet never, even in defence of Liberty, of the Church, of Humanity, or of Social Order, permitted his pen to be poisoned by passion, by injustice, or by ill-nature. His

\* Even to political opponents Sydney Smith was kind, not alone in words but in deeds. In the 367 letters before us, we discover but one passage in the slightest degree unkind. Writing to Jeffrey, from Foston, in the year 1820, he observes, referring to the late Professor Wilson's appointment to the chair of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh:—"I am sorry to see the appointment of Wilson. If Walter Scott can succeed in nominating a successor to Reid and Stewart, there is an end of the University of Edinburgh: your Professors then become competitors in the universal race of baseness and obsequiousness to power." "Memoir." Vol. II. p. 205 For an account of Wilson's appointment, and Sir Walter's interest, see *IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW*, Vol. III. No. X. p. 402.

life was modelled upon Milton's great exemplar of Active Virtue: not fugitive or cloistered; never slinking from the race, from the sweat, or from the dust of the arena, and so he gained the "immortal garland," and in his triumph was the triumph of his country:—when such men die they leave behind them, not recollections for their friends, but eternal memories for the human race—teaching, by example, long after their own generation shall have passed away.

The reader will have observed that, to the very close of his life, Sydney Smith felt proud of his connexion with *The Edinburgh Review*. He refers to it frequently; he is interested in its success; he collects from it, and republishes his chief contributions, and recalls the buoyant days when he first suggested as the motto for the cover, "Tenui musam meditamur avena," and chuckles at its rejection as being too near the truth. To those who are unacquainted with the position of literary and political affairs about the year 1802, this self-gratulation may appear extreme; but, in truth, to the establishment and the able conduct of this periodical, we owe, in great part, the healthy state of our nation's literature; the enlightened tone of our literary criticisms; the redress of many a political grievance; and the stability of many a political safeguard of the crown from the people, of the people from themselves, of the Church from both.

When *The Edinburgh Review* was first projected, in Jeffrey's "elevated residence," in the eighth or ninth story of the house in Buccleugh-place, the national literature had fallen from the noble standard of lofty excellence to which it had been raised by Addison and by his cotemporaries. In poetry, Wordsworth, Byron, Moore, and Scott had not then arisen to save the public taste from the infliction of the rhyming prose of Hayley, of Darwin, and of Sotheby. In biography, Mrs. Barbauld and Anna Seward were tolerated. In criticism, the whole field was occupied by the trading, and often malicious, notices of books in *The Monthly Review*. In politics, there was faction, but no liberty of opinion: to talk of reform was to be a revolutionist: Castlereagh and Orangeism ruled in Ireland, and Dundas was "the tyrant of Scotland;" yet, with all these things, and to redress them, six men, the eldest thirty-two years old, the youngest but twenty-three, feared not to grapple.\*

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\* When the *Review* was projected, in 1802, John Allen was 32, Sydney Smith 31, Jeffrey 29, Brown 24, Horner 24, Henry Brougham 23.



To *The Edinburgh Review*, Ireland owes much ; to it Roman Catholic, Protestant Dissenter, and every section of the community, oppressed by exclusivism or injured by monopoly, is indebted for relief, and to Sydney Smith, more than to any other contributor, belongs the deepest gratitude.

From his appointment to the canonry of St. Paul's to the period of his death, his pen was little employed, his only publication of importance being the pamphlet on *The Ballot*, and the letters on *American Debts*. But his kindness and his humanity were ever active, and his heart was filled with gratitude to God for the happiness he enjoyed. He had never repined ; even when his life was wearing out at Foston, he wrote thus, bravely, to Lord Murray :—" I seldom leave home (except on my annual visit to London), and this principally because I cannot afford it. My income remains the same, my family increases in expense. My constitutional gaiety comes to my aid in all the difficulties of life ; and the recollection that, having embraced the character of an honest man and a friend to rational liberty, I have no reason to repine at that mediocrity of fortune which I *knew* to be its consequence."\* And he thus, in later life, wrote to Lady Holland :—" I thank God heartily for my comfortable situation in my old-age,—above my deserts, and beyond my former hopes."†

Thus surrounded by friends, his life faded away into the closing scene, which his daughter thus describes :—

" My father went, for a short time, in the autumn, to the sea-side, complaining much of languor. He said, ' I feel so weak, both in body and mind, that I verily believe, if the knife were put into my hand, I should not have strength or energy enough to stick it into a Dissenter.'

In October my father was taken seriously ill ; and Dr. Holland went down immediately to Combe Florey, and advised his coming up to town, where he might be constantly under his care. He bore the journey well ; and for the first two months, though very weak, went out in his carriage every day, saw his friends, broke out into moments of his natural gaiety, saying one day, with his bright smile, to General Fox (when they were keeping him on very low diet,) and not allowing him any meat, ' Ah, Charles ! I wish I were allowed even the wing of a roasted butterfly ;' and was at times so like his former self, that, though Dr. Holland was uneasy about him, we could not give up hope.

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\* " *Memoir.*" Vol. II. p. 201.

† *Ibid.* p. 326.

But other and more urgent symptoms coming on, Dr. Holland became so anxious, that he begged that Dr. Chambers might be called in. My father most unwillingly consented,—not from any dislike of Dr. Chambers, but from having the most perfect confidence in Dr. Holland's care and skill.

That evening he, for the first time, told his old maid and nurse, Annie Kay, that he knew his danger; said where and how he should wish to be buried;—then spoke of us all, but told her we must cheer him, and keep up his spirits, if he lingered long.

But he had such a dread of sorrowful faces around him, and of inflicting pain, that to us he always spoke calmly and cheerfully, and as if unaware of his danger.

He now never left his bed. Though suffering much, he was gentle, calm, and patient; and sometimes even cheerful. He spoke but little. Once he said to me, taking my hand, 'I should like to get well, if it were only to please Dr. Holland: it would, I know, make him so happy; this illness has endeared him so much to me.'

Speaking once of the extraordinary interest that had been evinced, by his friends for his recovery (for the inquiries at his door were incessant,)—'It gives me pleasure, I own,' he said, 'as it shows I have not misused the powers entrusted to me.' But he was most touched by the following letter from Lady Grey to my mother, expressing the feelings towards him, of one of the friends he most loved and honoured,—one who was, like himself, lying on that bed from which he was never to rise, and who was speaking as it were his farewell before entering on eternity.

'Lord Grey is intensely anxious about him. There is nobody of whom he so constantly thinks; nobody whom, in the course of his own long illness, he so ardently wished to see. Need I add, dear Mrs. Sydney, that, excepting only our children, there is nobody for whom we both feel so sincere an affection. God knows how truly I feel for your anxiety. Who is so sadly entitled to do so as I am? But I will hope the best, and that we may both be blessed by seeing the person most dear to us restored to health.'

One evening, when the room was half-darkened, and he had been resting long in silence, and I thought him asleep, he suddenly burst forth, in a voice so strong and full that it startled us,—

'We talk of human life as a journey, but how variously is that journey performed! There are some who come forth girt, and shod, and mantled, to walk on velvet lawns and smooth terraces, where every gale is arrested, and every beam is tempered. There are others who walk on the Alpine paths of life, against driving misery, and through stormy sorrows, over sharp afflictions; walk with bare feet, and naked breast, jaded, mangled, and chilled.'

And then he sank into perfect silence again. In quoting this beautiful passage from his sermon on Riches, his mind seems to have turned to the long and hard struggles of his own early life.

The present painful struggle did not last many days longer. He often lay silent and lost in thought, then spoke a few words of kindness to those around. He seemed to meet death with that calmness which the memory of a well-spent life, and trust in the mercy of God, can alone give."

"My father died at peace with himself and with all the world; anxious, to the last, to promote the comfort and happiness of others. He sent messages of kindness and forgiveness to the few he thought had injured him. Almost his last act was, bestowing a small living of £120 per annum on a poor, worthy, and friendless clergyman, who had lived a long life of struggle with poverty on £40 per annum.\* Full of happiness and gratitude, he entreated he might be allowed to see my father; but the latter so dreaded any agitation that he most unwillingly consented, saying, 'Then he must not thank me; I am too weak to bear it.' He entered,—my father gave him a few words of advice,—the clergyman silently pressed his hand, and blessed his death-bed. Surely such blessings are not given in vain!

My father expired on the 22nd of February, 1845, his death caused by hydrothorax, or water on the chest, consequent upon disease of the heart, which had probably existed for a considerable time, but rapidly increased during the few months preceding his death. His son closed his eyes. He was buried, by his own desire, as privately as possible, in the cemetery of Kensal Green; where his eldest son, Douglas, and now my mother, repose by his side.

And if true greatness consists, as my dear and valued old friend Mr. Rogers once quoted here from an ancient Greek writer, 'in doing what deserves to be written, and writing what deserves to be read, and in making mankind happier and better for your life,' my father was a truly great and good man."

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*Epitaph.*

TO

SYDNEY SMITH,

ONE OF THE BEST OF MEN.

HIS TALENTS,

THOUGH ADMITTED BY HIS CONTEMPORARIES TO BE GREAT,

WERE SURPASSED BY

HIS UNOSTENTATIOUS BENEVOLENCE,

HIS FEARLESS LOVE OF TRUTH,

AND HIS ENDEAVOUR TO PROMOTE THE HAPPINESS OF MANKIND

BY RELIGIOUS TOLERATION

AND

BY RATIONAL FREEDOM.

HE WAS BORN THE 3RD OF JUNE, 1771; HE BECAME CANON

RESIDENTIARY OF ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, 1831;

HE DIED FEBRUARY THE 22ND, 1845.

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\* In dictating a few words in his favour (for he was too weak to write) to the Bishop of Llandaff, he says:—"In addition to his other merits, I am sure he will have one in your eyes, for he is an out-and-out Tory." So little did party-feelings influence my father in bestowing preferment!

[On the opposite side of the Tomb.]

DOUGLAS SMITH,

THE ELDEST SON OF THE REV. SYDNEY SMITH,

AND OF

CATHERINE AMELIA, HIS WIFE.

HE WAS BORN FEBRUARY 27, 1805 ; HE DIED APRIL 15, 1829.

HIS LIFE WAS BLAMELESS.

HIS DEATH WAS THE FIRST SORROW

HE EVER OCCASIONED HIS PARENTS,

BUT IT WAS DEEP AND LASTING.

A beautiful epitaph. But what is an epitaph ? He was a great, noble, honest, fearless man. He never was the client of a Minister, or the beggar of an ecclesiastical superior. Free in mind ; true in heart ; a Christian in conduct ; bright in genius ; a man in every thing, yet he died with no higher dignity than that of Canon. He was moral ; he was an able advocate of his party ; he was a Whig in the days of Whiggish exile from office and from power ; he was faithful to his party in all their many days of difficulty and trial, yet he died without the mitre ! Years before his death he had abandoned all hope of ever reaching the bench, but to his last hour of life he felt, bitterly, that he had been neglected by his party, a party which he had helped to form, and which he had solidified, advocated, and defended.

He did not spend his " May of life " in groping amongst Greek accents or in toadying a Bishop. Too honest and too true to remain silent whilst he could help the oppressed or relieve the long suffering, in politics or in religion, he endured the penalty of rectitude—neglect. Had he been more pliant he would have been richer ; had he forgot his principles, he would have been of higher rank in the Church ; but neither tact, nor honesty, nor plain speaking, can make a party grateful, and thus, and therefore, Sydney Smith died a Canon of St. Paul's, whilst men of mean talents, and meaner principles, were raised to the highest offices in the profession.

We have stated that these volumes are interesting, we should have written that they are something more, in the grave suggestive topics introduced : none can read them without wonder, without admiration, without instruction : they are an important addition to the splendid biographies of those who have been a glory to the Literature of our Nation.

## ART. IV.—THE POETS OF AMERICA.

### SECOND PAPER.

1. *The Poetical Works of John G. Whittier. Author of "Old Portraits," &c., &c.* London: George Routledge and Co., 2 and 3, Farringdon-street. 1852.
2. *Poe's Tales of Mystery and Imagination; and Poems.* London: Clarke, Beeton, and Co., Fleet-street.
3. *The Poetical Works of James Russell Lowell. Edited with an Introduction, by Andrew R. Scoble.* London: George Routledge and Co., Farringdon-street. 1853.
4. *Poems by Thomas Buchanan Read. Illustrated by Kenny Meadows.* London: Delf and Trübner, 12, Paternoster-row. 1852.
5. *The Poetical Works of N. P. Willis. Author of "Pencilings By the Way."* London: George Routledge and Co., Soho-square. 1850.

We do not see to what we can more fittingly compare the beneficial tendency of the productions of the American Poets, which are so calculated to counteract the multifarious evil influences which exist in that country, than to the waters of the Nile, which when the country around has been rendered sterile by the scorching and terrific heat of a tropical sun, profusely irrigate the plains, restoring lusty vegetation to the soil, and golden prosperity to the Egyptian people. Like that generous river, the collective waters of these authors' genius flow on peerlessly, gladdening many an arid mind, and producing an invigorating effect upon many an intellect, which had been weakened and well nigh destroyed by the raving doctrines of the Mormonite, or the brazen and blasphemous lucubrations of the apostles of ignorance, or socialism. It is very consoling to the true American, and to all well wishers of America to reflect, that their fine Poets afford such a sheet anchor, wherewith to keep at their safe moorings, those comprehensive principles, and invaluable adaptations of ethical rules, upon the observance of which so much future greatness depends, and that these authors constitute such a happy safeguard against

the vast religious dissensions, the great opposing political interests, civil wars, and other ill omened visions which are so gravely announced as, "looming in the future," by a countless host of Journalists, Essayists, and Pamphleteers.

This would be a sufficient reason, indeed, for entitling the faults of such Authors to considerable palliation; but there are others. A traveller after a long and wearisome journey through a barren and uninteresting country, suddenly arriving at a position from whence he beholds a stupendous object of sublimity, which impresses its image on his mind with a solemn and irresistible power, is not generally induced to indulge in fastidious criticism, or disposed to dissect analytically the scene which affords him such exalted gratification. As therefore all must grant that the works which form the subject of our remarks bear strong analogy to the situation we have supposed, in their noble simplicity, sublime morality, and splendid contrast to the tiresome jargon of affectation and insipidity which has been so long, and so unceasingly ringing in our ears, there will be nothing in our abstinence from the exhibition of petty imperfections, to "make the judicious grieve;" but rather we should humbly trust, much to make them smile in an approving sense, at our consistence with our well meaning design, as expressed in a former paper, to gain for the Poets of America, collectively considered, a favourable introduction to the public. Although the Authors we have considered, and those we are about to notice, have the strongest resources in themselves, wherewith eventually to secure no limited appreciation, we all easily admit the truth of the ancient proverb, regarding the strength of early impressions, and are naturally too much aware of the courtesy due in an eminent degree to "the strange in clime" to insist upon a rigid exposure, and a severe condemnation of their smallest blemishes upon their first appearance among the people of this country, *in a truly collective, impartial form*: a source of pleasure to the indulgence in which we have every honest claim, and which we publicly declare is ours.\*

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\* A reviewer in one of the Dublin papers, disposed to question this claim of ours as set forth in the last Number of this REVIEW, supported his asseveration by referring to the *New Monthly*, which bore date about a twelvemonth earlier than our paper. We have perused an Article on "American Authorship" in the *New Monthly* for June, 1854, and find that instead of Sir Nathaniel's title embodying a collective review "in esse," it has only the power of doing so "in posse," inasmuch as the

We should then respectfully commend to our readers the adoption of the old adage,

"Be to their faults a little blind,  
Be to their virtues very kind."

If metaphysical platitudes, egotistical pomposity, and an unexceptionable exhibition, and unmerciful use of all those refined and ingenious instruments of intellectual torture, which glitter coldly on the table of the critic's laboratory, are sometimes necessary, we must remember that they are more applicable to old and hardened offenders called up to the bar of indignant public opinion, than to those young aspirants to European consideration, whose genius has as yet received but little justice at our hands, and who naturally expect in the old countries of civilized Europe, generous sympathy, and kind attention, instead of bitter malevolence, and pitiless dissection. When established as a body whose merits are sufficiently acknowledged, and whose genius becomes properly respected, the American Poets may hold up their heads in this country as fearlessly as in their own, we shall then be the first to chide the artificial conceit, and to expose the wanton error; but until then we must beg to be excused from joining the bristling ranks, drawn up against an unoffending band, or from levelling those ruthless javelins whose points are dipped in poison, against the breasts of ingenuous, and confiding strangers. Further, therefore, than a fair and unflinching statement of their prominent deficiencies is not the province of this paper, but to that extent we have already gone in our former notice, and in our present task we promise our readers that from the same honest course no divergence shall be perceptible.

One of the most charming peculiarities of the American Poets, is the intense devotion and admiration which they display for the magnificent scenery of their country. They almost all exhibit the liveliest delight in chaunting the gigantic natural wonders of Wood, and Earth, and Water in which it abounds, and in their incomparable descriptions of flood and field there is evident the strongest power of observation, and the most

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paper of which we speak is confined to the consideration of *one poet merely*, and the tone of dissertation, notwithstanding the ability displayed, is so caustic and satirical, as to shut out completely, the possibility of its being considered a fair introduction to the public, of the individual whose works are submitted to analytical investigation.

plenteous "harvest of a quiet eye." Moreover, the manner in which these fresh and beautiful ideas are expressed, are perfectly in consonance with the matter they embody, and the rhythm used, possesses the exquisite changeable power of the Kaleidoscope, in adapting itself to the diverse nature of the scenic sketches which inspire the Poet's imagination. Their philosophical beauties in like manner are most remarkable, and equally as varied, as they are remarkable. For these reasons, as well as for the many other strong peculiarities common to these Poets, we are induced to conclude, that in order that we may form an adequate idea of the Poetry of the American Authors, and to the end that a taste may be acquired for becoming familiar with their works, it is absolutely necessary that quotations should be given, which by their length and fitness might exemplify their merits. One gem, no matter how brilliant, can hardly afford a just idea of a coronal which is composed of many, and if there be the smallest risk of a Poet's reputation becoming imperilled by parsimonious exemplification, it would be far better to desist altogether from commenting upon his productions, than to persevere in doing that, which bears the semblance of tampering with his celebrity. Strongly impressed with the soundness of this impression, we shall now proceed to the completion of our undertaking, and we feel a strong, though humble, assurance, that the end will prove the justice of an assumption, which is neither the result of immature reflection, or prejudiced inclination.

Whittier is a poet who reflects the magnificence of his country in the majesty of his verse, who embodies all the iron vigor, and enterprising spirit of her sons, in his nervous, ringing language; and all the bold, lofty, and free aspirations of her statesmen, in the unbending and devoted love of freedom, which breathes through his works, like the sighing of the wind through a forest of his native pine trees. Whittier is pre-eminently the American Poet; he is the bard of her solemn forests, and her princely rivers, of all that bewitching picturesque beauty of scenery, and of all the romantic, imaginative characteristics of the native Indian, which Cooper has immortalized in prose: but he possesses a requisite still more essential for a Poet, who is ambitious of becoming the exponent of his country's most cherished glories, and most exalted wishes; he is the interpreter of the spirit which characterizes



and animates the people in their vast commercial achievements, unrivalled moral institutions, and also of those deep philanthropic principles, which agitate the great heart of the nation. His Poetry is often deficient in grace and terseness, it is true, but these negative imperfections are completely lost sight of in the noble simplicity, and masculine energy which it never ceases to evince. To the present generation of readers, whose mental appetites are wofully impaired by the constant supply of unintelligible matter which is served up to them, it is delightfully refreshing to listen to the manly tones of this delicious Poet, whose invigorating poetry, like the spray that rises on the rocks of Niagara, communicates its exhilarating essence to the spirits of the gazer. With what marvellous, and apparently superhuman power, he makes us listen to the roaring of the cataract, the singing of the forest bird, the chirp of the squirrel, or the stealthy tread of the Indian? It is seldom that Whittier enters into subjects of an abstractedly, philosophical, or purely speculative nature, but when he does, it is invariably for the purpose of demonstrating the infinite beauty of virtue, and the omnipotence of God. America rejoices in the bard who is so admirably capacitated to chaunt her glories, and to feed the lamp of her patriotism with such nourishing oil: who can so accurately direct the thunders of her wrath, and so skilfully develop her vast philanthropic desiderations.

“As rolls the river into ocean  
In sable torrent wildly streaming,”

so rolls along the noble current of Whittier's verse, and “the lightnings” of its glories, flash upon the mind, until it becomes completely absorbed by their force and brilliancy.

Nevertheless, this Poet is still (and the compliment is a great one) a man of much greater promise, than actual performance, and should his future achievements in verse, realize the conceptions which his early works permit us to entertain, he will evidently obtain one of the first places in that temple, which his country may consecrate to those gifted children, who have devoted their genius, and their lives, to sing her praises, and extend her literary fame. But this celebrity will depend upon the fulfilment of a very important condition, which is, the utter repudiation of sectarian bitterness,—an error as much at variance with justice and enlightenment, as it is beneath the dignity of a Poet.

There is another vitally important reason for the abandonment of such a futile weapon, which more immediately concerns an American; and if the subject of our observations sufficiently appreciates, and resolutely adopts the conduct it suggests, his fame will be wonderfully increased. All those who understand the present state of America, will easily grant, that her future eminent position as a nation, will very much depend upon the complete cessation of that religious rancour, from whose lamentable existence the people of the United States have suffered, and are still suffering so extensively. It is therefore an incontrovertible fact, that neither Poet, Historian, Philosopher, or any other person, distinguished in the various branches of literature or science, who supports a system so fatal to the interests of his country, can ever be associated with its glory: while it is equally as plain, that all great intellectual efforts which are imbued with the opposite spirit, must be more firmly consolidated, and fully tenfold enhanced.

In taking up the little volume of Whittier, "The Bridal of Pennacook" is the first poem that meets the eye: it is also one of the longest, and many will consider it the best. It opens with a very animated and graceful description of the River Merrimack, and goes on to describe the scenery surrounding the wigwam of the heroine. The portrait of Passaconaway is pencilled with much art and power. Who would meet, "in desert wilds," the awful being of whom we hear, that—

"Tales of him the grey squaw told,  
When the winter night-wind cold  
Pierced her blankets' thickest fold,  
And the fire burned low and small,

Till the very child a-bed,  
Drew its bear skin over head,  
Shrinking from the pale lights shed  
On the trembling wall."

Yet this dreaded and mysterious being is not altogether insensible to feeling. The record of his life unfolds one chord in that iron heart, which awakens to the touch of sympathy. He loves his daughter, and—

"As sometimes the tempest-smitten tree  
receives  
From one small root the sap which climbs  
its topmost spray and crowning leaves,

So from his child the sachem drew  
A life of Love and Hope, and felt  
His cold and rugged nature through  
The softness and the warmth of her young  
being melt."

She is a true type of her race.

"Child of the forest!—strong and free,  
Slight robed, with loosely flowing hair,  
She swam the lake or climbed the tree;  
Or struck the flying bird in air.

O'er the heaped drifts of winter's moon,  
Her snow-shoes tracked the hunter's way,  
And dazling in the summer noon,  
The blade of her light ear threw off its  
shower of spray."

It is not possible that such a being could fail in fascinating the heart of the Indian hunter, and the great chief "Winnepuckit," alias George Sachem of Sangus, pays his addresses and is accepted. The wedding feast is described in a graphic way, and with the greatest minuteness, as these passages may serve to show :—

"Steaks of the brown bear fat and large  
From the rocky slopes of the Kearsarge;  
Delicate trout from the Babboosuck brook,  
And salmon spear'd in the Contoocook;  
Squirrels which fed where nuts fall thick  
In the gravelly bed of Otternic,

And small wild hens in reed-snare caught  
From the banks of Sondagardes brought;  
Pike and perch from the Sasook taken,  
Nuts from the trees of the Black Hills  
shaken,  
Cranberries picked in the Squamecot bog,  
And grapes from the vines of Piscataquog."

What beautiful imagery the following lines display :—

"Her heart had formed a home; and freshly  
all  
Her beautiful affections overgrew  
Their rugged prop. As o'er some granite  
wall  
Soft vine leaves open to the moistening dew

And warm bright sun, the love of that  
young wife  
Found on a hard, cold breast, the dew and  
warmth of life."

Some time elapses, and the old chief regretting his separation from his daughter, and anxious for her return, even for a short time, signifies his wish to Winnepuckit, who accedes, and sends her back to her father, protected by a goodly band of his followers. When the time appointed for her return has arrived, no little wonder is created in the household of Passaconaway, by the non-appearance of Winnepuckit, who vows at last that he will receive his wife on no other condition than that she be sent back again to him with the same form, and attended with a retinue as numerous as that which accompanied her on her departure.

"If now no more a mat for her is found,  
Of all which line her father's wigwam round,

Let Pennacook call out his warrior train  
And send her back with wampum gifts  
again."

The old chief waxes indignant at such a proposal, and solemnly declares.

"No more  
Shall child of mine sit on his wigwam floor."

And again—

"May his scalp dry black  
In Mohawk smoke, before I send her back."

Constant however to her attachment, and full of the most ethereal devotion for her spouse, Weetamoo resolves on returning to him. In pursuance of this generous determination, she commences her voyage in a frail boat, unaccompanied even by a single attendant. The catastrophe now ensues. She is drowned! and her kindred mourn her untimely fate in the following beautiful and touching lines :—

"The Dark eye has left us,  
The Spring bird has flown,  
On the pathway of spirits  
She wanders alone.  
The song of the wood dove has died on our  
shore.  
*Mat Wonck Kunna Monee!* we hear it no  
more!  
Oh, dark water spirit!  
We cast on thy wave  
These furs which may never  
Hang over her grave;  
Bear down to the lost one the robes that  
she wore;  
*Mat Wonck Kunna Monee!* we see her no  
more!  
Of the strange land she walks in  
No Powah has told,  
It may burn with the sunshine,  
Or freeze with the cold.

Let us give to our lost one the robes that  
she wore;  
*Mat Wonck Kunna Monee!* we see her no  
more!  
The path she is treading  
Shall soon be our own;  
Each gliding in shadow  
Unseen and alone!  
In vain shall we call on the souls gone  
before;  
*Mat Wonck Kunna Monee!* they hear us  
no more!  
Oh, mighty Sowanna!  
Thy gateways unfold,  
From thy wigwam of sunset  
Lift curtains of gold!  
Take home the poor spirit whose journey  
is o'er;  
*Mat Wonck Kunna Monee!* we see her no  
more."

"Mogg Megone," the longest poem in the collection, abounds in fine dramatic passages, and beautiful descriptions; it is not, however, a perfect composition, though there are passages therein, which, for vigor and beauty, have never been surpassed by the author. Its imperfection, as a composition, is mainly attributable to the great space which intervenes between the completion of the tragic incident and the conclusion of the poem; and in like manner to the lengthy descriptions which inundate its pages. However, it is to be held in mind that the author's professed object in undertaking this production was, to describe the scenery of New England, and its early inhabitants, and it is impossible to avoid seeing how faithfully this object is realized.

"Mogg Megone," forcibly reminds us of the poetry of Sir Walter Scott; the same vigorous flow of thought, spirited narrative, dramatic colouring, and glorious descriptive power, which have delighted us, in "Marmion," or the "Lay of the last Minstrel," we here behold again in the plenitude of their power. The following description of an Indian warrior's costume has never been surpassed even by Cooper—

"The moonlight through the open bough  
Of the gnar'd beech, whose naked root  
Coils like a serpent at his foot,  
Falls, chequered, on the Indian's brow.  
His head is bare, save only where  
Waves in the wind one lock of hair,  
Reserved for him, whoe'er he be,  
More mighty than Megone in strife,  
When breast to breast, and knee to knee,  
Above the fallen warrior's life  
Gleams, quick and keen, the scalping knife.  
Megone hath his knife and hatchet and gun,  
And his gaudy and tasseled blanket on;

His knife hath a handle with gold inlaid,  
And magic words on its polished blade—  
'Twas the gift of Castine to Mogg Megone,  
For a scalp or twain from the Yengees torn;  
His gun was the gift of the Tarrantine,  
And Modocawando's wives had strung  
The brass and the beads, which tinkle and  
shine  
On the polished breech, and broad bright  
line  
Of beaded wampum around it hung."

## The outlaw Bonython is thus ushered before us—

"What seeks Megone? His foes are near—  
 Grey Jocelyn's eye is never sleeping,  
 And the garrison lights are burning clear,  
 When Phillips' men their watch are  
 keeping.  
 Let him hie him away through the dark  
 river fox,  
 Never rustling the boughs nor displacing  
 the rocks,  
 For the eyes and the ears that are watching  
 for Mogg,  
 Are keener than those of the wolf or the  
 fox

He starts—there's a rustle among the leaves;  
 Another—the click of his gun is heard!  
 A footstep—is it the step of Cleaves,  
 With Indian blood on his English sword?

Steals Harmon down from the lands of York,  
 With hands of iron and foot of cork?  
 Has Scammon, versed in Indian wile,  
 For vengeance left his vine-hung isle?  
 Hark! at that whistle, soft and low,  
 How lights the eye of Mogg Megone!  
 A smile gleams o'er his dusky brow—  
 'Boon welcome, Johnny Bonython!'

Out steps, with cautious foot and slow,  
 And quick, keen glances to and fro,  
 The hunted outlaw, Bonython!  
 A low, lean, swarthy man is he,  
 With blanket garb and buskined knee,  
 And nought of English fashion on;  
 For he hates the race from whence he sprung,  
 And he couches his words in the Indian  
 tongue."

Mogg Megone and Bonython proceed together to the cottage of the latter; whose daughter's hand is about to be given to the savage as a reward for his having slain her seducer. While they proceed, the poet seizes the opportunity of presenting us this choice descriptive sketch—

"Hark!—is that the angry howl  
 Of the wolf, the hills among?—  
 Or the hooting of the owl,  
 On his leafy cradle swung?  
 Quickly glancing, to and fro,  
 Listening to each sound they go:  
 Round the columns of the pine,  
 Indistinct, in shadow seeming  
 Like some old and pillared shrine;  
 With the soft and white moonshine,  
 Round the foliage-treasury shed  
 Of each column's branching head,  
 For its lamps of worship gleaming!

And the sounds awakened there,  
 In the pine leaves fine and small,  
 Soft and sweetly musical,  
 By the fingers of the air,  
 For the anthem's dying fall  
 Linger round some temple's wall!—  
 Niche and cornice round and round  
 Walling like the ghost of sound!  
 Is not Nature's worship thus  
 Ceaseless ever, going on?  
 Hath it not a voice for us,  
 In the thunder, or the tone  
 Of the leaf-harp, faint and small,  
 Speaking to the unsealed ear  
 Words of blended love and fear,  
 Of the mighty soul of all?"

Having reached Bonython's hut, his daughter is introduced.

"Tall and erect the maiden stands,  
 Like some young priestess of the wood,  
 The free-born child of Solitude,  
 And bearing still the wild and rude,  
 Yet noble trace of Nature's hands.  
 Her dark brown cheek hath caught its stain  
 More from the sunshine than the rain;  
 Yet, where her long, fair hair is parting,  
 A pure white brow into light is starting;

And, where the folds of her blanket sever,  
 Are a neck and bosom as white as ever  
 The foam-wreaths rise on the leaping river.  
 But, in the convulsive quiver and grip  
 Of the muscles around her bloodless lip,  
 There is something painful and sad to see;  
 And her eye has a glance more sternly wild  
 Than even that of a forest child  
 In its fearless and untamed freedom  
 should be."

Actuated by that undying attachment for one who has once been the object of her affection, in which she only exhibits one of the truest characteristics of her sex, Ruth repents the short-lived anger which prompted her to consent to the destruction of her seducer, and when the bloody scalp of him she once cherished with all the passionate fervor of her young

confiding heart, is held before her eyes, her horror knows no bounds, and all the soft associations which stud the memory of her love, rush rapidly on her agonized brain.

"With hand upraised, with quick drawn breath,  
She meets that ghastly sign of death;  
In one long, glassy, spectral stare  
The enlarging eye is fasten'd there,  
As if that mesh of pale brown hair  
Had power to change at sight alone,  
Even as the fearful locks which wound  
Medusa's fatal forehead round,  
The gazer into stone.  
With such a look Herodias read  
The features of the bleeding head.  
So looked the mad Moor on his dead, -

Or the young Cenci as she stood,  
O'er-dabbled with a father's blood!  
Look! feeling melts that frozen glance,  
It moves that marble countenance,  
As if at once within her strove  
Pity with shame, and hate with love.  
The past recalls its joy and pain,  
Old memories rise before her brain—  
The lips which love's embraces met,  
The hand her tears of parting wet,  
The voice whose pleading tones beguiled  
The pleased ear of the forest child,—  
And tears she may no more repress,  
Reveal her lingering tenderness."

With what truth the poet immediately adds—

"Oh! woman wronged, can cherish hate  
More deep and dark than manhood may;  
But, when the mockery of fate  
Hath left Revenge its chosen way,  
And the fell curse, which years have nursed,  
Full on the spoiler's head hath burst—

When all her wrong, and shame, and pain,  
Burns fiercely on his heart and brain—  
Still lingers something of the spell  
Which bound her to the traitor's bosom;  
Still, midst the vengeful fires of hell,  
Some flowers of old affection blossom."

Bonython, now that he has accomplished his aims, through the agency of the savage, burns with desire to destroy him likewise, thus preventing the necessity of giving him his daughter in marriage. He lacks nerve to execute his fell design; not so Ruth, whom the remorse of love has goaded to the very verge of madness.

"Ruth starts erect—with bloodshot eye,  
And lips drawn tight across her teeth,  
Showing their locked embrace beneath,  
In the red fire-light!—"Mogg must die!  
Give me the knife!"—The outlaw turns,  
Shuddering in heart and limb, away—  
But, fitfully there, the hearth-fire burns,  
And he sees on the wall strange shadows play.  
A lifted arm, a tremulous blade,  
Are dimly pictured in light and shade,

Plunging down in the darkness. Hark,  
that cry!  
Again—and again—he sees it fall—  
That shadowy arm down the lighted wall!  
He hears quick footsteps—a shade flits by!  
The door on its rusted hinges creaks—  
'Ruth—daughter Ruth!' the outlaw shrieks,  
But no sound comes back—he is standing  
alone  
By the mangled corpse of Mogg Megone!"

Then follows a beautiful descriptive passage:—

"Tis morning over Norridgewock—  
On tree and wigwam, wave and rock,  
Bathed in the autumnal sunshine, stirred  
At intervals by breeze and bird,  
And wearing all the hues which glow  
In heaven's own pure and perfect bow,  
That glorious picture of the air,  
Which summer's light-robed angel forms  
On the dark ground of fading storms,  
With pencil dipped in sunbeams there—  
And, stretching out, on either hand,  
O'er all that wide and unshorn land,  
Till, weary of its gorgeousness,  
The aching and the dazzled eye  
Rests gladdened, on the calm blue sky—  
Slumbers the mighty wilderness!

The oak upon the windy hill,  
Its dark green burthen upward heaves—  
The hemlock broods above its rill,  
Its cone-like foliage darker still,  
While the white birch's graceful stem  
And the rough walnut bough receives  
The sun upon their crowded leaves,  
Each colored like a topaz gem;  
And the tall maple wears with them,  
The coronal which autumn gives,  
The brief, bright sign of ruin near,  
The hectic of a dying year!"

Then follows the narrative of Ruth's love, her joy, her shame, her misery, and her crime :—

"There came a change; the wild, glad mood  
Of unchecked freedom passed.  
Amid the ancient solitude  
Of unshorn grass and waving wood,  
And waters glancing bright and fast,  
A softened voice was in my ear,  
Sweet as those lulling sounds and fine,  
The hunter lifts his head to hear.  
Now far and faint, now full and near—  
The murmur of the wind-swept pine.  
A manly form was ever nigh,  
A bold, free hunter, with an eye

Whose dark keen glance had power to wake  
Both fear and love—to awe and charm :  
'Twas as the wizard rattlesnake,  
Whose evil glances lure to harm—  
Whose cold, and small, and glittering eye,  
And brilliant coil, and changing dye,  
Draw, step by step, the gazer near,  
With drooping wing and cry of fear,  
Yet powerless all to turn away,  
A conscious, but a willing prey!  
Fear, doubt, thought, life itself ere long."

She then mentions the bitter agony she experienced when the savage trophy of her dead lover is paraded before her :—

"Oh God! with what an awful power  
I saw the buried past arise,  
And gather, in a single hour,  
Its ghost-like memories!  
And then I felt—alas! too late,  
That underneath the mask of hate,  
That shame, and guilt, and wrong had  
thrown  
O'er feelings which they might not own,  
The heart's wild love had known no  
change;  
And still, that deep and hidden love,  
With its first fondness wept above,  
The victim of its own revenge!

There lay the fearful scalp, and there  
The blood was on its pale brown hair!  
I thought not of the victim's scorn,  
I thought not of his baleful galle,  
My deadly wrong, my outcast name,  
The characters of sin and shame  
On heart and forehead drawn;  
I only saw that victim's smile—  
The still, green places where we met—  
The moon lit branches, dewy wet;  
I only felt, I only heard  
The greeting and the parting word—  
The smile, the embrace, the tone, which  
made  
An Eden of the forest shade."

Her death concludes the poem, and is thus beautifully narrated :—

"Blessed Mary! who is she  
Leaning against that maple tree?  
The sun upon her face burns hot,  
But the fixed eyelid moveth not;  
The squirrel's chirp is shrill and clear,  
From the dry bough above her ear;  
Dashing from rock and root its spray,  
Close at her feet the river rushes;  
The blackbird's wing against her bushes,  
And sweetly through the hazel bushes  
The robin's mellow music gushes;  
God save her! will she sleep away?

Castine hath bent him over the sleeper:  
'Wake daughter—wake!' but she stirs  
no limb;  
The eye that looks on him is fixed and  
dim;  
And the sleep she is sleeping shall be no  
deeper,  
Until the angel's oath is said,  
And the final blast of the trump goes forth  
To the graves of the sea and the graves of  
the earth.  
*Ruth Bonnythen is dead!*"

These two beautiful poems whose plots we have just been sketching, are followed by many shorter pieces remarkable for great descriptive beauty, dramatic incident, and colouring, among which may be mentioned his fine lines on the "Merri-mack," the fearful massacre of Pentucket, the story of "Toussaint L'ouverture," and the "Fountain." We are forced

to become believers in the sanguine theories of those, who prophesy so much future enjoyment of well-regulated freedom for the people of America, when we turn our attention to the fearless independence of this poet, which comes bursting forth in a torrent of words, appropriately graphic, and patriotically suggestive; and we regret that space prohibits us from dwelling any longer on the beauties of one, who presents such a worthy type of the genius and patriotism of America, as evinced by the fire and beauty of his numerous lyrics, to which we earnestly direct the attention of the reader.

The poetry of one of the most extraordinary writers, of his own, or of any other country, is now before us; with the marvellous prose productions of Edgar Allan Poe, so eminently characterized by originality, acuteness, and ingenuity, we have nothing to do. We shall therefore confine ourselves to a consideration of his poetical efforts. Poe is, indeed, a most sad instance of unfortunate genius. Gifted with an intellect of the loftiest, and the most vigorous order, naturally endowed with a physical constitution, which would have warranted him in undertaking the most weighty and stupendous labors to which the intellect can be subjected, he has not only abstained from the adequate exercise of such powers, but he has over and over again, placed the most effectual barriers against the realization of any important achievement, by habits of the most abandoned depravity. "That seductive besetment," as he termed the disposition to exceed in intoxicating drinks, was the ruin of Poe; but for it, he might have completely eclipsed all his cotemporaries, and left his successors such evidences of gigantic intellect, as would tax their united energies to equal. It is hardly credible that one so highly gifted as Poe, and imbued with such a sensitive love for the beautiful, could by any combination of circumstances be induced to enter into a systematised habit of the very lowest order of vice. Yet, so it was, whether from defective moral training, or an irresistible tendency of his constitution, is a mystery, and his case furnishes the world with one of the most awful and solemn warnings to genius, to which it has ever been its lot to listen. Limited as it is in space, the poetry of Poe is characterized by the most extraordinary and admirable evidences of imaginative power, consistent developement of idea, unprecedented sway over language, and wonderful melody



in rhythm. There never yet was a poet who has evinced more capability in investing his subjects with fascinating mystery, or in sustaining his extraordinary ideas with more apposite skill.

In perusing the slender stock of poems which he has given to the world, we cannot help experiencing the most poignant regret, that he, who could mould these perfect forms of art, and endow them with such vitality, has not left us more extended evidences of his genius, that he has not achieved those sublime triumphs which must necessarily have been his reward, had not the baleful influence of some hidden cause presented insuperable obstacles to the activity of his genius.

The well known poem of "The Raven," offers an exemplification sufficiently convincing of the peculiar magnitude and mysterious grandeur of Poe's poetry; and also, exhibits in a manner quite unmistakeable, the identity between the author and his subject, which marks almost all Poe's efforts in verse, and which assimilates his poetry, in this respect, to that of Byron. The extraordinary peculiarity of Poe's intellect, will be more apparent to the reader, unacquainted with his productions, when he learns that "The Raven," from which we shall subsequently extract, is the result, according to the author's declaration, of a synthetical process, the most subtle, laborious, and profound. "It is my design to render it manifest that no one point in its composition is referable either to accident or intention—that the work proceeded, step by step, to its completion, with the precision and rigid consequence of a mathematical problem." A mind capable of such Herculean energy might triumph over the most enormous obstacles. In the following quotation, the author's subjectivity will inevitably be detected, by those who have any knowledge of his life:—

"But the Raven, sitting lonely on that placid bust spoke only  
That one word, as if his soul in that one word he did outpour;  
Nothing farther then he uttered; not a feather then he fluttered—  
Till I scarcely more than muttered, 'other friends have flown before—  
On the morrow he will leave me, as my hopes have flown before.'  
Then the bird said, 'Never more.'

Startled at the stillness broken by reply so aptly spoken,  
'Doubtless,' said I, 'what it utters is its only stock and store,  
Caught from some unhappy master, whom unmerciful disaster  
Followed fast and followed faster, 'till his songs one burden bore—  
'Till the dirges of his hope that melancholy burden bore,  
Of 'Never—never more.'

But the Raven still beguiling all my sad soul into smiling,  
Straight I wheeled a cushioned seat in front of bird, and bust, and door;  
Then upon the velvet sinking, I betook myself to linking  
Fancy unto fancy, thinking what this ominous bird of yore—  
What this grim, ungainly, ghastly, gaunt, and ominous bird of yore,  
Meant in croaking 'Never more.'

This I sat engaged in guessing, but no syllable expressing  
To the fowl whose fiery eyes now burned into my bosom's core;  
This and more I sat divining, with my head at ease reclining  
On the cushion's velvet lining, that the lamp light gloated o'er,  
But whose velvet violet lining with the lamp-light gloating o'er,  
    *She shall press, ah, never more!*

Then, methought, the air grew denser, perfumed from an unseen censer  
Swung by Seraphim, whose footfalls tinkled on the tufted floor.  
'Wretch!' I cried, 'thy God hath lent thee—by these angels he hath sent thee  
Respite—respite and nepenthe from thy memories of Lenore!  
Quaff, oh, quaff, this kind nepenthe, and forget this lost Lenore!'

Quoth the Raven, 'Never more!'

'Prophet!' said I, 'thing of evil!—prophet still, if bird or devil!  
Whether tempter sent, or whether tempest tossed thee here ashore,  
Desolate, yet all undaunted, on this desert land enchanted—  
On this home by horror haunted—tell me truly, I implore—  
Is there—is there balm in Gilead? tell me—tell me, I implore!'

Quoth the Raven, 'Never more!'

'Prophet!' said I, 'thing of evil!—prophet still, if bird or devil!  
By that heaven that bends above us—by that God we both adore—  
Tell this soul with sorrow laden If, within the distant Aidenn,  
It shall clasp a sainted maiden, whom the angels name Lenore—  
Clasp a rare and radiant maiden, whom the angels name Lenore.'

Quoth the Raven, 'Never more.'

'Be that word our sign of parting, bird or fiend!' I shrieked upstarting—  
'Get thee back into the tempest, and the night's Plutonian shore!  
Leave no black plume as a token of that lie thy soul hath spoken!  
Leave my loneliness unbroken! quit the bust above my door!  
Take thy beak from out my heart, and take thy form from off my door!'

Quoth the Raven, 'Never more.'

And the Raven, never flitting, still is sitting, still is sitting,  
On the pallid bust of Pallas, just above my chamber-door,  
And his eyes have all the seeming of a demon's that is dreaming,  
And the lamp-light o'er him streaming, throws his shadow on the floor;  
And my soul from out that shadow that lies floating on the floor,  
    *Shall be lifted, Never more."*

But it is not alone the subjectivity which we observe in these stanzas; the almost miraculous symphony with which each line rings upon the ear, the admirable sustainment of the leading idea, and the awful shade of mystery which envelopes the whole, are vividly impressed upon our minds. We bow instinctively before the Titanic genius, the product of whose labor is so stupendous. Take another instance of vague, mysterious sorrow:—

#### "BRIDAL BALLAD."

"The ring is on my hand,  
And the wreath is on my brow;  
Satins and jewels grand  
Are all at my command,  
And I am happy now.  
And my lord he loves me well;  
But, when first he breathed his vow,  
I felt my bosom swell—  
For the words rang as a knell,  
And the voice seemed his who fell  
In the battle down the dell,  
And who is happy now.  
But he spoke to re-assure me,  
And he kissed my pallid brow,  
While a reverie came o'er me,

And to the church-yard bore me,  
And I sighed to him before me  
Thinking him dead D'Eloirne,  
    *"Oh, I am happy now!"*

And thus the words were spoken,  
And this the pledged vow,  
And though my faith be broken,  
And though my heart be broken,  
Behold the golden token

That proves me happy now!

Would God I could awaken!  
For I dream, I know not how;  
And my soul is sorely shaken  
Lest an evil step be taken,  
Lest the dead who is forsaken  
    *May not be happy now."*

The marvellous melody of the author was never so apparent

as in his poem of "The Bells," where the power which he wields in the adaptation and convolution of language, is seemingly supernatural.

"THE BELLS.

Hear the sledges with the bells—  
Silver bells!  
What a world of merriment their melody foretells!  
How they tinkle, tinkle, tinkle,  
In the icy air of night!  
While the stars that oversprinkle  
All the heavens, seem to twinkle  
With a crystalline delight.  
Keeping time, time, time,  
In a sort of Runic rhyme,  
To the tintinnabulation that so musically swells  
From the bells, bells, bells, bells,  
Bells, bells, bells—  
From the jingling and the tinkling of the bells.  
Hear the mellow wedding bells,  
Golden bells!  
What a world of happiness their harmony foretells!  
Through the balmy air of night,  
How they ring out their delight.  
From the molten golden notes,  
And all in tune,  
What a liquid ditty floats  
To the turtle dove that listens, while she gloats  
On the moon!  
Oh, from out the sounding cells,  
What a gush of euphony voluminously wells!  
How it swells;  
How it dwells  
On the Future! how it tells  
Of the rapture that impels  
To the swinging and the ringing  
Of the bells, bells, bells,  
Of the bells, bells, bells, bells,  
Bells, bells, bells—  
To the rhyming and the chyming of the bells!  
Hear the loud alarum bells,  
Brazen bells!  
What a tale of terror, now, their turbulency tells!  
In the startled ear of night,  
How they scream out their affright!  
Too much horrified to speak,  
They can only shriek, shriek  
Out of tone,  
In a clamorous appealing to the mercy of the fire,  
In a mad expostulation with the deaf and frantic fire,  
Leaping higher, higher, higher,  
With a resolute desire,  
And a resolute endeavour  
Now—now to sit or never,  
By the side of the pale-faced moon.  
Oh, the bells, bells, bells!  
What a tale their terror tells  
Of Despair!  
How they clang, and crash, and roar!  
What a horror they outpour  
On the bosom of the palpitating air.

Yet the ear it fully knows,  
By the twanging,  
And the clanging,  
How the danger ebbs and flows;  
Yet the ear distinctly tells,  
In the jangling,  
And the wrangling,  
How the danger sinks and swells,  
By the sinking or the swelling in the anger of the bells—  
Of the bells—  
Of the bells, bells, bells, bells,  
Bells, bells, bells!  
In clamour and the clangour of the bells!  
Hear the tolling of the bells,  
Iron Bells!  
What a world of solemn thought their monody compels!  
In the silence of the night,  
How we shiver with affright  
At the melancholy menace of their tone!  
For every sound that floats  
From the rust within their throats  
Is a groan.  
And the people—ah, the people—  
They that dwell up in the steeple,  
All alone,  
And who tolling, tolling, tolling,  
In that muffled monotone,  
Feel a glory in so rolling  
On the human heart a stone.  
They are neither man nor woman;  
They are neither brute nor human,  
They are Ghouls:  
And their king it is who tells;  
And he rolls, rolls, rolls,  
Rolls  
A pean from the bells!  
And his merry bosom swells  
With the pean of the bells!  
And he dances, and he yells;  
Keeping time, time, time,  
In a sort of Runic rhyme,  
To the pean of the bells—  
Of the bells;  
Keeping time, time, time,  
In a sort of Runic rhyme,  
To the throbbing of the bells,  
Of the bells, bells, bells,  
To the sobbing of the bells;  
Keeping time, time, time,  
As he knells, knells, knells,  
In a happy Runic rhyme,  
To the rolling of the bells,  
Of the bells, bells, bells,  
To the tolling of the bells,  
Of the bells, bells, bells, bells,  
Bells, bells, bells,  
To the moaning and the groaning of the bells."

To those who have been accustomed to consider Poe as an

unsympathizing misanthrope, incapable of sensitive feeling, or anything approaching to tenderness, the ensuing lines will constitute a theme for unexpected admiration.

"ANNABEL LEE.

It was many and many a year ago,  
In a kingdom by the sea,  
That a maiden there lived, whom you may  
know  
By the name of Annabel Lee;  
And this maiden she lived with no other  
thought  
Than to love and be loved by me.

I was a child, and she was a child,  
In this kingdom by the sea;  
But we loved with a love that was more  
than love—  
I and my Annabel Lee—  
With a love that the winged seraphs of  
heaven  
Coveted her and me.

And this was the reason that, long ago,  
In this kingdom by the sea,  
A wind blew out of a cloud, chilling  
My beautiful Annabel Lee;  
So that her high-born kinsmen came,  
And bore her away from me,  
To shut her up in a sepulchre  
In this kingdom by the sea.

The angels, not half so happy in heaven,  
Went envying her and me—  
Yes!—that was the reason (as all men know,  
In this kingdom by the sea)  
That the wind came out of the cloud by  
night,  
Chilling and killing my Annabel Lee.  
But our love it was stronger by far than  
the love  
Of those who were older than we—  
Of many far wiser than we—  
And neither the angels in heaven above,  
Nor the demons down under the sea,  
Can ever dissever my soul from the soul  
Of the beautiful Annabel Lee.  
For the moon never beams, without bring-  
ing me dreams  
Of the beautiful Annabel Lee;  
And the stars never rise, but I feel the  
bright eyes  
Of the beautiful Annabel Lee;  
And so, all the night-tide, I lie down by the  
side  
Of my darling—my darling—my life and  
my bride,  
In the sepulchre there by the sea,  
In her tomb by the sounding sea."

He who has been travelling over mountains "whose vast walls are pinnacled in clouds," by rivers of mighty grandeur and through forests of colossal height, and immense expanse, will turn with interest and fresh delight, to survey the cultivated beauty of the wood-crowned hill, the deep green meadows, encircled with the dapper hedge row, and the trim parterre adorned with the many-hued flowers: so we, whose admiration and reverence, have been so willingly commanded by the vigorous beauties of Whittier and Lowell, and the solemn magnificence of Longfellow, Bryant, Sigourney, and Poe, will have no objection to rest our dazzled eyes by a peaceful survey of a few of the unpretending beauties of Thomas Buchanan Read.

The poetry of Read produces that soothing effect upon the mind, experienced by the contemplation of quiet scenery; like it, it abounds in simple, unostentatious pictures of calm loveliness; it contains in its unobtrusive pages, many a valuable gem which resembles

"A violet on a mossy bank, half hidden from the eye."

The author forms no exception to that bright host of poets who have chosen virtue as their motto, and its sacred cause meets an appropriate embellishment in the unaffected grace

and sincerity which is so natural to Read. If we read the following verses with attention, we will observe much charming originality, and a liveliness of fancy, well applied, and admirably consistent.

"THE LIGHT OF OUR HOME.

"Oh, thou whose beauty on us beams  
With glimpses of celestial light;  
Thou halo of our waking dreams,  
And early star that crown'st our night.

Thy light is magic where it falls;  
To thee the deepest shadow yields;  
Thou bring'st unto these dreary halls  
The lustre of the summer fields.

There is a freedom in thy looks  
To make the prisoned heart rejoice;  
In thy blue eyes I see the brooks,  
And hear their music in thy voice.

And every sweetest bird that sings,  
Hath pour'd a charm upon thy tongue;  
And where the bee enamoured clings,  
There surely thou in love hast clang:—

For when I hear thy laughter free,  
And see thy morning-lighted hair,  
As in a dream at once I see  
Fair upland realms and valleys fair.

I see thy feet empearled with dews,  
The violet's and the lily's loss;  
And when the waving woodlands woo,  
Thou lead'st me over beds of moss:—

And by the busy rannel's side,  
Whose waters, like a bird afraid,  
Dart from their fount, and flashing, glide  
Athwart the sunshine and the shade.

Or larger streams our steps beguile;  
We see the cascade, broad and fair,  
Dashed headlong down to foam, the while  
Its iris-spirit leaps to air!"

But Read possesses a susceptible heart, as well as a lively fancy, and can give utterance to feelings, which, like the song of the Nightingale, are no less remarkable for pleasing melancholy, than for divine sweetness.

"SOME THINGS LOVE ME.

All within and all without me  
Feel a melancholy thrill;  
And the darkness hangs about me,  
Oh, how still!  
To my feet, the river glideth  
Through the shadow, sullen, dark;  
On the stream the white moon rideth,  
Like a barque—  
And the linden leans above me,  
Till I think some things there be  
In this dreary world that love me,  
Even me!

Gentle flowers are springing near me,  
Shedding sweetest breath around;  
Countless voices rise, to cheer me,  
From the ground;

And the lone bird comes—I hear it  
In the tall and windy pine,  
Pour the sadness of its spirit  
Into mine;  
There it awings and sings above me,  
Till I think some things there be,  
In this dreary world that love me,  
Even me!  
Now the moon hath floated to me,  
On the stream I see it away,  
Swinging, boat-like, as 't would woo me  
Far away—  
And the stars bend from the azure,  
I could reach them where I lie,  
And they whisper all the pleasure  
Of the sky.

There they hang and smile above me,  
Till I think some things there be  
In the very heavens that love me,  
Even me!"

Narrative, is another of our author's tastes, and one in which he bids fair to succeed. "The Maid of Linden Lane," possesses a good deal of that mysterious spirit, and solemn air of prophecy, which invests fable, and often fact with their main attractions: it commences thus:—

"THE MAID OF LINDEN LANE.

Little maiden, you may laugh,  
That you see me wear a staff,  
But your laughter is the chaff  
From the melancholy grain.

Through the shadows long and cool  
You are tripping down to school;  
But your teacher's cloudy rule  
Only dulls the shining pool  
With its loud and stormy rain.

There's a higher lore to learn  
Than his knowledge can discern,  
There's a valley deep and dorn  
In a desolate domain;  
But for this he has no chart—  
Shallow science, shallow art!  
Thither—Oh, be still my heart—  
One too many did depart  
From the halls of Linden Lane.

I can teach you better things;  
For I know the secret springs  
Where the spirit wells and sings,  
Till it overflows the brain.

Come when eve is closing in,  
When the spiders gray begin,  
Like philosophers, to spin  
Misty tissues, vain and thin,  
Through the shades of Linden Lane.

While you sit as in a trance,  
Where the moon made shadows dance,  
From the distaff of Romance

I will spin a silky skein:  
Down the misty years gone by,  
I will turn your azure eye;  
You shall see the changeful sky  
Falling dark or hanging high  
Over the halls of Linden Lane.

We are now about to turn our attention to the works of an author, who not alone resembles Whittier in the nature of his genius, but also in the assurances of future fame, which his poetry emphatically suggests. Which of the two will eventually outshine the other, it would be hazardous to anticipate; but it is easy to perceive, that gigantic competition will mark their efforts: if not in the spirit of rivalry between both, at least in the character of the reception which the public may award them. The leading peculiarity of James Russell Lowell, is energy of the most active kind: he grasps his thoughts as Jupiter his thunderbolts, and hurls them to their destined aim, with as much accurate velocity as the Autocrat of Olympus. His knowledge of human nature is vast and subtle, his ethics sound and uncompromising, diction copious and flexible, and he knows no political creed distinct from the welfare of his country. He is not always so happy in his ontological and psychological speculations, and we shall expect to see it evidenced in his future productions, that his ears have been rigidly closed against the alluring whispers of the syren voice, which has, in some instances, beguiled his footsteps. Analytic power, indeed the love of analysis, is another of Lowell's distinguishing traits. He delights to dissect his subjects with the nicety of a metaphysician, and to peer with microscopic exactness, into the dim recesses of its contemplative materials. One other of his characteristics, which assist in establishing the similarity we have alluded to, is, the wizard potency of his descriptive talent. This, however, has never induced the subject of our remarks to indulge in rhapsodical prolixity; for as he himself tells us, man should constitute the theme of the Poets of the new world. This comprehensive doctrine on whose evident utility we have slightly commented at the commencement, acknowledges Lowell as its most earnest advocate: to him it principally owes its promulgation, and already

acquired celebrity; and in his hands it may yet achieve its sublimest triumphs. His superhuman vigor, perceptive intellect, and undisguised reverence for this principle, mark him out as the apostle who will most eminently develope the tenet it commands. The Vision of Sir Launfal is a specimen of the perfect ballad, written in a spirited and interesting manner; the language is appropriate, and might well have been chaunted by the minstrels of Provence. The preludes therein contain some lovely sketches of nature: the following is from the First Prelude:—

"And what is so rare as a day in June?  
Then, if ever, come perfect days;  
Then Heaven tries the earth if it be in tune,  
And over it softly her warm ear lays:  
Whether we look, or whether we listen,  
We hear life murmur, or see it glisten;  
Every clod feels a stir of might,  
An instinct within us that reaches and  
towers;  
And, grasping blindly above it for light,  
Climbs to a soul in grass and flowers;  
The flush of life may well be seen  
Thrilling back over hills and valleys;  
The cornlip startles in meadows green,  
The buttercup catches the sun in its  
chalice,  
And there's never a leaf or a blade too mean  
To be some happy creature's palace;  
The little bird sits at his door in the sun,  
As if like a blossom among the leaves,  
And lets his hummed being o'er-run  
With the deluge of summer it receives;  
His mate feels the eggs beneath her wings,  
And the heart in her dumb breast flutters  
and sings,  
He sings to the wide world, and she to her  
nest—  
In the nice ear of nature which song is the  
best?"

Now is the high-tide of the year,  
And whatever of life hath ebbed away,  
Comes flooding back, with a ripply cheer,  
Into every bare inlet, and creek, and bay,  
Now the heart is so full that a drop over-  
fills it,  
We are happy now because God so wills it;  
No matter how barren the past may have  
been,  
'Tis enough for us now that the leaves are  
green;  
We sit in the warm shade and feel right  
well,  
How the sap creeps up and the blossoms  
swell;  
We may shut our eyes, but we cannot  
help knowing  
That skies are clear and grass is growing;  
The breeze comes whispering in our ear,  
That dandelions are blossoming near,  
That maize has sprouted, that streams  
are flowing,  
That the river is bluer than the sky,  
That the robin is plastering his house  
hard by:  
And if the breeze kept the good news back  
For other couriers we should not lack;  
We could guess it all by yon heifer's  
lowing—  
And hark! how clear, bold, chattering,  
Warmed with the new wine of the year,  
Tells all in his lusty crowing!"

"The Sirens," is a poem containing abundant instances of sparkling, and playful fancy: it is not unlike the "Mermaid and Mermaid" of Tennyson in spirit. If we delight (as who does not) in a beautiful idealized picture, "Irene" affords us one such as we shall seldom happen to feast our eyes upon: it demonstrates in the most lucid manner, the author's individualizing power, exhibits great loftiness of thought, much veneration for virtue, and is clothed in a becoming solemnity of language; accept the following evidence:—

"Yet sets she not her soul so steadily  
Above, that she forgets her ties to earth,  
But her whole thought would almost seem  
to be  
How to make glad one lowly human hearth;

For with a gentle courage she doth strive  
In thought, and word, and feeling so to live,  
As to make earth next heav'n; and her heart  
Herein doth show its most exceeding worth,  
That, bearing in our frailty her just part,

She hath not shrunk from evils of this life,  
But hath gone calmly forth into the strife,  
And all its sins and sorrows hath withstood  
With lofty strength of patient womanhood;  
For this I love her great-soul more than all,  
That, being bound, like us, with earthly  
thrall,  
She walks so bright and heav'n-like therein,  
Too wise, too meek, too womanly, to sin.

Like a lone star through riven storm-clouds  
seen  
By sailors, tempest-toss'd upon the sea,  
Telling of rest and peaceful havens nigh,  
Unto my soul her star-like soul hath been,  
Her sight as full of hope and calm to me;—  
For she unto herself hath builded high,  
A home serene, wherein to lay her head,  
Earth's noblest thing, a Woman perfected."

Written in a bold, yet thoughtful manner, "Prometheus" contains many fine passages, remarkable for their philosophical import, and magnificent imagery: pregnant with majestic warning, these lines roll on, like the ominous pealing of thunder—

"Now, now set free  
This essence, not to die, but to become  
Part of that awful Presence which doth  
haunt  
The palaces of tyrants, to hunt off,  
With its grim eyes and fearful whisperings  
And hideous sense of utter loneliness,  
All hope of safety, all desire of peace,  
All but the loathed fore-feeling of blank  
death,—  
Part of that spirit which doth even brood  
In patient calm on the unplundered nest  
Of man's deep heart, till mighty thoughts  
grow fledged

To sail with darkening shadow o'er the  
world,  
Filling with dread such souls as dare not  
trust  
In the unfailing energy of Good,  
Until they swoop, and their pale quarry  
make  
Of some o'erbloated wrong,—that spirit  
which  
Scatters great hopes in the seed-field of  
man.  
Like acorns among grain, to grow and be  
A roof for freedom in all coming time."

Like all true poets, Lowell "Touched each key of the lyre, and was master of all." His flexible and comprehensive genius can create, not only the massive master-piece of intellectual origin, but in like manner can revel in the dazzling and sportive regions of fancy: "The Fountain" serves as an excellent specimen of his lyric power.

#### "THE FOUNTAIN.

Into the sunshine,  
Full of the light,  
Leaping and flashing  
From morn till night!

Into the moonlight  
Whiter than snow,  
Waving so flower-like  
When the winds blow!

Into the starlight,  
Rushing in spray,  
Happy at midnight,  
Happy by day!

Ever in motion,  
Blithesome and cheery,  
Still climbing heavenward,  
Never a-weary!—

Glad of all weathers,  
Still seeming best,  
Upward or downward,  
Motion thy rest;—

Full of a nature  
Nothing can tame,  
Changed every moment,  
Ever the same.

Ceaseless aspiring,  
Ceaseless content,  
Darkness or sunshine,  
The element;—

Glorious fountain!  
Let my heart be  
Fresh, changeful, constant,  
Upward, like thee!"

In "An Incident in a Railway Car," we are supplied with an instance of the poet's wisdom, truthful teaching, deep philosophical and investigating mind. "To Perdita singing", is



a charming effusion, and establishes the lyric power of the author on an irrefutable basis.

An excellent satire on the great short-comings in some branches of our modern poetry, is contained in "An Ode," page 87; it takes a most comprehensive, and apparently prophetic view of the poetry which after ages will bring forth: the passionate aspirations for the extension of philanthropy which it manifests, the rugged energy of the language, with its masterly analysis of things, speaks volumes for the future achievements of its author. Equally with the former, the energetic and hopefully thoughtful poem of "Columbus," sustains the high character of Lowell: it contains some magnificent passages. With what sublimity Columbus exclaims,

"Here am I, with no friend but the sad sea,  
The beating heart of this great enterprise."

And then he relates the history of the hope that encouraged him:—

"I knew not when this hope enthralled me  
first,  
But from my boyhood up, I loved to hear  
The tall pine forests of the Apennine  
Murmur their hoary legends of the sea,  
Which hearing, I in vision clear beheld  
The sudden dark of tropic night shut down  
O'er the huge whirler of great watery wastes.  
The while, a pair of herons trailing  
Flapped inland, where some league-wide  
river hurled  
The yellow spoil of un conjectured realms  
Far through a gulf's green silence, never  
scarred  
By any but the north wind's herrying keels.  
And not the pines alone; all sights and  
sounds,  
To my world-seeking heart paid fealty,  
And catered for it as the Cretan bees

Brought honey to the baby Jupiter,  
Who, in his soft hand crushed a violet,  
God-like foremusing the rough thunder's  
gripe;  
Then did I entertain the poet's song,  
My great ideas guest, and passing o'er  
That iron bridge the Tuscan built to hell,  
I heard Ulysses tell of mountain-chains  
Whose adamantine links, his manacles,  
The western main shook growling, and still  
gnawed;  
I brooded on the wise Athenian's tale  
Of happy Atlantis, and heard Bjorne's keel  
Crunch the gray pebbles of the vinland  
shore;  
For I believed the poets; it is they  
Who utter wisdom from the central deep,  
And, listening to the inner flow of things,  
Speak to the age out of eternity."

It would be almost impossible for any poet to evince more gigantic power of description than Lowell has compressed into his "Summer Storm," a masterly production of its kind, and replete with wonderful energy and truthfulness. As it is particularly characterized by much minute sketchings of natural objects, hitherto untouched by either the pen of the poet or the brush of the painter, it would be high treason against good taste to pass over unnoticed "The Indian Summer Reverie." The great analytic power, and the poetical observation it manifests, with the appropriate beauty of the language, render it befitting that the reader should have an opportunity of beholding a few instances of these beauties.

"The cock's shrill trump that tells of scattered corn,  
 Passed breezily on by all his flapping mates,  
 Faint and more faint, from barn to barn  
 Is borne,  
 Southward, perhaps to far Magellan's  
 straits;  
 Dimly I catch the throb of distant flails.  
 Silently over head the henhawk sails,  
 With watchful, measuring eye, and for his  
 quarry waits.  
 The sobered robin, hunger-silent now,  
 Seeks cedar-berries blue, his Autumn cheer;  
 The squirrel on the shingly shagbank's  
 bough,  
 Now saws, now lists with downward eye  
 and ear,

Then drops his nut, and, with a chipping  
 bound,  
 Whisks to his winding fastness under-  
 ground:  
 The clouds like swans drift down the  
 streaming atmosphere,  
 O'er yon bare knoll the pointed cedar  
 shadows  
 Drowse on the crisp, gray moss; the plough-  
 man's call  
 Creeps faint as smoke from black, fresh  
 furrowed meadows;  
 The single crow a single caw lets fall;  
 And all around me every bust and tree  
 Say Autumn's here and Winter soon will be,  
 Who snows his soft white sleep and silence  
 over all."

Blessings on the poet, whose power of observation enables him to present us so constantly fresh objects for admiration, and consequently fresh motives for thanksgiving and gratitude to the Lord of all. Even the humble blackberry is not forgotten; see with what inimitable accuracy its retreat is sketched and its growth described.

"O'er yon low wall, which guards one un-  
 kempt zone,  
 Where vines, and weeds, and scrub-oaks  
 Intertwine  
 Safe from the plough, whose rough dis-  
 cordant stone

Is massed to one soft gray by lichens fine,  
 The tangled blackberry, crossed and re-  
 crossed, weaves  
 A prickly net-work of ensanguin'd leaves;  
 Hard by, with coral beads, the prim black  
 alders shine."

The same lulling, overpowering inclination to apathetic ease and luxurious repose, which is so apparent in the "Lotus Eaters" of Tennyson, is strongly perceptible in the lines which immediately ensue.

"All round upon the river's slippery edge,  
 Witching to deeper calm the drowsy tide,  
 Whispers and leans the breeze entang-  
 ling sedge;  
 Through emerald glooms the lingering  
 waters slide,

Or, sometimes wavering, throw back the  
 sun,  
 And the stiff banks in eddies melt and run  
 Of dimpling light, and with the current  
 seem to glide."

Again, how beautifully the effect of winter is contrasted with the bloom of summer.

"Another change subdues them in the Fall,  
 But saddens not; they still show merrier  
 tints,  
 Though sober russet seems to cover all;  
 Then the first sunshine through their  
 dew drops glints,

Look how the yellow clearness, stream-  
 ed across,  
 Redeems with rarer hues the season's  
 loss,  
 As Dawn's feet there had touched and left  
 their rosy prints."

It would be difficult to select two stanzas more full of fresh and ingenious imagery than the following:—

"Then, every morn, the river's banks shine  
 bright  
 With smooth plate-armour, treacherous  
 and frail,  
 By the frost's clinking hammers forged at  
 night,

'Gainst which the lances of the sun prevail,  
 Giving a pretty emblem of the day  
 When gullider arms in light shall melt  
 away,  
 And states shall move free-limbed, loosed  
 from War's cramping mail.

And now those waterfalls the ebbing river  
Twice every day creates on either side,  
Tinkle, as through their fresh-sparred  
grots they shiver,  
In grass arch'd channels to the sun de-  
nied;

High flaps in sparkling blue the far-  
heard crow,  
The silvered flats gleam frostily below,  
Suddenly drops the gull, and breaks the  
glassy tide."

We come now to one of the prettiest poems in the book, namely, the ode "To the Dandelion"; no impartial person capable of distinguishing merit, will read this gem of poetical art unmoved, or willingly deny the title of Poet to the author of its sunny imagery, graceful language, and original conception.

"Studies for two Heads" is graphic, and the portraits are taken in that spirit of analysis, and with that great knowledge of human nature, which Lowell constantly evinces. Metaphysical beauty, religious confidence, and philanthropy, lend their important influence in adorning the "Elegy on the Death of Dr. Channing," and the "Fable for Critics" establishes the author's right to membership in that awful association. We shall now present the reader with "The Changeling," the last and perhaps the most beautiful of all the extracts we have taken from Lowell's poetry. It is truly a charming piece, highly imaginative, simple and pathetic, and invested with a nameless grace and etherial fascination.

#### "THE CHANGELING.

I had a little daughter,  
And she was given to me  
To lead me gently backward  
To the Heavenly Father's knee,  
That I, by the force of nature,  
Might in some dim wise divine  
The depths of his infinite patience  
To this wayward soul of mine.

I know not how others saw her,  
But to me she was wholly fair,  
And the light of the heaven she came from  
Still lingered and gleamed in her hair;  
For it was as wavy and golden,  
And as many changes took,  
As the shadows of sun-gilt ripples  
On the yellow bed of a brook.

To what can I liken her smiling  
Upon me, her kneeling lover,  
How it leaped from her lips to her eyelids,  
And dimpled her wholly over,  
Till her outstretched hands smiled also,  
And I almost seemed to see  
The very heart of her mother  
Sending sun through her veins to me!

She had been with us scarce a twelvemonth,  
And it hardly seemed a day,  
When a troop of wandering angels  
Stole my little daughter away;

Or perhaps those heavenly Zincoli  
But loosed the hampering strings,  
And when they had opened her cage-door,  
My little bird used her wings.

But they left in her stead a Changeling,  
A little angel child,  
That seems like her bud in full blossom,  
And smiles as she never smiled:  
When I awake in the morning, I see it  
Where she always used to lie,  
And I feel as weak as a violet  
Alone 'neath the awful sky;

As weak, yet as trustful also;  
For the whole year long I see  
All the wonders of faithful Nature  
Still worked for the love of me;  
Winds wander, and dews drip earthward,  
Rain falls, suns rise and set,  
Earth whirls, and all but to prosper  
A poor little violet.

This child is not mine as the first was,  
I cannot sing it to rest,  
I cannot lift it up fatherly  
And bless it upon my breast;  
Yet it lies in my little one's cradle,  
And sits in my little one's chair,  
And the light of the heaven she's gone to,  
Transfigures it's golden hair.

In N. P. Willis, the author of "Pencillings by the Way," we have another Poet, who, like Longfellow, possesses elegance and beauty of expression to such a degree, that all his other qualifications as a Poet, become overshadowed by their pre-eminence; and we are furnished by him with another potent argument against the insinuations of those who cannot behold anything in America which bears the slightest resemblance to refinement. This artistic elaboration is no where more apparent than in his Scriptural Poems, which are particularly remarkable for high polish, and incomparable smoothness. Willis is, however, deficient in originality, by which he is debarred from rivalling some of his more creative brethren in the arena of thought. If a palm should be allotted for elegant taste, and rythmical excellence, it may not be too much to say that this author would enter the lists, with a fair prospect of becoming the successful competitor for the prize. Wit of a very refined and elevated order, is another peculiarity of this Poet. His "Lady Jane," (which has a marked resemblance to "Don Juan,") has many brilliant passages, pregnant with satirical humour. Added to these, Willis possesses a fine imagination, great taste, and a sound judgment. In common with all the transatlantic bards, he is somewhat diffuse, but "the wheat is much more plentiful than the tares," and the fault is easily pardoned for the sake of his many beauties. "The healing of the Daughter of Jairus," is written in a strain of chaste and exquisite melody, displaying to very great perfection the rich and wide imagination of the author, his consummate taste and fluency. The lines which follow have all the "faint exquisite music of a dream."

"Like a form  
Of matchless sculpture in her sleep she lay,  
The linen vesture folded on her breast,  
And over it her white transparent hands;  
The blood still rosy in their tapering nails,  
A line of pearl ran through her parted lips,  
And in her nostrils, spirally thin,  
The breathing curve was mockingly like  
life;  
And round beneath the faintly tinted skin  
Ran the light branches of the azure veins;  
And on her cheek the jet lash overlay,  
Matching the arches pencill'd on her brow,  
Her hair had been unbound, and falling  
loose  
Upon her pillow, hid her small round ears  
In curls of glossy blackness, and about

Her polished neck, scarce touching it, stray  
hung  
Like airy shadows floating as they slept.  
'Twas heavenly beautiful. The Saviour  
raised  
Her hand from off her bosom, and spread  
out  
The snowy fingers in his palm, and said,  
'Maiden! arise!'—and suddenly a flush  
Shot o'er her forehead, and along her lips,  
And through her cheek the rallied colour  
ran;  
And the still outline of her graceful form  
Stirred in the linen vesture, and she clasp'd  
The Saviour's hand, and fixing her dark  
eyes  
Full on his beaming countenance—arose!"

"The Leper" is another instance of this easy flowing grace and rich melody; the language is exquisite and beautiful.

The same may be said of the Sacrifice of Abraham, which is characterized by a certain dignity, nearly akin to sublimity. These extracts will serve to exemplify another valuable peculiarity of this author, which is, the very great power he can exercise in eliciting our sympathies. He makes us enamoured of whatever he pleases, and invests his subjects with marvellous fascinations; "Thoughts while making the Grave of a new-born Child," will be generally received as an admirable example of the most exquisite tenderness, united with moral beauty of an exalted kind; true and deep love of nature are evident in all its passages; it merits introduction.

"One look upon thy face ere thou depart!  
My daughter! it is soon to let thee go!  
My daughter! with thy birth has gush'd a  
spring  
I knew not of—filling my heart with tears.  
And turning with strange tenderness to  
thee—  
A love—Oh God! it seems so—that must  
flow  
Far as thou fleest, and 'twixt heaven and me,  
Henceforward, be a bright and yearning  
chain  
Drawing me after thee! And so, farewell!  
'Tis a harsh world, in which affection knows  
No place to treasure up its loved and lost,  
But the foul grave! Thou who so late wast  
sleeping,  
Warm in the close fold of a mother's heart,  
Scarce from her breast a single pulse  
receiving,  
But it was sent thee with some tender  
thought,  
How can I leave thee *here*! Alas for man!  
The herb in its humility may fall  
And waste into the bright and genial air,  
While we—by hands that minister'd in life  
Nothing but love to us—are thrust away—  
The earth flung in upon our just cold  
bosoms,  
And the warm sunshine trodden out for  
ever!

Yet have I chosen for thy grave, my child,  
A bank where I have lain in summer hours,  
And thought how little it would seem like  
death

To sleep amid such loveliness. The brook,  
Tripping with laughter down the rocky  
steps  
That lead up to thy bed, would still trip on,  
Breaking the dead hush of the mourners  
gone;  
The birds are never silent that build here,  
Trying to sing down the more vocal waters:  
The slope is beautiful with moss and  
flowers,  
And far below, seen under arching leaves,  
Glitters the warm sun on the village spire,  
Pointing the living after thee. And this  
Seems like a comfort; and, replacing now  
The flowers that have made room for thee,  
I go  
To whisper the same peace to her who lies,  
Robb'd of her child and lonely. 'Tis the  
work  
Of many a dark hour, and of many a prayer.  
To bring the heart back from an infant  
gone,  
Hope must give o'er, and busy fancy blot  
The images from all the silent rooms,  
And every sight and sound familiar to her,  
Undo its sweetest link—and so at last  
The fountain—that, once struck, must flow  
for ever—  
Will hide and waste in silence. When the  
smile  
Steals to her pallid lip again, and spring  
Wakens the buds above thee, we will come,  
And, standing by thy music-haunted grave,  
Look on each other cheerfully, and say:—  
*A child that we have loved is gone to heaven,  
And by this gate of flowers she pass'd away!*"

"Parrhasius," a poem too long for insertion, is written in a picturesque and graphic way; eminently dramatic, it places the Captive before our eyes; we behold his agonized features, and listen with horror to his groans. Added to these it affords us an admirable instance of the fearful exaggerations which follow an ill-directed ambition. The rich and cultivated imagination of Willis, his melody, delicate, and glowing colouring, and earnestness pervading all, are most happily associated in his beautiful Poem "To Ermengarde."

The charming lines called "Spirit-Whispers," are very classical in their allegorical meaning, and chaste beauty.

"SPIRIT-WHISPERS.

Wake! poet, wake!—the moon has burst  
Through gates of stars and dew,  
And, wing'd by prayer since evening nurs'd,  
Has fled to kiss the steeples first,  
And now stoops low to you!  
Oh, poet of the loving eye,  
For you is dress'd this morning sky!

Oh, poet of the pen enchanted!  
A lady sits beneath a tree!  
At last the flood for which she panted—  
The wild words for her anguish wanted,  
Have gushed in song to thee!

Her dark curls sweep her knees to pray:—  
'God bless the poet far away!'

King of the heart's deep mysteries!  
Your words have wings like lightning  
wove!  
This hour, o'er hills and distant seas,  
They fly like flower-seeds on the breeze,  
And sow the world with love!  
King of a realm without a throne,  
Ruled by resistless tears alone!"

Our next quotation conveys the expression of the effect produced on the bard by the memory of his mother; it is delineated with a gigantic force which seems like inspiration mingled withal with child-like tenderness.

"BETTER MOMENTS.

My mother's voice! how often creep  
Its accents on my lonely hours!  
Like healing sent on wings of sleep,  
Or dew to the unconscious flowers.  
I can forget her melting prayer  
While leaping pulses madly fly,  
But in the still unbroken air,  
Her gentle tone comes stealing by—  
And years, and sin, and folly flee,  
And leave me at my mother's knee.

The evening hours, the birds, the flowers,  
The starlight, moonlight—all that's meet  
For heav'n in this lost world of ours—  
Remind me of her teachings sweet.  
My heart is harder, and perhaps  
My thoughtlessness hath drunk up tears,  
And there's a mildew in the lapse  
Of a few swift and chequer'd years—  
But nature's book is even yet  
With all my mother's lessons writ.

I have been out at eventide  
Beneath a moonlight sky of spring,  
When earth was garnish'd like a bride,  
And night had on her silver wing—  
When bursting leaves, and diamond grass,  
And waters leaping to the light,  
And all that make the pulses pass  
With wilder fleetness, throng'd the  
night—  
When all was beauty—then have I  
With friends on whom my love is flung,  
Like myrrh on winds of Araby,  
Gazed up where evening's lamp is hung:

And when the beautiful spirit there  
Flung over me its golden chain,  
My mother's voice came on the air  
Like the light dropping of the rain,  
And resting on some silver star,  
The spirit of a bended knee,  
I've poured out low and fervent prayer  
That our eternity might be  
To rise in heaven, like stars at night,  
And tread a living path of light.

I have been on the dewy hills,  
When night was stealing from the dawn,  
And mist was on the waking rills,  
And tints were delicately drawn  
In the grey East—when birds were waking  
With a low murmur in the trees,  
And melody by fits was breaking  
Upon the whisper of the breeze—  
And this when I was forth, perchance  
As a worn reveller from the dance—  
And when the sun sprang gloriously  
And freely up, and hill and river  
Were watching upon wave and tree  
The arrows from his subtle quiver—  
I say a voice has thrill'd me then,  
Heard on the still and rushing light,  
Or, creeping from the silent glen,  
Like words from the departing night,  
Hath stricken me, and I have press'd  
On the wet grass my fever'd brow,  
And pouring forth the earliest  
First prayer, with which I learn'd to bow,  
Have felt my mother's spirit rush  
Upon me as in by-past years,  
And, yielding to the blessed gush  
Of my ungovernable tears,  
Have risen up—the gay, the wild—  
Subdued and humble as a child."

In the pretty Lyric which immediately ensues, we are furnished with a terse and elegant specimen of descriptive beauty, characterized by comprehensiveness of expression: it conveys

more to the mind than if it were decked out in diffuse and elaborated imagery.

"MAY.

Oh, the merry May has pleasant hours,  
And dreamily they glide,  
As if they floated like the leaves  
Upon a silver tide;  
The trees are full of crimson buds,  
And the woods are full of birds,  
And the waters flow to music,  
Like a tune with pleasant words.  
The verdure of the meadow-land  
Is creeping to the hills,  
The sweet blue-bosom'd violets  
Are blowing by the rills;  
The lilac has a load of balm  
For every wind that stirs,  
And the larch stands green and beautiful  
Amid the sombre firs.

There's perfume upon every wind—  
Music in every tree—  
Dews for the moisture-loving flowers—  
Sweets for the sucking bee;  
The sick come forth for the healing south,  
The young are gathering flowers,  
And life is a tale of poetry,  
That is told by golden hours.

It must be a true philosophy,  
That the spirit when set free  
Still lingers about its olden home,  
In the flower and the tree,  
For the pulse is stirr'd as with voices heard  
In the depth of the shady grove,  
And while lonely we stray through the  
fields away,  
The heart seems answering love."

"On seeing a beautiful Boy at play," possesses much finish, and contains bursts of rapture equalling the outpourings of the loftiest world poets; to use the words of the poem itself, it is "like a painter's fine conception."

"ON SEEING A BEAUTIFUL BOY AT PLAY.

Down the green slope he bounded. Raven  
curls  
From his white shoulders by the winds  
were swept,  
And the clear colour of his sunny cheek  
Was bright with motion. Through his open  
lips  
Shone visibly a delicate line of pearl,  
Like a white vein within a rosy shell,  
And his dark eye's clear brilliance, as it lay  
Beneath his lashes, like a drop of dew  
Hid in the moss, stole out as covertly  
As starlight from the edging of a cloud,  
I never saw a boy so beautiful.  
His step was like the stooping of a bird,  
And his limbs melted into grace-like things  
Shaped by the wind of summer. He was  
like  
A painter's fine conception—such an one  
As he would have of Ganymede, and weep  
Upon his pallet that he could not win  
The vision to his easel. Who could not  
paint  
The young and shadowless spirit? Who  
could chain  
The sparkling gladness that lives,  
Like a glad fountain, in the eye of light,  
With an unbreathing pencil? Nature's gift  
Has nothing that is like it. Sun and stream,

And the new leaves of June, and the young  
lark  
That flees away into the depths of heaven,  
Lost in his own wild music, and the breath  
Of spring-time, and the summer eve, and  
noon  
In the cool autumn, are like fingers swept  
Over sweet-toned affections—but the joy  
That enters to the spirit of a child  
Is deep as his young heart: his very breath,  
The simple sense of being is enough  
To ravish him, and like a thrilling touch,  
He feels each moment of his life go by.

Beautiful, beautiful childhood! with a joy  
That like a robe is palpable, and flung  
Out by your every motion! delicate bud  
Of the immortal flower that will unfold  
And come to its maturity in heaven!  
I weep your earthly glory. 'Tis a light  
Lent to the new-born spirit that goes out  
With the first idle wind. It is the leaf  
Fresh flung upon the river, that will dance  
Upon the wave that stealth out its life,  
Then sink of its own heaviness. The face  
Of the delightful earth will to your eye  
Grow dim; the fragrance of the many  
flowers  
Be noticed not, and the beguiling voice  
Of nature in her gentleness will be  
To manhood's senseless ear inaudible,  
I sigh to look upon thy face, young boy!"

Eschewing all sensual gratification, and all the syren persuasions of ambition, the Poet exhibits in "The table of Emerald," the possession of a well organized mind, and an elevated and highly intellectual taste. The "Extract from a Poem" is philosophical in its tendency: defending the honorable ambi-

tion of man, in seeking to unlock new treasures in the storehouses of creation, for the laudable purpose of enriching humanity by their contents, the Poet points out another course to be followed with advantage and pleasure by the less ambitious portion of mankind; namely, to read the book of nature, to indulge in healthful contemplation, to wander occasionally by the stream, the grove, and the hill-side: to listen to the chant of the bird, to behold and analyze the beauty of the leafy forest, to rejoice in the sunshine, but to tremble in the storm; the heart will be improved by its suggestions.

In the preceding pages we have endeavoured to illustrate the predominant features in the works of five principal American Poets. It is to be hoped that the reader is now pretty well acquainted with the distinguishing traits of the Poets of America, and that he is conscious of the fact, that they possess far more than the requisite celebrity, for the foundation of a National Poetry, and are likely to hold in the eyes of posterity, the places in their own country, which Chaucer, and his earlier followers occupy in England.

The most considerable portion of their works may be appropriately denominated storehouses of intellectual materials, varied, and of that fecund nature which seems particularly suited to the reproduction of ideas. The authors themselves, in a great measure, typify distinct poetic attributes. Longfellow may inspire a future Spenser; Poe, a second Dante; Whittier, another Burns, and the deep knowledge of human nature which Lowell possesses, may create another Shakespeare to immortalize an American Avon. It is consoling to reflect that these are no utopian suppositions, and, that the existing order of things permit their future realization: are not the stupendous miracles of nature which their country contains, evidences, sufficiently convincing, of the incentives to transcendent genius which she supplies? Do not her broad Canadian lakes, those inland seas, her forests that sepulchre the earth for miles, her "palaces of nature," the "earth overgazing mountains," her mighty rivers, and her endless prairies, speak more than the tongues of a nation, of the undying lays which are to chronicle their majestic beauty?

In addition to the conclusions which are to be derived from the potent influence of such advocacy, we have also to consider the human achievements which must necessarily take place, upon whose multiplied, and complicated grandeur, it would be



impossible to speculate, and whose fame will naturally constitute the theme for the exercise of intellectual power equally as remarkable. Poetry in America will inevitably exhibit phases, distinct from any it has hitherto manifested throughout the world: the peculiar spirit of enterprise which characterizes its people, the unprecedented rapidity with which they have risen from a state of infancy, to one of towering greatness, their unconquerable activity of mind, and their unceasing aspiration for higher excellence, must obviously affect the character of their literature, as much as of their laws. If the muse first exercised her influence among the Jewish race; it is probable she shall end her mission on the other side of the Atlantic; to profess this belief is merely to coincide in the long established, and well grounded conviction with reference to the termination of earthly power, and the race of man. How then will the spirit of Poetry appear, previous to her translation to the skies? What mellow hues will be selected to adorn that celestial robe, attired in which, she will unfold to earth's latest progeny, the hoarded treasures of time, the wisdom of buried centuries she has gathered? Will she not, like one of the Angels in the Apocalypse, "Her face as the sun, and her feet as pillars of fire," be "clothed with a cloud, and have a rainbow on her head?" her divine origin will then assert itself, and the glory of her triumph on the earth will convey her to her melodious home in paradise. Ere this mighty consummation, much remains to be effected, towards the improvement of the human race, which poetry in conjunction with genuine philosophy can accomplish: by continuing as they have begun, the Poets of America will follow the surest course to the anticipated goal, with the spirit of truth, and the love of freedom for their guides, they will easily overcome the impotent though untiring efforts, which the enemies of man are constantly making to uproot the foundations of moral principle; strengthened as they proceed, they will gradually segregate themselves from their European brethren, by creating and consolidating peculiarity of attributes, and originalty of style, while they nourish and shadow forth in even more robust proportions, those excellencies for which the former have acquired so much incomparable celebrity; obliterating all traces of that slightly upsetting philosophy which seems to be based on the astonishing perfection of the "Ego," they will replace it by a steady national feeling, which, though it less "o'er-

steps the modesty of nature," will be equally, if not more determinedly firm, vivid, and strongly interwoven with the feelings of the heart. Moreover, as we have hitherto affirmed, and, as we now reiterate, not actuated by the spirit of prophecy, but by the influence begotten of a rational reflection, the principle which now guides them, if continued, will enable them to perfect the study of man, and give to America, and the world, not alone what civilization gave to Europe, but what she has never as yet given in any sphere, universal philanthropy, which shall rest on stable foundations, and defy the machinations of the wicked.

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#### ART. V.—OUR SOLDIERS AT HOME AND IN THE FIELD.

1. *Report of the Committee of the House of Commons appointed to Enquire into the Condition of the Army before Sebastopol, and into the Conduct of the various Departments of the Government whose duty it has been to minister to the wants of the Army.* March, 1855.
2. *Hansard's Debates*, 1855. Debates on the War, *Passim*.
3. *The Queen's Regulations and Orders for the Army.* Third Edition, 1844.
4. *Addenda to the same up to March*, 1854. Parker, Furnival and Parker. Whitehall : London.

But four short years ago and who so palmy and so proud as England! She had attained, as it seemed, the highest pinnacle of prosperity and strength. Throughout her vast empire there was peace, and while her rule was met with due and profound submission by the millions upon millions over whom it extends in both hemispheres of the globe, foreign countries seemed to be held in deep, admiring respect, if not in awe. Everything appeared to promise a calm and long enjoyment of the fruits of her wonderful industry, enterprize and skill, and of the at length fully pacified and consolidated acquirements of her wars and expeditions in times long gone by.

In the myriad glitterings and fairy splendours of the Crystal Palace the meridian sun of England's glory seemed reflected, and the self-gratulatory excitement of the time denied all opportunity to the wholesome thought, that perishable as was the material of the Palace, transitory as itself it was, to the full as insecure and precarious might be found the palmy greatness of which that fair-shewing and vast-reaching edifice was in truth no inapt type.

The Crystal Palace has passed away, and the green sward of Hyde Park has resumed dominion over its site, and effaced even to the latest traces of the lofty, and mighty and resplendent erection. Even in like manner has passed away that brilliant shew of palminess and pride, which had as dazzling an effect upon the moral eye as the other upon the physical. True, there has arisen a successor to that other; a structure even more wondrous than before, but far away from the old, and differing in plan, and position and accessories. The omen will scarcely be accepted, for it would go to foretell one more of the great periodical changes among nations—an ending of the greatness and the glory of one empire, and the growing up and predominance of another.

Happily the parallel has not been carried out; and although the well being of our native Ireland has unfortunately not been proved to be a necessary consequence or concomitant of the power and prosperity of England, still we not the less ardently and earnestly hope, that beyond the undeniable circumstance of certain rather sharp but salutary mortifications to overblown pride, and disappointments of exaggerated notions and absurdly inflated expectations, the change will not proceed, at least in our age, whatever there may be in the decrees of Providence for the remote future.

It would be well, however, to take a lesson in time and lay it deep to heart. British power is not that overwhelming, all-subduing thing the British people were not a little inclined to imagine it. British wealth is very great indeed, and has done what seemed wonders, but it cannot, no matter how freely, how recklessly it may be used and expended, accomplish the miracles that were at least tacitly expected. Great Britain, in short, is not, and must not hope to be exempted from the common lot of nations as well as of individuals in this world of change and trial, and must expect, and however unpleasant the experience, must accept and undergo reverses and crosses

when the time appointed for them by Divine Providence happens to arrive. Instead of moaning or grumbling over her experience of this inevitable circumstance of mortal condition, it is for her to look forward with eyes at length fully opened to realities, and with her mind at length sobered down to a truer and juster estimate of the difficulties before and around her, and of the powers and capabilities of other nations. And severe as have been, not the mere disappointments of an exorbitant self-estimation, but the real and practical sacrifices and losses which the struggle in the Crimea has entailed upon her; there can, after all, be little doubt of her ultimate success if she be but true to herself, and not even for a moment yield to the depressing influences of this war's history in its first brief but most bloody page.

One lesson, and an obvious one, has already been taken. The mistake has been at length recognized and declared, of having allowed the military establishments of the Empire to be so reduced during the long and piping times of peace. The expenditure consequent on the maintenance of, let us say, an armed force even so large as to be double that which Great Britain has kept on foot during the last ten years, would yet have fallen short in the aggregate of what she has had to pay since the commencement of the war, for new and hasty levies, untried, undisciplined, and unseasoned, and for hasty enlargements of her transport system, her commissariat system, and all the other means and appliances and requisites of war on a great scale. And it has been wisely determined that no such blunder shall be made again, and that, be the war long, or be the war short, the military force of the country shall never again be permitted to fall so low as it was found to be on the outbreak of the present hostilities.

Besides this great blunder of principle, there were many blunders of detail, some large, some less so, but all of importance and heavy moment, which are likely to be, or at this present time are actually in progress of being corrected. The Parliamentary "Blue Book" to which we invite attention, the first among the texts set forth in the short preliminary index to the contents of this paper, affords ample means and opportunity of estimating the necessity, and in the various cases, almost the degree of required correction.

The "Blue Book" in question, the "Report of the Army before Sebastopol" Committee, as it has been succinctly

entitled in the Parliamentary Offices, needed assuredly no such *phrases d'usage* to prelude its revelations as those contained in its opening paragraphs. The public were quite and most fully aware of the difficulties in the way of the enquiry—the complication and variety of subjects—number and discrepancies of witnesses—deficiency of means of information on many points, and restricting effect of “considerations of State-Policy.”

However, the delay of entering “in medias res” is so trifling as to be scarcely worth remark. The main subject is very speedily entered upon, under the division of two heads, viz: first, “the Condition of the Army before Sebastopol,” and secondly “the Conduct of the Departments both at home and abroad whose duty it has been to minister to the wants of that Army.”

The first of these heads is so briefly dispatched that we can afford space to quote in extenso the remarks of the Committee thereupon:—

#### I.

##### “The Condition of our Army before Sebastopol.”

“An army encamped in a hostile country, at a distance of 3,000 miles from England, and engaged during a severe winter in besieging a fortress which, from want of numbers, it could not invest, was necessarily placed in a situation where unremitting fatigue and hardship had to be endured. Your committee are, however, of opinion that this amount of unavoidable suffering has been aggravated by causes hereafter enumerated, and which are mainly to be attributed to dilatory and insufficient arrangements for the supply of this army with necessaries indispensable to its healthy and effective condition. In arriving at this opinion they have made allowance for the unexpected severity of the storm on the 16th of November, and they have not been unmindful of the difficulties which a long period of peace must inevitably produce at the commencement of a campaign.

In order to obtain an adequate notion of the painful condition of the army the evidence must be perused; and your committee will only refer to such details as may be requisite to sustain their opinions.

From the 16th of September, when the army landed in the Crimea, until the end of October, or, as witnesses state, until about the middle of November, the troops suffered from overwork and from dysentery, but were not, upon the whole, ill-provided with food. Even at this period there was a want of clothing for the men in health, and a painful deficiency of all appliances for the proper treatment of the sick and wounded. As the season advanced the causes of sickness increased, and the army, with its number of effective men daily diminishing, became more and more disproportioned to the amount of duty which it had to perform.

From the middle of November, this army was, during a period of

many weeks, reduced to a condition which it is melancholy to contemplate, but which was endured both by officers and men with a fortitude and heroism unsurpassed in the annals of war. They were exposed under single canvas to all the sufferings and inconveniences of cold, rain, mud, and snow, on high ground and in the depth of winter. They suffered from overwork, exposure, want of clothing, insufficient supplies for the healthy, and imperfect accommodation for the sick.

The fatigue necessarily resulted from the inadequacy of the force for the task assigned to it. The British army was a portion of an allied force. The whole scheme of the siege, the extent at front to be defended, the positions to be maintained, and the works to be undertaken, depended on military considerations, and were decided upon in conjunction with our allies. Your committee regard these matters as beyond the limits of their inquiry."

*Why* was there a want of clothing for the men in health during the early and lighter period here spoken of, viz: from the landing of the Allied Expedition in the Crimea on the 16th of September, until the middle of November? why was there also during that period a "painful deficiency of all appliances for the proper treatment of the sick and wounded."

These are momentous questions, as indeed are all the questions having reference to the terrible drama being enacted in the Crimea for the last ten months. The Report proceeds to answer them in somewhat of a roundabout fashion, by a kind of general history, or review of the Crimean Expedition itself, mixed up with statements of the constitution and powers of the governmental departments at home and in the East, upon which the responsibility rested of making adequate arrangements for the vigorous and successful prosecution of that Expedition, care of the Soldiery, &c., and after a good deal of particular censure and comment, the Report ends with laying the whole blame upon the Aberdeen administration, which they specially accuse of want of information on most necessary points, want of the most ordinary foresight, and consequent want of preparation for the needs and requirements of the Army.

Whatever may have been the shortcomings and blunderings of the Administration of Lord Aberdeen, it is hardly fair to seek to throw, as the Report of the "Sebastopol" Committee evidently labours to do, all the blame of deficiency of adequate military preparation for the war, upon that administration. In truth, the blame ought not to be thrown upon any particular set of ministers and scarcely upon any cabinet whatever. It more rightfully should fall upon those who really, though not

immediately, or directly, influence and give direction to Public affairs in England—the middle classes of that country. It was from *them* that the cry and that the impulse, the prevailing impulse has proceeded, ever since the last sounds of the French war died upon their ears, to have the military establishments of the United Kingdom cut down, and it is therefore as against *them*, that the following paragraphs of the "Sebastopol" Committee's Report should be taken to be directed :

"At the date of the expedition to the East no reserve was provided at home adequate to the undertaking. Mr. Sydney Herbert states, in his memorandum of the 27th November, 'The army in the East has been created by discounting the future. Every regiment at home, or within reach, and not forming part of that army, has been robbed to complete it. The depots of battalions under Lord Raglan have been similarly treated.'

The men sent out to reinforce the army were recruits who had not become fit for foreign service, and the depots at home were too weak to feed the companies abroad.

The order to attack Sebastopol was sent to Lord Raglan on the 29th of June; the formation of a reserve at Malta was not determined upon till early in November.

It will be seen from the correspondence between Lord John Russell and Lord Aberdeen, that Lord Raglan had reported that he wished he had been able to place in the position of Balaklava, on the 26th of October, a more considerable force,' and also, 'that on the 5th of November the heights of Inkerman were defended by no more than 8,000 British Infantry.' When the Duke of Newcastle informed Lord Raglan that he had 2,000 recruits to send to him, he replied that, 'those last sent were so young and unformed, that they fell victims to disease, and were swept away like flies. He preferred to wait.'

In December the power of reinforcing the army with efficient soldiers was so reduced that the Government thought it necessary to introduce a Foreign Enlistment Bill for the purpose of raising a foreign legion.

Your committee must express their regret that the formation of a large reserve at home, and also in the proximity of the seat of war, was not considered at a much earlier period, and that the Government, well knowing the limited numbers of the British army, the nature of the climate in the East, as well as the Power we were about to encounter, did not at the commencement of the war take means to augment the ranks of the army beyond the ordinary recruiting, and also that earlier steps were not taken to render the militia available both for the purpose of obtaining supplies of men, and also, in case of necessity, for the relief of regiments of the line stationed in garrisons in the Mediterranean—measures which they found themselves compelled to adopt at a later period."

No doubt there ought to have been a larger and more effective army on foot—no doubt there ought to have been at hand a sufficient provision of trained and seasoned soldiers, instead of having had to “discount the future,” nay, to *discount the lives* of the unhappy raw levies of whom Field Marshal Lord Raglan wrote back to the Duke of Newcastle, that they were “so young and unformed, that they fell victims to disease and were swept away like flies.”

But granting these most undeniable postulates, we have one in our turn which is at least equally difficult of denial. It is simply, that any and every ministry would have found it and *did* find it *impossible* to resist the cry for a reduction of the military expenditure of the United Kingdom in all its branches. The present and immediate saving was all that was looked to, the future was left to take care of itself. War was deemed or at least *said* to be most problematical, if not altogether impossible in those times of advanced civilization and enlightenment. The Sovereigns of Europe had made too great a stride beyond the confines of all the old and obsolete landmarks of inter-national polity to fall back so utterly into middle-age barbarism as to go to war. In short we were near the millennium; or if we were not, it would be time enough to think of evil when it came, and at the worst there would be ample opportunity for preparation between the first lowerings on the far horizon and growlings of the distant thunder, and the final overclouding of the whole political firmament and explosion of the long gathering storm.

These and other instances and representations put forward by the advocates of the pennywise, pound-foolish policy, backed by what the first Marquess of Londonderry summarily and not altogether so infelicitously, as in many of his other flights of oratory, designated as “an ignorant impatience of taxation,” had their sway and their day; and in that day scarcely one of those who now cry out loudest against the public men, be they Whig, or be they Tory, who when in office yielded to the representations in question, did himself utter one word or do one act to check and rebuke the disastrous but really inevitable pliancy. Any ministry which should have made a serious resistance to the progress of retrenchment, would have been upset and totally overwhelmed at once by the fierce current of Reform.

So strong was the coercion of this state of circumstances, that



it was not until the deficiencies in our military arrangements and establishments had been disclosed to the full blaze of day, and most lamentably, and beyond the possibility of denial, proved by the tremendous test they were put to during the first winter of the present bloody and doubtful war, that aspirants to, or holders of, official positions dared speak out, and frankly, on the subject, and refer the blame back to those upon whom it should most rightly fall, the *parliament-making* portion of the Public of Great Britain. At length when the defunct administration of the Earl of Aberdeen was on its last legs and approaching plainly and certainly to its doom, one of its members, and not the least notable of the number, thus boldly spoke the truth—

“The right honourable baronet states, that the army was insufficient in number, and has been utterly without reinforcements. The Army, when first sent out, was composed of four divisions, the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and Light Division, besides cavalry and artillery. In June, before the orders were given to make a descent on the Crimea, if circumstances were such as to justify such an attack, a fifth division was formed and placed under the command of the lamented Sir G. Cathcart. Now let me state the reinforcements that were sent out to the army:—in June there were sent 941 men; in July, 4588 men; in August, 2032 men—yet we are told that from the moment that the expedition was decided on no reinforcements were sent to the army.

Sir J. PAKINGTON.—I did not say that.

Then I was so unfortunate as to have misunderstood the right honourable baronet; but, perhaps he will admit that, subsequent to the orders and subsequent to the landing in the Crimea, he said no attempt was made to reinforce the army. Now let us see how that stands. In September there were 1286 men sent out; in October 2855; in November 7037. (Hear.) Now these were before other reinforcements, which I admit were called for by subsequent events, and which were requested by Lord Raglan; but I do not count them, or seek to take any advantage from them, but month by month state to you the troops sent out. But you may argue that these reinforcements were small for a power like England, that can pour out its battalions like water. But, I ask, on whom rests the responsibility, that England at the commencement of a war, must make small wars. Why is it? It is because through every Government and every Parliament, we have always had the same stereotyped system of economy in military affairs.

I am speaking the whole plain truth in this matter. (Hear.) I am as much to blame as any one. I have held for some years the responsible situation of Secretary of War, and I know what have been my own short-comings in this respect, but this too I know, that whenever I have brought forward, as I have done, what are called peace estimates, I have constantly been met with motions for large reductions, I say, therefore, that it has been the fault of all parties, all

administrations, every Parliament; I am afraid I cannot give my assent to any exception, however eager I may be to do so; I have seen administrations formed of various parties,—I have seen them taking different courses on almost every conceivable subject, but on one they have agreed, and that has been the one to which I have alluded—one of improvident economy. What has been the result?

At the commencement of the war we had to make means, and to create an army, and to use it at the same time. I recollect at the time when the Militia Bill was brought forward by the honourable member for Midhurst—and every year that has passed has confirmed the opinion I entertained of the wisdom of that measure—we had a great many discussions on the military available strength of the country, and honourable gentlemen used arguments to show that after deducting the troops necessary for the occupation of our garrisons, there could not be more than somewhere about ten thousand available bayonets left in the United Kingdoms. This was a mistake, but supposing it to have been the case, the blame of it would have to be attributed, as I said before, not to any particular but to all administrations and in fact to every Parliament.”\*

The able speaker had the boldness and justice of his remarks in the foregoing extract, amply confirmed and approved by the cheers of the House. He was not however quite so successful either in the House or out of the House, though quite as bold, (nor was there the same solid foundation in fact for the assertion,) when at a later period of his address, he spoke of the facility of getting recruits for the Army.

“The difficulty we experienced from the circumstance of having to make a great start in the first year of the war, is a difficulty which all have to encounter who have to make an army at the same time that you are to use it. Recollect this, we have few well-seasoned soldiers in the country. We have no conscription in England: we have no compulsory service whatever in England, except for internal defence; we have to trust entirely to the voluntary system.

You cannot make an army as other nations may. You cannot make an army by a stroke of the pen, or by an ukase raise 100,000 soldiers. We must get men willing to come; but on the other hand, when they do come, you have got the materials which no conscription in the world can furnish (cheers)—you have got for your materials men not dragged from their reluctant homes against their wills, and from their peaceful pursuits, to be forced into scenes of blood and scenes of horror to which they were averse. You have got free men—men animated by high spirits, full of adventure, full of life, full of ambition—men whom no suffering can break, who can never complain that one hardship or suffering to which they have been exposed has been forced upon them by a tyrannical Government.

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\* Speech of Right Honourable Sydney Herbert in the debate on the conduct of the war, December 12, 1854.

You have had that difficulty, but you have had another—at least when we are talking of augmentation, we have had a difficulty which has pressed very much upon us ; for some time emigration to a great extent has been going on from this country, and more especially from the sister country, Ireland, where it has dried up the sources of our military supply. You have had great prosperity in trade and agriculture, and consequent demand for labour, and all that would not be in favour of the recruiting serjeant. But when I look back to the records of history, and see what were the means by which in former wars we attempted to get men—how we persuaded men into the militia by a bounty of ten guineas, and drafted them out of it by a bounty of eleven guineas, and, after all, we could only raise 24,000 men in one year—and when I look at what has been done during this the first year of the war, I must confess the contrast is not unfavourable. (Cheers.) Taking into account the enlistments, both in the regulars and the East India Company's service, and the Marines, we should have added by free enlistment something like 40,000 men, such as I have described, to our forces. I do say, then, I reply with confidence to the inquiry as to the augmentation of the army. We are getting men not faster than they are required, but faster than we can form them into regiments, drill them, and make them skilful and useful soldiers of their Queen and country. (Cheers.)"

The right honourable gentleman's remarks upon the causes affecting the recruiting in Ireland, require a special note from us; but neither can we let pass without observation the assertion that men were being got with sufficient facility for the army: we will begin our notice of this point by at once inserting a short table giving statistically a rather decisive answer or contradiction to Mr. Sydney Herbert. We have not the means at hand of going into particulars, and neither would it be very useful or necessary: but the following figures may be entirely depended upon:—

Regiments of the Line.	Number of the present Establishments for each.	Number at the Depôts respectively.	Number on Service including at Malta, on passage, &c.	Total effective strength.	Deficiency on their Establishments.
3rd Foot	1900	200	782	1082	818
96th "	1300	300	100	1000	300
14th "	1140			877	263
20th "	1900	377	729	1008	894
23rd "	1900	363	818	1181	719
48th "	1900	404	810	1214	686
50th "	1900	370	825	795	1105
68th "	1900	381	711	992	908
Totals -	15,540			8147	5693

\* Ibid.

It chanced to fall to our lot the other day, when accidentally visiting Chatham, to get into conversation with a serjeant of a distinguished regiment of the line, lately returned from foreign service. According to his own account, which there seemed neither reason nor pretext for distrusting, he had completed more than 21 years' service, and was about to retire upon the pension of his class, without any charge against him, and with the good will of his officers. The color-serjeant's "Badge"—two swords crossed over a regimental color, above the chevrons on his arm, as also his good conduct medal, attested his position in his regiment. In our presence the question was put to him, whether he would not take service in some one of the militia regiments, where his knowledge of his business and good testimonials would ensure to him, at least, the same rank with full pay of the same, in addition to his pension on discharge from the line, and perhaps the post of serjeant-major. His answer was prompt and decisive, "no," he said, "once I get the red-coat off my back, I never will let it near me again, if I starve for it."

The service as at present managed, can present but few attractions to the private soldier, to have inspired the detestation of it, which this man's countenance and manner expressed when he uttered the foregoing declaration. Had he been a private reduced from the rank of a non-commissioned officer, or even one of the ordinary regimental serjeants, there would have been ground for imputing his dislike of the service to his failure from incapacity, or otherwise, to obtain the grade of non-commissioned officer, which he actually held. But as before remarked, there was nothing of the sort.

When we couple with this, the resentment and aversion generated in the mind of the recruit, and still more in the minds of his friends and family, when it is found that the £6 or £8 bounty is after all but one pound in hand, another pound, or *pound's worth* in matters of clothing and equipment, which naturally enough he had expected to be furnished with free of cost—the remainder of the boasted bounty being doled out at uncertain future times, and in small instalments—all pretext for wonder ceases, that there should be difficulties in the way of recruiting.

On the score of the recruits' bounty, in particular that portion of it which is said to be given him under the denomination of "necessaries" and in the form of certain articles of

clothing and equipment, there will be occasion to touch at a later period of our subject.

With reference to Emigration, its injurious effects upon the recruiting system of these countries, would we think have obtained much greater notice from Mr. Sydney Herbert in the course of the speech of which we have given extracts, as well as from other speakers in the same debate, but for prudential reasons. All must have felt, and doubtless did feel, that of which a moment's reflection will impress the truth upon the mind, namely, the very great relevancy of this topic to the main subject, and the magnitude of the injurious influence in question. But it would not have been prudent to declare authoritatively and officially this evil, and expose this weakness to the quick and ready attention of Russia.

Nothing is so melancholy and so miserable as the repetition by way of reminder, of a disastrous prophecy after it has come to pass. We therefore will not delay with quoting ourselves, or any other *Cassandra*, to prove the warnings which were given, and timeously given of the future evils of the unchecked Emigration, especially and transcendantly that from Ireland. We shall content ourselves with recalling to memory a few facts, and say no more of predictions. Every one who has resided in Ireland during the last dreary nine years, has seen and seen many times, the long sad procession at our ports, of peasants coming from various parts of the interior of the country, and streaming down towards the huge ships, waiting in constantly recruited numbers to receive and convey them to new homes far across the Atlantic. All have seen, and seen too often, the decent farmer, the thrifty matron, the stout hearty young sons, the fine buxom looking daughters, good specimens each of our once fine peasantry, wending their way to the shore, to cross the world of waters to other lands where honesty and industry are assured of that protection and that free and fair play which were denied to them at home. The fool and the knave and the bigot chuckled, and the expression soon became a familiar cant with them and their familiars—"Oh we shall soon have room enough in Ireland—we can well spare these and many more." The cry was taken up by certain newspapers in England and by suckling and drivelling politicians affecting to be statesmen. Their wishes were accomplished, *their* predictions verified even beyond their hopes. The outgoing of the people was incessant, and even continu-

ally increasing for at least seven successive years. There came to be "room enough" in Ireland, and in truth more than *room enough*. Presently quite other predictions than theirs—those we have first alluded to—came also to be, and are, while we write, being still further fulfilled. The want of labor began to be felt for the arts of peace—the want of *men* is beginning to be felt for the art of war!

*At this moment* the British Government has its emissaries and agents in Canada and in the United States of America, trying to coax and *hire back* at an enormous expense to the Treasury, and therefore to the tax payers of the United Kingdom, the fine young Irishmen whom (rather than interfere to ameliorate the social laws pressing unduly and cruelly upon them at home till the pressure drove them to emigration), that Government with the express concurrence, nay approval, of the heads of all English parties of whatever parliamentary shade, allowed to go and be lost to these Kingdoms for ever!

The reader who has Thom's *Irish Almanac* beside him need only open it at that very valuable and well digested part of it, which is ranged under the heading of "Statistics of Ireland," to judge for himself of the extent and degree of this disastrous emigration. No doubt many paupers went, or were transported off, but the *bulk* of the very poor and the very inefficient remained; while the great bulk of the emigration was of classes who had, and took with them, some little property of whatever nature it might be; and who themselves, in their own vigorous persons and with their shrewd and active intellects, were, and are, everyday more and more proved to have been a loss to their country.

The want of men is, in one point of view at least, even ludicrously illustrated by what is taking place at the moment we write. The high military authorities have cast a covetous eye towards that splendid body of men, the Constabulary force of Ireland. The following extract from the *Limerick Chronicle* gives an account of the recent experiment to get hold of these fine fellows:—

"THE CITY LIMERICK CONSTABULARY.—Tuesday morning, at nine o'clock, the entire force of the City Limerick Constabulary, under Sub-Inspector M'Leod, were paraded in full uniform in the barrack square, to meet Serjeant-major Page, of the Scots' Fusileer Guards, who had been sent over to Ireland from the Horse Guards, with a view of obtaining volunteers from the Constabulary for the Guards. Serjeant-major Page, who appeared in full uniform,

bedizened with gold and lace, and the Crimea medal on his breast, addressed them at some length, stating the mission he came on, and remarking that a great number of non-commissioned officers being wanted in the Guards, he thought it likely that many members of that force would be found eligible for such appointments. He then expatiated on the ancient and honourable fame of the household troops, and painted in glowing colours the military renown of 'the Guards.' Sub-Inspector M'Leod then addressed the men, and said that it was for them to judge of what they had heard, and that he would be prepared to take down the names of those who chose to step forward and volunteer. This was followed by a dead silence in the ranks—not a single man having presented himself to the apparent surprise and disappointment of the 'Guardsman,' who, after waiting some time, said he would call upon them again on Wednesday, and see what a day's consideration might do. When the parade was dismissed, several of the men addressed him, and said it was through no motives of fear and disaffection they were prevented from volunteering, but that they could not understand going to fight for glory in the Crimea for less pay and a less advantageous position than they had for their services at home; and one of them added, that it must be through humbug or ignorance among the Guards of what sort of a body the Irish Constabulary was that such an absurd proposition was made to them. We may add with perfect truth, that a finer or more soldierlike body of men it would be difficult to find in any branch of her Majesty's service than the constabulary force in this city, and that their intelligence, education, and moral character are of the highest standard."

We do not wish in any way to keep open old sores, nor to foster international disagreements, especially at such a critical time for the interests of the empire as the present. But the still higher interests of truth compel us to recall to mind, that until the stress of doubtful and bloody war came upon her, England was only too ready to exclude Irishmen wherever their services were not most imperatively needed. "No Irish need apply" was not more unmistakeably though tacitly acted upon in the case of the privileged and honored Regiments of Guards, than it is proclaimed and put forward day by day in the multitudinous advertisements of the outer sheet of the *Times*. England had her Coldstream and Grenadier Regiments in the Guards' Brigade. Scotland had her "Scots' Fusilier Guards," but Irish Regiment of Guards there was and is none; nor when the Brigade was in its full pride and strength were there perhaps ten individual Irishmen in its ranks, though Germans and Belgians were admitted without hesitation! Nay, so late as six months ago, three or four recruiting serjeants of the Guards who had, in what we must suppose a thoughtless

moment, been sent to Ireland, were almost immediately recalled, and a stop put to the recruiting which they had commenced. To this fact we can vouch from personal knowledge, and we can state that the two most notable instances of it occurred in Dublin and at Cork. It was then thought, no doubt, that Irishmen might be dispensed with in the favored Regiments of the Empire. They now find, that even in that scanty Brigade, poor despised Ireland's assistance is needed, and accordingly they at length have made the call.

As a parting word upon the topic of the efforts being made to get back for the army and the service of the state some of the Irish emigrants of the distress-years, the extreme opposition of the Government of the United States to those efforts within their territory is to be noted. That this opposition does not proceed from any particular love of our poor expatriated fellow countryman is unhappily too well evidenced by the laws which have been passed from time to time in the New York Legislature imposing restrictions upon them, but still more by the "*Know-nothing*" Societies, which have sprung up and spread amongst all the eastern states of the Union, with hostility to Irishmen as one of their chief bases and principles. It is simply a sympathy with Russia in the present struggle—a sympathy partly founded on commercial rivalry with and jealousy of England; and partly upon the circumstance of their common slave-holding tendencies and "institutions."

Returning to the report of the Parliamentary Committee on the Army before Sebastopol, we shall now proceed to notice, in as summary a manner as possible, the chief points of the case which that Committee essays in its Report to make out.

After speaking of the efforts of the Aberdeen administration to inform themselves beforehand of the real strength of the Russian forces in the Crimea, ere the expedition thither was dispatched, and recording the admitted fact that the information obtained on that point was vague, various and most defective; and the also admitted and strange fact that "the British embassies—both that which had recently been withdrawn from St. Petersburg, and that actually resident at Constantinople—were *unable* to furnish *ANY* information," the Report goes on to attribute, and with reason, much of the evils that have occurred in the course and progress of the expedition, to the ill defined and rather anomalous position in which the Duke of Newcastle found himself as Secretary for



War, under the recent changes and re-construction of the War Department of Government. He had an enormously weighty and increasing responsibility, and most uncertain and defective powers; and had to choose between groping timidly in the dark, with a caution in all his measures which would have been most ruinous to the early prospects of the expedition, and doing things at his own discretion and risk. The latter course, much to his credit,—a credit allowed to him even in the cynical pages of the Report itself—he did not hesitate to adopt; and if he afterwards proved unequal to the magnitude of the burthen thrown upon him, and of the extraordinary emergency that had so unexpectedly arisen, it was not through any want of heart or exertion upon his part.

The following are the chief remarks of the Committee upon this point of their investigations:—

*“The Secretary of State for War.”*

On accepting the Secretaryship for War, the Duke of Newcastle found himself in this disadvantageous position—he had no separate office for his departments, he had no document prescribing his new duties, no precedents for his guidance, and his under secretaries were new to the work. In this situation he undertook the superintendence of numerous departments, with whose internal organisation he was dissatisfied, and the management of a war urgently requiring prompt and vigorous operations. The duke was imperfectly acquainted with the best mode of exercising his authority over the subordinate departments, and these departments were not officially informed of their relative position, or of their new duties towards the Minister for War. His interference was sought for in matters of detail, wherein his time should not have been occupied, and he was left unacquainted with transactions of which he should have received official cognisance. Feeling his large responsibilities, he took upon himself to remedy innumerable deficiencies which were brought to his notice, and, in the meantime, matters of paramount necessity were postponed.

The evidence, moreover, shows that the duke was long left in ignorance, or was misinformed, respecting the progress of affairs in the East. He was not, until a late period, made acquainted with the state of the hospitals at Scutari, and the horrible mode in which the sick and wounded were conveyed from Balaklava to the Bosphorus. Lord Aberdeen has significantly observed that the Government were left in ignorance longer than they ought to have been of the real state of matters in the East. The ministers, he says, were informed of the condition of the army from the public papers and private sources long before they heard it officially, and not hearing it officially, they discredited the rumours around them. Thus, while the whole country was dismayed by reports, and was eagerly

looking for some gleam of official intelligence, the Cabinet, according to the statement of ministers, was in darkness.

Harassed by these rumours, and perplexed by the indiscreet silence of those who should have enlightened him, the duke sent a commission to inquire into the state of the hospitals at Scutari and in the Crimea. The commission was issued in October; it did not report until April. A form of proceeding suited to redress grievances at home, or to become a basis for legislative measures, was ill adapted to relieve the pressing wants of 5,000 men suffering under mismanagement and neglect.

With the same benevolent intention, the duke, through the channel of the Foreign Office, requested Lord Stratford de Redcliffe to take upon himself, in addition to his many onerous duties, a certain amount of supervision and assistance of those hospitals.

The clothing of the troops was not within the province of the Secretary of State; and the Duke of Newcastle says it was extremely doubtful whether he had any right to interfere.—The soldiers had received the ordinary supply for the year; yet the peculiar circumstances in which the army had been placed induced the duke to recommend to the Commander-in-Chief that an extra supply should be furnished, and, in addition to this, warm clothing should be prepared to meet the inclemency of the weather. The system of clothing the army was then, and still is, in a state of transition. Whenever the existing contracts cease, the clothing will be supplied by the Ordnance, or by a clothing department.

The warm clothing was considered so important that, upon hearing of the loss of the Prince steamer, all the military departments were occupied with this supply. The Secretary for War issued orders; the Secretary at War was constantly at the Ordnance, urging and hastening these proceedings; clothing was bought also in Austria and in Switzerland. Ambassadors, ministers, consuls, and agents, were applied to for assistance; money was profusely expended, and at a later period in the winter the troops must have received a supply far larger than was required for their reduced numbers."

From these half apologetic, half accusatory remarks on the position and conduct of the Duke of Newcastle, the Report proceeds to attack the Ordnance Department:—

"In April, 1854, Lord Raglan, the Master-General of the Ordnance, was appointed to the command of the forces in the East, and shortly afterwards Sir Hew Ross was named Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance—an office which had been for many years abolished, but which was now revived

The evils arising from the absence of the master-general are abundantly exhibited in the evidence. The statements of Sir T. Hastings, the Comptroller of Stores, and of Mr. Monsell, the Clerk of the Ordnance, amply prove the unsatisfactory state of this department, while it would seem, from the language of Sir Hew Ross, that he was imperfectly acquainted with the constitution of the board of which he was a member.

From the evidence it will be seen that a conflict of authority arose between the members of this board. At a time when urgent business required their attention they were engaged in disputes, in preparing statements, and in making appeals to the Secretary of State for War. Sir Thomas Hastings says, that although he made more than one application informing the Secretary of State that he had important communications to make to him, he received no answer to his letters.—Mr. Monsell, when he differed from the other members of his board, applied to the Secretary of State, who, by lending his sanction to the Clerk of the Ordnance, enabled him to overrule both his colleagues, and thus interfered in a matter involving questions of military discipline, as well as of departmental subordination. In noticing the unseemly conduct of this board, and the differences which were brought prominently forward in the evidence, your committee observe with regret that the public service has suffered from the want of judgment and temper on the part of officers who were entrusted during a critical period with important public duties.

Your committee believe that Lord Aberdeen would have acted more beneficially for the public service if he had appointed another Master-General when Lord Raglan could no longer discharge the duties of the office, and they are of opinion that a vague intention of remodelling the Ordnance Office affords no justification for the course pursued. If this office were deemed to be imperfect, and ill adapted for its functions, there was the more need during its continued existence of an able man to superintend its proceedings. The Ordnance Office strikingly exemplifies the disordered state into which a department may fall when there is no able hand to guide it.

After perusing the evidence, it will excite no surprise to find that the arrangements attempted by this office in reference to warm clothing, huts, and Minie rifles, were imperfect and dilatory. Huts were ordered at Constantinople and Trieste, as well as in this country. The first order here was issued on the 17th of November. When the huts at length arrived at Balaklava, the exhausted transport service was unable to convey them to the camp. It appears from the evidence of Sir J. Burgoyne and Sir F. Smith, that if canvas had been sent for doubling the tents, and planks for flooring, effectual shelter for the troops would have been provided at a much earlier period, and at a smaller cost. It is impossible not to believe by these means the sickness and suffering of the troops would have been diminished.

Your committee must express their dissatisfaction with the administration of the contract system under this department, and they consider that no change will be effective which does not lead to a revival and amendment of this branch of the office.

The tools supplied to the army are stated to be of bad quality. Under a recent order the Ordnance furnish all tools. The pioneers' tools were heretofore supplied by the colonels of regiments. For this last supply the Ordnance is not responsible. In this country, under a proper system of contract and inspection, there can be no difficulty in obtaining tools of the best quality. The supply of

inferior tools must be ascribed to carelessness or dishonesty on the part of the persons responsible for the supply. Your committee cannot too forcibly express their opinion of the importance of placing in the hands of the soldiers the very best articles that can be provided."

This last recommendation of the Committee would read as something ludicrously trite and commonplace, did we not know from the revelations of the Times' Commissioner, confirmed by the evidence of unwilling officials before the "Sebastopol Committee," that what ought have been and should have been, and was to be fairly expected, proved *not to be* or to have been, in the actual state of matters connected with the Crimean expedition.

It must be unnecessary to remind our readers that before this "Report" saw the light, the Government, yielding to the pressure of popular opinion, which, in truth, forestalled most of the recommendations of the Report, had altogether changed and remodelled the constitution of the Ordnance Department, especially in the important particular of putting an end to the anomaly of having a military department of such consequence and magnitude separately administered, and under really a quite distinct jurisdiction from the rest of the military establishments of the empire. The Ordnance is now, at length, as it always ought to have been, a subordinate department of the Horse Guards, and directly and immediately under the Commander in Chief's authority.

The "Commissariat Department" comes next under review in the Committee's Report, and is treated with singular gentleness and lenity. Why this should be we know not. There is no attempt made to have it credited that the Commissariat of the army was properly managed. The pages of "Evidence" subjoined to the Report are full of the most unequivocal testimony as to the sufferings of our men, the great loss to our foot regiments and nearly annihilation of our cavalry force, from the deficiencies in the providings of this department. Can it be any tenderness towards the vaunted "Admirable Crichton" of the Treasury, Sir Charles Trevelyan, which has caused this most unwonted mildness and considerateness to be shewn by Mr. Roebuck? Can it be the influence of the individual in question upon other members of the Committee; getting them to impede and prevent full enquiry, and to gloss over his own shortcomings? We desire not to be censorious

or unjust to any individual, but we confess to a great soreness towards this official when we recollect his conduct in Ireland during the famine, and his conduct to Ireland ever since; and when we find that the Treasury, whose powers are, of course, of the amplest description, failed in adequate provision for the wants of our gallant but grossly ill treated soldiers, and when we know that Sir C. Trevelyan holds a post of great influence in the Treasury, and is there potent, not only as a frequently consulted adviser, but as an administrator with large discretion and freedom of original action, it is not too much to say that, despite the unwonted tenderness of the Committee's Report, he does not and cannot stand acquitted of the charge of gross, disastrous, almost ruinous mismanagement.

The following extract refers most directly to the point of the supply of food to the men, and it will be seen that the blame of its defectiveness is sought to be thrown upon various causes, viz.: the want of care and energy on the part of the minor officials concerned in its procurement and distribution; the difficulties arising from the position of the troops, the delays and occasionally severe losses from bad weather at sea, &c. &c.; and thus, to a certain extent, a screen is thrown over the mismanagement at head quarters, that is, at the Treasury.

*"Commissariat Supplies—Food for the men.*

"The witnesses are not agreed as to the quantity of fresh meat supplied to the army; the regularity of the distribution depended partly on the zeal and energy of the several commissariat officers, and also on the position occupied by the troops. Until the end of October the rations, it is said, were furnished with regularity, and consisted of fresh meat twice or thrice in the week. Mr. Parker, chaplain to the first division from the 28th of November till the 22nd of January, states that during this period the hospitals were supplied with fresh meat almost every day; but the troops did not receive it, he thinks, above once a week; he never knew them, however, to be without rations. Other witnesses say that the soldiers during the winter months suffered occasionally from want of their rations, and more frequently from the irregularity of their issue. In the appendix a statement by a board of officers will be found, in which it is affirmed that the men for days and weeks together went to the trenches with an insufficient meal, and oftentimes with none at all, save a little biscuit and rum. Any result derived from an average of rations issued is delusive, because privation on one day is not compensated by superfluity on another. Even when the men received a sufficient meal, the proportion of salt meat without an accompanying supply of vegetables was greater than was consistent with the health of the

troops. This deficiency of fresh meat, the most wholesome, as well as the cheapest food, is ascribed to the failure of the sea transport, the ships having been disabled by storms, and then delayed by repairs; in one instance all the cattle on board perished from the inclemency of the weather, or from the violence of the waves.

Vegetables, which, according to the intentions of the Government, should have been issued gratuitously, were very scantily supplied; indeed, several witnesses assert that none were ever seen in the camp. One ship load of vegetables was detained in the harbour until the cargo was decayed; and at Eupatoria, it is said, there was an immense store of onions lying on the wharf, while disease, from want of vegetables, was spreading through the camp. The Deputy Commissary General states that he had an abundant stock of rice at Constantinople during the time when it was wanted even for the hospitals in the Crimea. Preserved potatoes were, it is said, early in the autumn offered to the soldiers, but rejected; later in the winter, when the supply of vegetables was essential, it does not appear that the offer was repeated. Coffee, which has been ordered as an extra ration, was distributed to the troops in a green state, and (there being no means of roasting) it was of little use. The explanation offered to your Committee on this point is not satisfactory. The more immediate comfort of the troops appears to have been overlooked, while ingenious arguments on the volatile aroma of the berry, and on the Turkish mode of packing coffee, were passing backwards and forwards between Commissary General Filder and the Treasury.

"Sir C. Trevelyan, speaking as the head of the commissariat, and desirous of relieving the department from responsibility, affirms their conduct throughout to have been irreproachable, and ascribes blame to other persons. According to his opinion the Quartermaster-General, for whose good intentions he made full allowance, ought to bear the chief responsibility. 'This officer,' he says, 'is responsible for the road to the camp and for the road along the border of the harbour at Balaklava. By him also buildings should have been appropriated for magazines, and stables for the baggage animals should have been provided.'

"Sir C. Trevelyan also states that the endeavours of the commissariat were frustrated by the mismanagement of the transports, that there was a want of proper arrangements in the harbour of Balaklava and still worse disorder at Constantinople. 'Rear-Admiral Boxer did not,' he says, 'possess the administrative qualifications requisite for that important station, and he delayed the transports in the Bosphorus or appropriated them to other services.'

"Your committee have not been able to examine Commissary-General Filder or Rear-Admiral Boxer, and they cannot therefore decide upon whom this blame should rest."

Of course Sir Charles Trevelyan, like other persons in similar case, endeavoured to shift the blame from his own shoulders. Of course he ascribes it to others. But it is not by any means equally *of course* that his excuses should be accepted

and his devices permitted to succeed. The flagrant, and now, at any rate, undeniable fact, of the issue of unroasted coffee is patent against him; and, no doubt, there could be shewn many other particular points of default had the enquiry been more searching and unsparing.

The evils, blunders, or criminal negligences touched upon in other portions of the Report sink into comparative insignificance when they come to be contrasted with the shortcomings and mismanagements of the Medical Departments at home and abroad, in all that concerned our poor soldiers of the Crimean expedition. It was one huge bungle from first to last in the constitution and conduct of those departments. The Director General, as he was facetiously called, of the whole of the medical departments, was in fact no *director* at all, but in fact *had five masters* to direct him, and whenever he ventured a suggestion, or an arrangement of his own, it was disregarded or nullified. The full sense of his false position does not seem to have struck the individual in question, Dr. Andrew Smith, till he had to recount his experiences before the Parliamentary Committee; but when it did, he acted as a man of right feeling and independence should act, in resigning his office. It would have been well if those above him, to whose blunders and incapacity so many of the evils of all kinds that befel our unfortunate expedition are directly to be attributed, had followed or anticipated the example set by one who was very far less to be blamed than they. We proceed to give an account of this "*Tragedy of Errors*," extracted from the Report, with as much abbreviation as is consistent with clearness.

*"The Medical Department at Home."*

The medical department of the army and ordnance is under a director-general, who has an assistant to aid him in his multifarious duties. Dr. Smith, the Director-General, states that he was under the immediate authority of five different superiors—the Commander-in-Chief, the Secretary of State for War, the Secretary at War, the Master-General of the Ordnance, and the Board of Ordnance.

He further states that, when he first heard that a force would be sent to Turkey, he recommended an ambulance corps, and he advised that able-bodied soldiers should be selected. Lord Raglan and Lord Hardinge objected to taking from the ranks effective fighting men, and pensioners were employed instead. Dr. Smith remonstrated in vain.

The entire failure of this corps and the consequent sufferings of the army are abundantly proved.

In May, 1854, Dr. Smith added a letter to the military secretary of the Commander-in-Chief, recommending that, 'in the event of hospitals being established at a distance from the army, ships should be fitted for the transport of the sick and wounded.' This application was not attended to.

The strict economy enforced during a long period of peace, by means of a rigid system of audit and account, may doubtless, at the first outbreak of war, have still fettered Dr. Smith, as well as other public servants, who dreaded to incur responsibility for any expenditure, however urgent, which was not guarded by all the forms and documents usually required. An excess of caution, in the first instance, led probably to some evils which a lavish outlay could not afterwards repair.

#### *The Medical Department in the East.*

The army, when sent to the East, had a greater number of medical men in proportion to the number of the troops than ever before accompanied a British army, and the witnesses generally concur in testifying to their zeal and efficiency; many of these were, however, disabled by sickness before the descent on the Crimea, so that after each of the actions at Alma and Inkerman some regiments had not the requisite number of medical men. The ambulances for the conveyance of the sick and wounded were too heavy, and ill adapted for their purpose.

The medical men, it is said, were indefatigable in their attention; but so great was the want of the commonest necessities, even of bedding, as well as of medicines and medical comforts, that they sorrowfully admitted their services to be of little avail.

The hospital at Balaklava had an advantage, inasmuch as it was nearer to the limited supplies which were on board ship; but the uncertainty whether or not Balaklava could be retained disconcerted the arrangements of this hospital, and upon one occasion the patients were removed. In regard to its subsequent condition, there is a difference of opinion, depending probably upon the dates of the several visits; but the prevailing testimony is to the effect that this hospital was for many weeks in a discreditable state.

#### *The Hospitals at Scutari.*

When the army arrived in the East various places were suggested for hospitals, but Scutari was eventually decided upon as fittest for the purpose.

The Duke of Newcastle says that he did not issue any instructions as to hospitals; he left that to be executed by the Medical Board. Dr. Smith, the Director-General of the Medical Department of the army, says that he had nothing to do with these hospitals, and that his interference could only have caused confusion."

"Dr. Hall, the Inspector-General of the Army, was sent by Lord Raglan to inspect the hospitals in October. He remained at Scutari about three weeks, and then reported them 'to be in as good a state as could be reasonably expected.' Dr. Menzies reported periodically



to Dr. Hall as his official chief. Dr. Menzies, although concurring in the opinion of Dr. Hall, appears subsequently to have made several appeals to the commandant and to the purveyor for means of improving the condition of the hospitals; but either no measures, or no efficient and adequate measures, seem to have been adopted for the purpose.

Your committee must declare it to be their opinion that blame attaches to Dr. Menzies, inasmuch as he did not report correctly the circumstances of the hospital; he stated that he wanted nothing in the shape of stores or medical comforts at the time when his patients were destitute of the commonest necessities.

With the confirmation by Dr. Dumbreck, Deputy-Inspector General of Hospitals, of the whole testimony relating to this painful subject, your committee are totally at a loss to comprehend the report of Dr. Hall, more especially with regard to the Barrack Hospital, the scene of so much misery and suffering. The Duke of Newcastle states 'that the disgraceful condition of the hospitals was first brought under his notice in the middle of October.' Dr. Hall was at Scutari from the 3rd to the 23rd of that month. Dr. Hall's report seems to have misled both Lord Raglan and the Government at home, and to have occasioned much delay in measures taken afterwards for the remedy of evils which might have been arrested earlier in their progress.

The apothecary's department at Scutari was in no better condition; his store was the general depot, not only for the hospitals, but for the army in the East; yet he had no account of his stores, and never made an entry in his books from the 24th of September to the 28th of November. Your committee are not aware under what instructions he was acting; but the late Secretary at War admits that such conduct was a gross dereliction of duty. It is, moreover, manifest that the Government had been deceived in regard to these hospital stores; since Mr. S. Herbert had stated in the House of Commons, 'There have been all manner of forms to be gone through before these stores could be issued; with plenty of materials, the forms were so cumbrous that they never could be produced with the rapidity necessary for the purposes of a military hospital.' It is now proved that if there were cumbrous forms inconveniencing the service of the hospital, and aggravating the sufferings of the patients, there were at least no forms to protect the public purse against negligence or peculation. The distress in these hospitals would have been more severe, and the suffering more acute, if private charity had not stepped in to redress the evils of official mismanagement. Assistance which had been discouraged as superfluous was eventually found to be essential for the lives of the patients.

When the quantities of hospital stores which were sent from England are contrasted with the scarcity, or, rather, the absolute dearth of them at Scutari, and when the state of the purveyor's accounts is remembered, it is impossible not to harbour a suspicion that some dishonesty has been practised in regard to these stores.

In order to show the dreadful discomfort of the men, and the neglect on the part of the authorities, it may be sufficient to state, that in the Barrack Hospital at Scutari, during the month of

November, while there were about 2,000 patients in that hospital, the whole number of shirts washed was only six. At a later period it is fair to add that this glaring evil was mitigated."

The reader has now the pith and marrow of the Report of the Committee on the state of our army in the Crimea before him. From the evidence upon which this Report is based we should wish to quote largely, but our space and the other portions of the subject, or other subjects with which the present paper has to deal, forbids us. A few questions and answers, however, taken *bonâ fide* at random, will not occupy too much place, and may serve as indexes of what the bulk of the evidence will be found on perusal to contain.

At the first page that we chance to open of this "Evidence" we find Mr. J. C. Macdonald, the gentleman sent out by the proprietors of the "*Times*" newspaper to administer the "charitable fund" subscribed at the instance of that journal; on two different occasions, for the relief of our suffering soldiers in the east.

Question by Mr. Drummond (no. 7403): "The result of your evidence is, that there was a great deficiency of all things necessary for the soldier. We know officially that immense stores have been sent out from this country, for we have just got the bill. Can you tell us what has become of these government stores?" Answer: "I cannot. It is quite certain that they all left England. I have no doubt that much came back to England, much was wasted—there was stealing to a very small extent. A large proportion of those stores are still out of the right place and lost sight of."

Question: "When you personally inspected the Scutari hospital did you find a great want of comforts there?" Answer: "Undoubtedly. . . . It would be difficult to enumerate all the wants they were so many. . . . There was a want of utensils of all kinds, dishes and the means of personal cleanliness, towelings and shirting, an immense want of that. . . . When the supply of medical stores ran out, there were no means of reinstating the actual thing wanted. . . . The wants of the hospital might have been supplied from Constantinople, but things were sent for from England. The French government have a system of establishing stocks of everything that was wanted. They had a stock of everything, and the consequence was their supplies never ran out, and when those stocks ran low they were immediately reinforced. *With us no stocks were formed, and when our supply was exhausted we were in want and did not know what to do.*" !!!—*Sebastopol Committee Report, Appendix of Evidence, pp. 335-336, &c.*

We might quote, of course, more extensively and even more aptly and pointedly from Mr. Macdonald's evidence, but are

quite satisfied that even the little we have given, taken, as it has been, here and there by chance, is sufficient to indicate the strength of the bases on which the Report of the Sebastopol Enquiry Committee is founded. Mr. Macdonald's evidence is abundantly borne out by other witnesses, utterly unconnected with him.

The defectiveness of our arrangements as compared with those of the French, is exposed and borne witness to in every part of the subject matter with which the committee had to deal. It was not merely in reference to medical stores, as mentioned in the extracts just given, but in fact as to everything else, and in every branch and department of our service. Opening the evidence of Mr. Layard, M.P., who had personally witnessed what he described, we find the following :—

“ We had a great deficiency of large boats for landing horses and artillery (at Eupatoria). The French had to lend us their large flat bottomed boats for the purpose..... The difference between the relative force of English and French transports was this—Our transports were of a very large size indeed, certainly no brigs, nor anything smaller than a three-masted ship ;—The English force of transports was in fact incomparably greater and larger than the French ; yet the latter brought with them their ambulance train, all the mules for the sick and wounded, besides the various ammunition carts and other cars. These they brought in their small vessels. We brought no baggage animals whatever.” pp. 123, 124, &c., *Report*.

The bulk of his evidence is in the same strain, shewing deficiencies, and exposing wants everywhere on the English side, while he everywhere tells of the superior preparations and furnishing of the French. In fact it is evident from him that official blundering, or negligence, very considerably more than marred the great superiority in means of transport which the English had from the beginning over the French, and rendered that superiority utterly useless.

To quote at greater length from the Report and its evidence would be to transgress all suitable limit of extract, and therefore reserving the right of occasional and brief references hereafter, we proceed to other parts of our subject.

The soldier—the common private soldier—is now, to use the parrot words of commerce, becoming an article of prime importance in the market. The supply is by no means equal to the demand, and the latter is every day increasing in proportion to the former, according as each post brings us

over and over again the melancholy tale of fresh victims swallowed up in hundreds by the ravening maw of war. In an earlier page of the present article, we have given a few brief statistics to shew the difficulty that is found in getting men, and have also alluded to the effect of the last eight years' emigration from Ireland on the progress and prospects of enlistment. It is clear that some stimulus is wanting, and it is our business and intention to endeavour to point out its nature to our readers.

In the first place, the old *swindle*, for such it really and literally was and is, and is so confessed to be amongst military men, when they come to talk about it, the old *swindle* of the so called "bounty" system must be done away with: on this head we have already dilated at some length in an article of the last number of the IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW; and need not therefore, go over the same ground. We spoke of the expectations of the young recruit and of his family when reading the well trumped up placard, announcing the promised bounty of £5, a sum that appears to him and them a little fortune; we spoke of the cruel disappointment he inevitably undergoes when he finds that at most he really gets only £1 in hand; and the rest, partly in necessaries which he expected would have been furnished to him gratis, and in distant instalments. And finally we expressed our belief, amounting indeed to a moral certainty, based upon our own experience as well as on that of others, that this *cheat*, as in effect it is, tends like all other trickery, in the end to defeat its own objects, and put a heavy difficulty in the way of enlistment, in consequence of the warnings which the friends of those entrapped by it are sure to communicate to others.

Some remarks in a recent number of the "Naval and Military Gazette," are so pertinent to this part of our subject, that we do not hesitate to insert them here in place of more extended observations of our own. They originated in a discussion upon the Secretary of War's new proposal of a scheme of increased pay to the soldier for service in the field; and after alluding to that scheme and making a suggestion upon it, they proceeded to remark more generally upon his pay altogether.

"The announcement that double pay would be issued to all soldiers in the field startled the isle from its propriety; and foreseeing the difficulties in effecting the measure so as to give satisfaction to

the soldiers, we at once blurted out our indignation at the intention to keep back the increased pay from the soldier while serving in the field, and only to issue it when he might be discharged, or after his death to his relatives. Knowing as we well did that the object in giving double pay was solely to entice men to enlist, we pointed out how utterly the measure would fail, and that if men were wanted the enjoyment of the money must be *immediate*, and not merely *prospective*. We would ask anyone versed in actuary calculations, what is the value of a soldier's life on service in the Crimea? Is it worth a year's purchase? How then could it have been supposed that a remote and very doubtful enjoyment of accumulated pay could allure men, to whom the present was all in all, to enter the army? We at once stated, from our long intercourse with soldiers, that if 6d. a day were paid faithfully, without any of the humbug deductions in which War-office Warrants delight, there would be no lack of thousand, who would enter the Service. Soldiers now-a-days are not like mackerel, to be caught with red cloth only. The hook must be baited with some more enticing and substantial lure.

Now, we cannot of course say what plans after-thoughts may have devised in the War Department; but it struck us from the very first that a *free ration* would have been a good beginning, and possibly an augmented and better sort of ration, leaving the pay as heretofore. If the soldier had his shilling free of all deductions for messing, and if he were to be relieved from all hospital charges while serving in the field, we think he would be amply paid. The abolition of the very complicated stoppages for rations and for hospital charges would thus be accomplished, and one long step taken towards simplification of system. We have an aversion to meddle with the soldiers' actual pay, and we are, therefore, strong advocates for giving him a free and better ration, and not requiring him to pay for his support and cure in hospital by stoppages from it.

We would even go farther, if we could, and ask that the soldier should not be required to so largely clothe himself out of his pay, but that he should only be required to keep up shirts, socks, and the small articles of his kit. It has always seemed to us very hard that the soldier should be forced to pay for his knapsack, his forage cap, his boots, and his trousers; for it is notorious that the one pair of boots and the one pair of trousers issued free to him annually are not sufficient, and that he has to provide out of his pay those articles at least once in every twelve months. If it were generally known that the soldier would have his pay in cash, clear of these innumerable charges which now diminish it to about 2d. a-day in coin, we should soon find men in abundance, ready and willing to take the shilling, not as now in mere token of enlistment, but as the daily means of useful expenditure, agreeable recreation, or careful saving. There are men who would enlist with each of these objects, who now prefer the hardest and filthiest labours to the comparatively easy and certainly clean and wholesome life of the soldier. The days have passed when we might load the backs of our soldiers with the burdens of donkeys, deduct from their pay at our whim, rule them

with a rod of iron, deny them all education, and after making them brutes as far as brave men could be made such, then in the day of battle call upon them to be heroes! War has ever been in the hands of Providence a means of civilisation, let us hope that it may be to those engaged in it a means of amelioration."

The civilian reader may, if he take any interest whatever in our subject, feel a wish to be made aware of the nature of the deductions from a soldier's pay. The following statements will give him much of the information he desires: being literal copies from the "Company's Ledger" which every regimental officer commanding a troop in the cavalry or company in the infantry is obliged, with the assistance of his pay-serjeant, to keep; and to make up at the end of each month. We give two such accounts; one in which the soldier was found to have money owing to him at the termination of such period:—the other when he was found to be in debt. The first account further shews the charges which the recruit to his amazement and dismay finds to be upon him in the very first month of his soldiering—the other the charges that come upon him at a later period of his service.

*Name of the Soldier,*

*Dr.*

*Private A. B.—No. 240.*

*Cr.*

Date 18	Sums paid, Articles furnished, &c.	£ s. d.	Date 18	Amount of pay, Allowances, &c.	£ s. d.
Nov.	20 Days in Mess at -	0 12 6	Nov.	Bounty - - - -	1 1 0
	Amount of Daily Pay -	0 8 0		21 Days Pay at 1s. -	1 1 0
	Sheets 2d., Hair cutting 1d.	0 0 8		21 Days Liquor Money -	0 1 9
	2 Shirts 4s., 2 pair Socks 1s. 10d. -	0 5 10			
	2 Towels 1s. 4d., Braces 1s. 1d. -	0 2 5			
	Knife, Fork, and Spoon -	0 0 11			
	2 Shoe-brushes -	0 1 1			
	Holdall 7d., Razor 10d. -	0 1 5			
	Blacking 4d., Cloth brush 10d. -	0 1 2½			
	Button-stick and Brush -	0 0 5½			
	Shoe-brush 3½d., Comb 5d.	0 0 8½			
	Mitts 11d., Sponge 5d. -	0 1 4			
	Forage Cap and Number -	0 2 4			
	Stock 3½d., Chin-strap 2d.	0 0 5½			
	Barrack Damages -	0 0 11			
	Balance Creditor -	0 4 8½			
	<i>Signed</i> A. B. (The Private's name.)	2 8 9		C. D. (Name of the Captain of the Company.)	2 8 9

*Name of the Soldier*

Dr.

240, Private A. B.

Cr.

Date 18	Sums paid, Articles furnished, &c.,	£ s. d.	Date 18	Amount of Pay, Allowances, &c.	£ s. d.
May	31 Days in Mass at 7½d. -	0 19 4½		Credit in April -	0 1 9½
	Amount of Daily Pay -	0 9 8		31 Days Pay at 1s. -	1 11 0
	Shirts 3d., Hair cutting 1d. -	0 0 3		31 Days Liquor Money -	0 3 7
	Barrack Damages, Washing -	0 1 7		Instalment of Bounty -	0 5 3
	1 pair Summer Trowsers -	0 7 0		Balance Debtor -	0 1 9
	Boots repaired -	0 4 6			
	C. D. Captain	2 2 4½		A. B. (Private's Name)	2 2 4½

In the foregoing the state of the soldier's accounts is shewn at two different periods, viz. November, when he is supposed to have been enlisted, and May, when another instalment of his "bounty" has been paid to him. It will be seen how little he has enjoyed of the former large instalment, and how notwithstanding the tardy but most opportune arrival of another instalment, the charges he has been put to run him into debt.

There are other casual items to be taken into account, such as "hospital charges"—the larger and truly exorbitant "barrack damages" which are sure to be sent after a regiment when it has just changed quarters—stoppages of pay in punishment of misdemeanors, (or in military parlance "*crimes*"), &c. &c.—which give variety to the face of the soldier's accounts, but all alike tend to diminish the modicum he is nominally allowed. The latter item named is of course one quite justifiable, and indeed quite indispensable too often; but the two first are often quite otherwise; especially the item of "barrack damages" on change of quarters. We have seen the charge under this head, namely, for damages to the scantily furnished, rough barrack-rooms of a regiment amount to as high as two shillings per head, and sometimes beyond that; a sum which equals two days of a soldier's nominal pay, but really equal to six days of the payments he actually receives in cash.

If, however, the legal and established deductions from the soldier's pay, &c. appear hard, it must be allowed that he is well guarded and protected against any unlawful or fraudulent encroachment thereupon. The "Ledger" already quoted

from, is a large account book kept in each of the several "companies" of which a regiment is composed, by the captain commanding each, with the assistance of a non-commissioned officer, denominated the "pay-serjeant" of the company, and acting as the Captain's clerk in all matters of account concerning the company, and as his "covering-serjeant," or rere-rank man in the field. In this Ledger each soldier's accounts are, as we have seen, set down item by item, both as to "credit" or "debt," on a page especially appropriated to, and kept for himself; and at the end of each month, his Captain is bound to cause this account to be read over in his own presence to the private, and to ask the latter whether or no he is satisfied with it. If the soldier say no, the Captain must explain it to him, and although if it appear to the officer that the man's objection is frivolous and vexatious, he can punish him for not agreeing to the account, yet the man can appeal to their common commanding officer if he choose; and even beyond him to the general commanding in the District.

If the private acquiesces in the account, he signs, as we have seen, on the credit side of it, if he be in credit, and his officer on the other, and vice versa, if he be in debt. If he cannot write he makes his mark, and the name of a witness to his so doing, is written thereunder:—such witness *not to be* the officer, nor the pay-serjeant.

The "Ledger" then remains in the captain's hands (or those of his pay-serjeant for him)—as his voucher for having duly paid and provisioned his men during the month just expired. But his responsibility by no means terminates with this, and the soldier has other protections even after he has signed. In the first place, the captain must submit his Ledger for inspection by the major of the wing of the regiment to which his company belongs within six days after the termination of the monthly account. The major inspects accordingly and requires and receives explanations of any item, or set of items that he considers it proper to enquire into; and if necessary reports the matter to the commanding officer, that he may call the parties before him in the orderly room and investigate it. In the next place, the "pay sheet" of the company, which contains a particular specification of every penny of disbursement for and to the soldier made by the officer of the company, personally or through his pay-serjeant, must be sent in to the paymaster of the regiment, to be by him compared with the



amount of the monies drawn by the captain during the month, and also with the estimate of what ought to have been paid, or in other words, what the cost of the company ought to have been during the month. Along with this there goes in also an "*Acquittance Roll*," or list of the names of every man; with set opposite to them, the several sums in which they appear in credit or indebted in the company's ledger, and the name of each must be by himself either written or "*marked*" after each sum, in verification of it. The paymaster has thus a double check on the captain—first as regards the actual total sum given the latter to pay his company, during the month; and secondly as regards the state of each soldier's account.

But the soldier has yet an additional protection. He is given and directed always to keep a "small book" of the nature of a pocket book, in which after some preliminary pages of print detailing the regulations of the army, as to length of service, pensions, &c., there are pages on which his name, birth place, age, parentage, &c. &c. are entered, and subsequently the state of his account at the end of each month, the column for each signed by himself if he be in debt, and by the captain if he be in credit, and the amount set down for him in these columns, must in every case correspond with the amounts set down and signed in the Ledger, and in the Acquittance Roll.

Finally, although every one of the requirements we have detailed may have been satisfactorily fulfilled, and even though months may have gone by, the captain is still liable to be called to account by the general officer of the District, if in one of his regular or extraordinary inspections of the Regiment in its domestic economy, as well as in its field-efficiency, he should on examining, as he always does to a greater or less extent, the companies' books, he chance to light upon any statement which does not appear to him clear or accurately made out, or any discrepancy between the figures or sums in the Ledger set down for, or against a soldier, and the sums similarly set down for, or against him in his own "small book." These "small books," as they are usually denominated, are often called for during the progress of the "inspections," we have spoken of; and on the soldier producing them, the captain is on the spot required to show the corresponding amount in his "Ledger." Questions too are put in each mess to the privates themselves by the General, as to the qua-

lity, quantity and price of the provisions they are usually served with, and the pay serjeant, and through him the captain, is brought to book, if there appear any just ground of complaint in these particulars on the part of the men.

We have been thus minute in details, in order that what there is of good in the existing system of treatment of the soldier should be fairly stated, as well as what there is of defective and bad. But we by no means intend, or have dreamt of intending to excuse, or in any way to extenuate what there is of bad in the system on account of that good. All of the latter could be preserved intact, if the system were changed, no matter how widely in other respects; and no matter how amended in those respects, as amended it surely must be as to them by any change at all.

What change should there be in the soldier's condition and treatment? The first answer we anticipate at once: it being that which has become the trite and hackneyed remedy proposed on all occasions when the soldier is the subject of popular discussion. That answer is,—open the way to promotion from the ranks.

This point is one of no common interest at the present moment, not merely as it might effect the condition, character and tone of our army in the Crimea, and generally the welfare of our Military Force, but also in its bearing upon and connexion with, the state of our social arrangements at home.

It appears to us idle to think that any considerable change in respect to the officering of our armies could be carried out, or could work without a corresponding, or very speedily consecutive change in what may be called the officering of civil society. In other words, if what is by an exaggeration of terms and facts now called the aristocratic constitution of the military establishment of these countries be reversed, or upset, our social arrangements in civil life cannot very long remain as they are; a change in the latter would naturally, or by coercion follow a change in the first, owing to the precedent and example given, and the strong tendency there is in the English public mind at present in the direction of revolution.

We have used the word "exaggeration," in speaking of the application of the term, "aristocratic," in an invidious sense, to the actual state of things as regards the officering of our troops. No doubt there has been much favoritism, and a very large, nay exceeding, proportion of the prizes of the mili-

tary profession have been awarded to the high-born of the country, to the great and unjust detriment of the well deserving plebeian. But the practice even at its worst was not by any means so bad as stated, and it has become, and is every day more and more being altered and amended. That it should still be popularly reputed to subsist in all its flagrancy, is simply owing to the serious defect in our military system consisting in the want of sufficient intercourse with, and knowledge of the men under their command, on the part of the regimental officers of the British Army. Officers are practically discouraged from such intercourse, and what is rightly attributable to the effect of custom and precedent, coupled with the naturally reserved and constrained manner of Englishmen, is wrongly set down to be the result of overweening pride of birth. We would freely gage that if an examination were possible, into the relations subsisting between officers and men throughout the British Army, this result would come out, viz. that the officers least conversant with the dispositions, tempers, &c. &c. of the men under their command would be found to be for by far the major part, scions, not of the high aristocratic families of the land, but sons of wealthy and successful tradesmen, merchants, manufacturers, and to a lesser, but still a large extent, sons of persons moving in circles of society of even less aristocratic rank.

The system itself is the first, as it is the greatest sinner in these respects; and its manifestations are the source of much wonder and comment to foreigners. It was but the other day that one of the first Piedmontese bulletins after the landing in the Crimea of the Sardinian contingent, thus noticed the fact we are alluding to:—

“The officers of the English troops are a fine set of men, and lead on their troops admirably when the hour of battle comes. But it surprises us to see that at all other times, when duty does not absolutely require their presence, they are absent from them, and never mix with them so as to know and understand their men as our officers do, and also those of the French army. They leave altogether to the care of the non-commissioned officers, who in fact are the real working men of the Regiments to which they respectively belong.”

All this is quite true speaking generally, and of the British officers on an average. There are many and marked exceptions most undoubtedly, but exceptions they also most undoubtedly

are. We have in a former article referred to this subject treated of with great knowledge of, and evident experience upon it, as well as with no little graphic power, by a writer in *Frazer's Magazine*, number for April last; and therefore need not go into details upon it at present. But it is the result of national habits and manners. There is quite the same distance and want of intimacy between the corresponding classes in civil life in these countries, namely, the private gentleman and the labourer or artizan, and there is also exactly the same contrast between foreign countries and these countries in those respects. And the British soldier generally speaking, would not appreciate any very great change of treatment, but judging from precedent, wherever the experiment has been tried in civil life, would abuse and presume upon it. It will not be accounted any wanton, or unfair and ungenerous disparagement of the British soldiers properly so called, that is to say of the soldier natives of Great Britain in exclusion of those born in Ireland, if we say that at least with them the result last mentioned would be certain to arrive. Their own writers and even their panegyrists confess a thousand times over that "John Bull" and "Sawnie" are uncouth animals enough in grain, and in the uncultivated specimen; while "Pat" has much of native and original courtesy and deference to others: meanwhile every person that has travelled through foreign countries, especially France, must have remarked the absolute familiarity between superiors and inferiors, both in military and civil life, which subsists there without any injury to discipline in the first, or any essential want or diminution of respect and due observance of ranks and duties in both. Until then we change the nature of the British soldier and seaman, the distance between them and their officers must be studiously maintained, without reference to the practice and custom of other nations.

At the same time we are by no means to be understood as denying that there may be much improvement in the relations between officer and soldier in our service. No doubt of it there is often, very often, a most blameable hauteur of manner and bearing, and a really culpable indifference, or either of them, on the part of the officer, with its necessary consequence, a want of confidence in and regard for him on the part of the soldier. But if it were generally made known that an officer's claim to promotion would be much advanced, or retarded

according as his company was found not only to be efficient in the field, but clean, orderly, and above all contented and well conducted in quarters, we should immediately see a much more frequent hurrying of officers across the Barrack square from the ante-room to their companies' rooms, and a much less amount of "crimes" to be disposed of in the morning by the commanding officer in his high and dreaded tribunal of the orderly room.

With this inevitable distance between the lower and higher ranks of the military hierarchy, and the consequently unabated difference of ideas, degrees of instruction and habits of thought and action, promotion from the former to the latter is an experiment at all times doubtful in its consequences, and generally far more an inconvenience if not an injury to the individual, than a benefit or boon. Becoming an officer and a gentleman he finds himself cut off from all his former associates and kindred spirits, thrown into the society of those to whom he has for years been taught and *drilled* to look up to with the extremest deference and no little dread, and called upon all of a sudden to look upon them only as his equals in social rank, and to conduct himself towards them as such: their degrees of education and general information, limited as their attainments might appear to men of real education, yet seem to him of a standard far above anything to which he could ever hope to reach.

There is to be sure another proposition sometimes put forward pretentiously enough, as a kind of middle course between the system actually prevailing, and that we have just been discussing. This "*tertium quid*," so far as it has been stated in anything like clear language, appears to be embodied in the following form of suggestion:—"Invite young men of the educated classes to enter the ranks of the army, by holding out to them the prospect of early promotion to the position of commissioned officer, with fair hope and prospect of further advancement according to merit and service after they shall have reached that grade."

This proposal if examined into will be found to be little more than the former plan a little varied. It would be simply impossible to obtain young men of education in sufficient numbers, even in time of peace, to fill the ranks of our army, or indeed to supply a large proportion of its strength. Commerce and manufactures open up too many more profitable roads through life for the instructed youth of Great Britain,

to leave much chance that any considerable number of them would seek the often hard and always scantily paid occupation of a military officer. In Ireland indeed, where commerce and manufactures can hardly be said to exist, and where the natural bent of the people is decidedly martial, numbers might be got, but the guilty conscience of England makes her afraid of seeing Ireland in arms.

If then the supply of young men of a certain degree of education and natural and acquired fitness for promotion to the grade of officer, would not meet the demand in times of peace for the preliminary grade through which they should pass, that of private soldier, it is of course unnecessary to dwell upon the extent of the deficiency in time of war. This deficiency in war or peace should be met as it could only be met, by enlistment of men from the humbler classes of society, and as they would form the vastly preponderating bulk of the army, it will be seen that all the difficulties and objections before noticed to the suggestion of promotion from the ranks as at present constituted, would inevitably apply.

We have said more than once in words more or less direct, that useful and vitally necessary as the soldiery of Ireland have been, are, and every succeeding day more and more become, to England, she relishes little the necessity, and tries every expedient to avoid banding them together in any noticeable numbers. We have alluded to their hitherto entire exclusion from Her Majesty's Household Troops, and to the kind of back door for their admission that has been at length most reluctantly and from its circumstances most absurdly, opened to them, now that Great Britain can no longer supply the requisite number of full-sized men. But as a matter of speculation, and, (in the doubtful future contingencies of the war,) of possible realization, we may consider for a few moments what might be done in Ireland, if national jealousies and antipathies could be put in abeyance for a time.

The constabulary force of Ireland is and has been for years the constant theme of eulogy and admiration on the part of every person of whatever position, or country, who has written or spoken about Ireland; whether as writers of travels, official reporters, commissioners, members of Parliament, &c. &c. Its average strength is about 10,000 men; but at various periods that number has been exceeded, and not only the additional men easily found, but at all times the standing number has been

easily recruited. When we take into consideration that no man in this fine corps is under five feet eight inches in height, and the great majority are from five feet ten inches to over six feet—while the *present* standard for the *guards* is five feet six, and the latter with difficulty supplied, as we have had occasion and means of knowing, it will be at once evident to our readers, that the five or six thousand men to which amount even the present excessive war-complement has at the utmost raised the roll of the three regiments of foot guards, could easily be supplied from Ireland.

A French Officer, bred in the mighty school of Napoleon the First, and at a later date as at present in a well earned position of consequence in that fine corps, the Gendarmerie of France, who wrote a brief, soldierlike account of his tour in Ireland a few years ago, thus speaks of the Irish Constabulary—

“Le corps chargé de la Police de l’Irlande, quoique pas militaire, tient pourtant par la subordination hiérarchique, par la tenue militaire par les formes extérieures, à l’armée ; . . . il sait l’exercice du maniement d’armes et les manœuvres à pied et à cheval, qu’il exécute très bien. . . . Cette Police se recrute dans les gens du peuple d’une certaine condition, d’une moralité reconnue il est exigé qu’on sache lire et écrire, âgé de dix huit à trente ans, pas au delà ; la taille est celle de la gendarmerie Française. . . .

Le service de surveillance est remarquablement bien fait ; la police se multiplie. . . . Ils marchent par deux, ont l’air calme, froid et silencieux. . . . On distingue une tenue parfaite, air martial, etc. etc. . . .

Cette corporation imposante, qu’on ne peut appeler *troupe*, attendu qu’elle n’est pas militaire, est fortement constituée ; discipline sévère, conduite parfaite, défense absolue de paraître dans les auberges, sobre de paroles, rigueur euse dans l’exécution de la consigne, maniant les armes avec énergique précision, attitude fière et froide, rehaussée d’une très bonne tenue, toute concourt à lui assurer le succès de sa mission.

Voyage en Irlande en 1846 et 1847.

peu Edouard Dechy, Officier Commandant la  
Gendarmerie de l’arrondissement de Rambouillet :  
Paris, 1847.”

Now in no invidious spirit, but as a just and necessary vindication of our humbler fellow country-men from the slur tacitly attempted to be thrown upon them by their exclusion hitherto from the favored corps, the Body Guard of their Sovereign,—Queen of Ireland as well as of England—let us recall for a moment what sort of character the guard have borne in London, where they are mainly and almost exclusively

quartered, and contrast it with the description given by this foreigner, of that larger force of the Irish Constabulary. The frequent records of the London Police Courts, attest that in every street brawl of any note, a guardsman was to be found—and there is a certain offence, that of extorting money by threats of an unmentionable and most revolting accusation, which was almost peculiarly a practice of these chosen and petted soldiers. We record this in no triumph, and in no bitter spirit, but in sadness, a feeling that every true well wisher to the Empire must share with us, on contemplating so plain a proof of the anti-Irish bias that exists in England, and the lengths to which it must have gone, when the admirably conducted, and physically as well as morally most desirable recruits, that with proper inducements, could have been got from Ireland, were, until the necessities of the war had begun to grow heavy, not only not sought for, but absolutely rejected by the authorities.

It is not, however, our wish nor our intention to dilate upon so invidious and unpleasant a theme as this comparison : some allusion to it could not be avoided, if only in justice to our own countrymen, upon whom the slur and ban of exclusion from the honorable position of immediately guarding their Sovereign, was so undeservedly, and until lately so perseveringly inflicted. But to dwell further on this point would be worse than unnecessary.

That Ireland has well and stoutly done her part towards maintaining the honor of the Empire in the present tremendous struggle,—that she has lavishly poured out her children's blood,—that in fact, the major part of the forces of England in the Crimea are Irish, is abundantly and lamentably testified by the returns *nomination* of killed and wounded : singular to say, they form nearly the only record that is given to the public, of the gallantry, nay of the presence of Irishmen in the Crimea ! In all other respects a perfect, and perhaps not altogether unaccountable silence prevails. The guards, the heroes of London streets ; and the Highlanders, the heroes of novel and romance, with some few favored English regiments of the line, chiefly noted as being peculiarly English, come in for mention and praise in the accounts from the seat of war ; but an Irish regiment never, save when an absolute impossibility exists of avoiding mention of it : as a striking and the most recent instance of this, we need but allude to the suppression, in the



published accounts of the desperate and most bloody affair of the 18th of June, of the fact that the English troops who actually penetrated into the suburbs of Sebastopol, and maintained themselves there for nearly an entire day, until the blunders and failures of the intended supports and reserves compelled a retreat, were no other than our gallant fellow countrymen of the 18th Royal Irish.

Taking quite at random from the melancholy lists of killed and wounded, that are now unhappily so frequent in our newspapers, we find some such accounts as these—a fair average specimen of the whole. The names indisputably Irish, are in Italics, but of those not marked it is probable that many are of the same nation, bearing in mind what a number of apparently pure English names are to be met with amongst the peasantry not only of our Eastern Counties; but even in the far West of Ireland.

**Nominal return of Non-Commissioned Officers and Privates Killed, from August 3 to 5, inclusive:—**1st Battalion 1st Foot: Lance-Corporal *Michael Horan*. 77th: Private *Wm. Connelly*. 1st Battalion Rifle Brigade: Private *John Delaney*. 3d Battalion Grenadier Guards: Private *Thomas Miller*. 1st Battalion Scots Fusilier Guards: Private *Daniel Thompson*. 31st: Colour-Sergeant *Thomas Behan*; Private *Henry Oaten*. 38th: Sergeant *R. M'Ghee*. 19th: Private *George Moore*. 33rd: Private *Edward Ryan*. 46th: Private *Michael Spencer*. 95th: Sergeant *Maurice M'Grath*.

**Nominal Return of Non-Commissioned Officers and Privates Wounded, from August 3 to 5, inclusive:—**1st Battalion 1st Foot: Privates *Thomas Servill*, dangerously; *George Reeves*, severely; *James Matthews*, slightly. 17th Foot: Private *Wm. Dowdall*, slightly. 23d: Privates *John Fowler*, severely; *David Richardson*, dangerously. 50th: Sergeant *James Stevenson*, severely. 89th: Private *George Clarke*, slightly. 1st Battalion Rifle Brigade: Privates *Wm. Russell*, severely; *Wm. Davies*, slightly. 3d Battalion Grenadier Guards: Privates *John Pullen* and *Wm. Holyrood*, severely; *George Withall* and *Charles Shepperd*, slightly. 1st Battalion Scots Fusilier Guards: Private *Thomas Burns*, slightly. 1st Battalion 1st Foot: Private *Charles Nicholas* and *Wm. Salisbury*, slightly. 18th: Privates *James Cautlin*, severely; *John Stanley*, *Thos. Medhurst*, and *Daniel O'Connell*, slightly. 21st: Lance-Corporal *George Edwin*, severely. 31st: Sergeant *James Forrest*, slightly; Corporal *Wm. Roberts*, slightly; Private *Jas. Weir*, severely; *Edw. Leeson*, *Wm. Critchely*, *Thos. Cardell*, *Michael Sheridan*, *John Weekly*, and *Henry Walton*, slightly. 41st: Corporals *John Creedon* and *Martin O'Dea*, slightly. Privates *G. P. Gee* and *Wm. Mannix*, severely. 42d: Lance Corporal *Robert Ingram*, severely. 44th: Private *James Duggan*, slightly. 47th: Private *James Anderson*, slightly. 55th: Sergeants *Robert Mc Garry*,

*Patrick Callaghan*, and lance Sergeant Benjamin Holdick, slightly; Corporal *Daniel Tierney* and Privates *Jeremiah Leary*, severely; *Wm. Mortile*, *Wm. Hanley*, *Wm. Dagan*, *Edward Bloomfield*, *Thomas Steadman*, *Thomas Graham*. *Thomas O'Reilly*, *Henry Adams*, *James McCann*, *John Cronan*, *Wm. Mara*, *Michael Conway*, and *John Cain*, slightly. 62d: Private *James Strangford*, dangerously. 63d: Privates *Richard Caffrey*, *Francis Lakey*, and *Richard Muleahey*, slightly. 72d: Lance Sergeant *John McGilroy*, slightly; Privates *John Campbell*, severely; *Hugh McKee*, dangerously. 79th: Privates *Robert Rea*, slightly; *John Urquhart*, dangerously. 89th: Corporal *Matthew Burke*, dangerously. 95th: Private *James Swan*, slightly.

AUG 5.—3d Foot; Sergeant *Thomas Creaven*; Privates *Thomas Milton*, and *Duncan McCrea*, slightly. 7th Foot: Privates *James Johnson*, *Henry Birch*, and *William Clements*, slightly. 17th Foot: Private *Michael Walsh*, slightly. 23d: Private *Levi Ball*, slightly. 30th: Private *Matthew Long*, slightly. 31st: Private *Joseph Rennox*, slightly. 33d: Private *Denis Ryan*, mortally; *Patrick Brazel*, and *Thomas Walker*, dangerously. 34th: Private *James Thompson*, slightly. 38th: Privates *Joseph Linnahan* and *Patk. Mayle*, slightly. 44th: Private *John Leahy*, severely. 77th: Private *Wm. Carr*, slightly. 90th: Private *Joseph Crowley*, slightly. 95th: Privates *George Shearman*, dangerously; *John Smith*, slightly. 2d Battalion Rifle Brigade: Private *Thomas Hathaway*, slightly.

Nominal return of Non-commissioned Officers and Privates Wounded, from August 6 to August 9, inclusive:—4th Foot—Sergeant *Michael McLeod* and Private *Peter McArragher*, slightly. 7th—Private *Edward Byrne*, severely. 14th—Private *James Beattie*, slightly. 17th—Private *John Kearns*, severely. 18th—Private, *Thomas McMahon*, severely. 19th—Private *Joseph Holyoake*, severely. 34th—Private *Thomas White*, severely. 46th—Private *Joseph Papworth*, slightly. 68th—Privates *Wm. Gorry*, severely; *James Delany* and *Thos. Wyatt*, slightly. 1st Battalion Rifle Brigade—Privates *Cornelius Cleus*, dangerously; *Peter McDonnell* and *Robert Matthews*, slightly. 2d Battalion Rifle Brigade—Private *John Green*, slightly. Royal Artillery—Corporal *Robert Taylor*, severely; Gunner *W. Collins*, slightly. 1st Battalion Coldstream Guards—Privates *John Hartlane*, *John Doherty*, *William Smith*, and *John Russell*, severely; *William Andrew*, slightly; *James Alexander*, and *David Thompson*, dangerously. 2d Battalion 1st Foot—Private *James Larkey*, severely. 4th—Sergeant *John Hodgkin*, severely; Private *Samuel Stevens*, slightly. 31st—Privates *Henry Paris* and *Richard Cooke*, slightly. 42d—Privates *Donald McDonald*, *James Logan*, and *John Fornby*, slightly. *Duncan McDougall*, *Festus Hennua*, and *Neil McNeil*, severely. 48th—Sergeant *Michael Kennedy* and Private *H. McManus*, severely. 17th—Lance Corporal *John Fowler*, severely. 19th—Privates *Fred. Osborne*, mortally; *David Cooper*, slightly; *Michael Lyden*, severely. 33d Foot—Private *James Smith*, slightly. 41st—Privates *Thomas Bolter* and *Joseph Wilton*, dangerously; *James Pace* and

Alfred Reed, severely; Michael Richardson, John Bannister and Richard Dunnigan, slightly. 46th—Private *George Pullen*, severely. 49th—Privates *James Lennon*, severely; *Peter Reilly* and *James Handlin*, slightly. 57th—Private *Richard Keefe*, severely. 63d—Private *Hugh Godwin*, slightly. 77th—Lance Corporal *Ben Hands*, severely; Privates *Peter McCabe* and *George Barber* slightly. 88th—Privates *Samuel Provens*, severely; *Patrick Hurtney*, slightly. 90th—Privates *Patrick Burke*, *Matthew Elvin* and *Wm. Pearce*, severely; *John Hines*, slightly; and *Jas. Coonan*, dangerously. 97th—Privates *Wm. Philips*, *Henry M'Allister*, and *Jas. Ratcliffe*, slightly.

We are sensible that in giving the foregoing lists, and commenting upon them, we have been straying somewhat from the direct course of our subject. But all those who have felt, as every Irishman worthy of the name must have felt, that the gallantry of our countrymen in the Crimea has not been permitted to be known in England, and thus that a crying injustice is done to them, will excuse the brief digression into which we were betrayed by our anxiety to draw attention to the only record within our power to obtain—one that is painful, indeed, to peruse, but most honorable to our country, and established in its facts beyond the power of the most ingenious and artful disputant to controvert.

If a separate military force were to be constituted for Ireland, without any connexion or admixture with the military force of Great Britain, we should not hesitate to chime in with the loud-tongued advocates of the system of promotion from the ranks; as we believe that quite as good a class of men, nay, even a better, could be induced to enter, if assured of as good pay, &c. &c., as the Irish Constabulary, to which we have before made reference. But, as we have already stated, such a recruitment would be most difficult in England and Scotland, and as the idea of a separate military establishment for any one of the three countries is absolutely impracticable, and not for one moment admissible, the fine theory of opening the way to the soldier to rise to the higher grades of his profession, loses its last support, and utterly falls to the ground.

What then is to be done? To this despairing question of the disappointed theorist we reply at once—simply improve the condition of the soldier in the points that come home to his every-day existence and ordinary habits of life. Apply the commonest principles that regulate demand and supply in the ordinary concerns and businesses of existence to his case. As his value has risen in the market, let his price rise also and you

will secure a good article. Increase then the bounty, and, as we have in a paper in last REVIEW recommended, let that bounty be paid to him either all at once, or in larger and more rapidly succeeding instalments than at present.

Upon this latter point we cannot too much insist. We never yet heard an officer of any experience allude to this topic without concurring in the one opinion, that the present system, with regard to the bounty, is little better than a *swindle*, and breeds a discontent exceedingly injurious to the prospects of further recruitment.

After the question of the bounty to the private on first entering the service, come those of his pay while in it, the rewards given him from time to time during service, and finally those which are promised to him at its termination. As to his pay while serving, a step has been recently taken which is certainly in the right direction, although as yet on too limited a scale. We allude to the recent provision made for additional pay to men serving in the Crimea, with power and facilities to allot it to the support of their wives and families at home. But this boon is restricted to men actually in the field; and it is further limited by being denied to men in hospital, whether from wounds or disease, although they have just been brought in from the presence of the enemy.

After five years' service, provided the soldier has managed for at least two years of that period to keep himself out of the "Regimental Defaulter's Book"—i.e., the record of grave offences against discipline, &c., &c., he may be granted what is called Good Conduct pay, of an extra penny a day. After ten years' service 2d., and after fifteen years' service 3d.—with, as before, the condition of not being in the "Defaulter's Book" of the Regiment. This inducement to good conduct is not only small in itself, but has the additional disadvantage of being most precarious, as a chance absence for a few hours without leave, or an appearance of being affected by liquor, in the judgment of, perhaps, a rough and surly non-commissioned officer—or other casual offence, may at once cause the soldier to be deprived of his Good Conduct pay even after fifteen years of careful self-government and watching.

The moral then of our paper is—be more generous to the Soldier, and, depend on it, in the day of battle he will remember it, and pay the boon with his best blood!

## ART. VI.—ALISON AND HISTORY.

*History of Europe from the Fall of Napoleon in 1815, to the Accession of Louis Napoleon in 1852. By Sir Archibald Alison, Bart. D.C.L. Author of the "History of Europe from the commencement of the French Revolution in 1789, to the Battle of Waterloo," &c., &c. Vol. IV. William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London, 1855.*

Notwithstanding our loyalty to imperial interests, there is a something provincial, whether in our position or ourselves, that occasionally collects the vagabond fervours of our patriotism into a focus; and thus it is that amidst the grandeur of a book that purports to be the History of Europe, we confess to the littleness of being attracted most strongly to what concerns Ireland.—Here, as in many other instances, we are indebted to our fellow subjects in North Britain, for an application to Irish questions, sufficient in degree and remarkable in kind. For kidnapping our saints, or larceny of our music, for wriggling into our places, or taking away our character, the northern genius is without a rival, and it is beautiful to see the national capacity dilate or contract to the exact requirements of the national greed—

What the de'il mon, a pasty, re-echoed the Scot,  
Tho' splittin' I'll still keep a corner for thot.

And a tolerably spacious corner Sir Archibald Alison has kept for Ireland, in the portion of his history before us, which covers the eventful years from 1825 to 1832. Indeed if we take Ireland to represent the venison (she is admittedly game of some sort or other), not only the haunch, but the entire animal, horns included, would seem to have been worked up into Sir Archibald's pasty. Underneath its prodigious crust he mashed and macerated the politics small and great of the island we live in, be-policed amongst all the islands of articulately-speaking men; and we have a final disposal of the Irish question, that question whose difficulties we once thought might abash the self-conceit of the most self-sufficient Scot alive, and which still continues to be the heart-break of every government, that will or will not deal with its complications—Sir

Archibald, however, thinks otherwise—differences of views, penal laws, agitation in general, emancipation, tithe riots, whiteboyism, orangeism, romanism, anglicanism, repeal and rebellion are bolted without any straining or unusual play of muscle that we can discern. Contrary to the habits of the python family, Sir Archibald does not condescend to lubricate his victim, nor is there a solitary application of the blarney that so commonly precedes the severe things it is fashionable to say of Ireland.

To the extent of this last feature in the History, we have reason to be grateful to Sir Archibald Alison for not conforming to the vulgar notion of what is due to Ireland, a notion the Irish themselves have fatally encouraged. A tag of green, a sprig of shamrock and a mouthful of sentiment, have hitherto wrought like a spell upon the confidence of Ireland, as if a mean heart became more generous for being overlaid with clover, though perhaps "it lurked beneath a star," nay though the owner were a king or a viceroy, or what is more to our purpose a book-seller or a book-seller's man. Sir Archibald Alison, whatever be his faults, is honorably distinguished from that class of people, a nuisance everywhere, but more than usually noxious here. You meet them rancid with the oil of smoothness, and oozing the milk of kindness in a way to be detected by the naked eye; you give them credit for fairness and friendliness on their asking; and you are rewarded with a few trashy and malevolent sheets, juggled into the dimensions of a book, such as Head or Trollope only can produce, emblazoned with the national emblems, and bound according to invariable precedent in cloth of the national colour, a graceful tribute to the verdure of the Island, but severely allusive to the like quality in the inhabitants.

Once down we may suppose the meal, substantial as it is, to sit lightly upon the stomach of so mighty a feaster. Its angularities are quickly trituated by the action of that organ, the angry and hostile anomalies that bristled on its surface and all pointed in different directions, assume a symmetry and homogeneity difficult to conceive, and under the same process which converted Grattan into the sternest supporter of the union, Martin Luther ought to become the champion of the papacy against the assaults of Ignatius of Loyola.

Sir Archibald Alison is, for aught we know, a perfectly well-meaning writer, his simplicity is an argument of his ear-

neatness, and the strongest evidence that he has no wish to impose upon the reader, is the positive certainty that he has been imposed upon himself. The fallacies whether of fact or of opinion with which the works of Alison abound, are some of them so extravagant and we may add, so unmeaning, as to repel at once any presumption of culpability on the part of the author. It is their merit to reduce him from the bad eminence of a falsifier to the obscure, but safe level of a simpleton; to change at a touch his guile into innocence, and while withdrawing him from the class of those that are supposed to have more especial need of good memory, to confound him with those when memory is notoriously not good, or if good, ill furnished, though perhaps overstocked. Nor are the peculiarities of his style of the precise kind to create or strengthen impressions unfavourable to his candour. He has unquestionably a certain amplitude of manner, a stately roll of phrase, a full and regulated cadence, and above all a quiet self-possession that might be used and with effect to disarm suspicion. He certainly does disguise the base metal of his logic in an endless coil of glittering sentence, but we do not say that concealment is his object,—dishonest writers have a rather different style of tactics. They usually attempt a skilful adjustment of difficulties, some historical sleight of hand, and a little delicate dressing of facts. A few venial infirmitics of memory, and a few ornamental touches of invention, are always a resource. Their manner is elaborately negligent and cautiously off hand, their opinions bold and direct, but of a composed assurance. They play off at the right moment, the various little artifices that go to make up the sharp practice of rhetoric. Sometimes they affect the "style coupé," and pull up their paradoxes so sharply, as almost to throw them on their haunches; their paragraphs bristle with epigram, antithesis nods to antithesis, dogmatism and sophistry kiss; at other times their progress is slow and circumspect, they try no dangerous experiments with facts or dates, but rely upon the effect of an undistributed middle, a suppressed premise or an "ignoratio elenchi" slipped in with the most unwitting simplicity. Sir Archibald Alison, we must do him the justice to say, is the reverse of all this. He has written as many crudities in his own particular province, as perhaps any man living; but with a vigorous and unquestioning faith in his facts and theories such as we have rarely witnessed. His pictures are often ani-

mated and life like, but we can never affirm they represent a real occurrence; his events are well told, and his inferences are cleverly deduced, but we are painfully conscious that we have to do with the tattle of clubs, with the round numbers and loose facts that float upon old port, when old fellows discuss it in easy chairs indicative of light labours, with none to enlighten because there are none to contradict.

It will be found quite impossible to relieve Sir Archibald Alison from all imputation on the score of honesty, without some prejudice to his character for judgment, information or capacity—perhaps it would be more correct to say, that all three are compromised, and that from the peculiar mould of his ideas, they never could shape a judgment according to the very right of the subject; while even were his capability unquestioned, his industry or his indolence, take it as you please, have left him without materials for the formation of an opinion. For some facts, no doubt, he produces a formidable, not to say a bewildering array of authorities, but we cannot help thinking he has devolved a good deal of his reading upon assistants and compiled from their notes with less discretion than simplicity. It would otherwise be difficult to account for the quantity of unauthentic small-talk, he has had the gravity to adopt and circulate as facts—His errors are not casual lapses, still less are they studied misrepresentation to make up for, as well as to disguise which, we might have a studied accuracy elsewhere; they are blunders of the broadest description, indicating a desultory habit of study, and slovenly course of enquiry, such as a designing writer cannot afford, and few honest writers will allow themselves—Sir Archibald Alison certainly has a charm of style which it would be equally unfair and hopeless to deny him, and we are far from saying that all his facts are fictions, or at best distortions. We cannot withhold from him the praise of some noble, and in our humble judgment, far-seeing conclusions. He carries our sympathies with him more than once, but we are too modest to claim that for him as a merit anywhere outside our private jurisdiction; especially when in the eyes of many, it would constitute his peculiar perhaps his sole defect: and it certainly is to our regret, as it must be to that of many more, that a writer so well qualified to please, should have so ill qualified himself to instruct. You cannot read history with any degree of satisfaction, unless you can venture to put faith in the industry, sagacity and accuracy of the historian, without of course



exacting or expecting that faithfulness in every minute particular that would make him absolutely infallible. Alison's "History of Europe" is a field pleasant to look upon, and soft to tread; carpeted with young green, and overarched with smiling blue; fenced in by sheltry hedgerows, gay with spring flowers, and glittering with dew,—but what if beset with man-traps and spring-guns? You have an abiding sense of insecurity in reading this work of Sir Archibald, that very much diminishes your pleasure, and altogether destroys your faith. You can afford nothing better than a provisional credit to whatever you do not know already, you are obliged to question every authority and ascertain every fact from independent sources, you must take your soundings from minute to minute—else if you escape the Grattan sands, you are sure to be caught in the O'Connell breakers, or impinge on the "infames scopuli" of Reform. A troublesome navigation certainly until the first explorers shall have drawn the chart, and the rocks and shoals get catalogued.

After all, in respect of Ireland at least, the fault lies more in the quantity than in the quality of the blundering—Ignorance of Irish history and Irish politics, would expose Sir Archibald Alison to no particular censure: in fact it is rather questionable, whether a more intimate acquaintance with these matters, than he exhibits, would be in good taste, or shew anything like thorough breeding in a British statesman or historian. But why knowing so little has he said so much?—It is conceivable that Ireland, obscure, provincial, out of the way, anomalous, enigmatical, ragged, famine-stricken, should be little known or studied, but Sir Archibald by devoting so large a space to the discussion of Irish history, rightly or wrongly affirmed the importance of its bearing upon the history of the Empire, and thus placed his own ignorance in a point of view entirely of his own choosing. The mis-statements and contradictions to which we shall require to refer, have like every other Irish question, a religious as well as a political aspect, and of course we shall find it difficult to escape the imputation of a leaning one way or the other; but it certainly is our wish to take position upon neutral ground, and, divesting ourselves so far as possible of our opinions which are of average strength, and our prejudices from which it may be supposed we are not exempt, to examine the dry question of fact with becoming dryness; and if a theory, however painfully or ingeniously contrived, fail, as it often must by the withdrawal

of the least important looking fragment of the structure, the fault lies assuredly not with us, but with the architect who had his choice of materials, and chose ill or allowed others to choose for him, as we have ventured to insinuate has been done by our author.

Before touching on any of his theories of Irish distress, or Irish prosperity, it might be as well to examine first a couple of the facts on which he founds his reasoning, and we fix upon two in particular, as unusually easy of ascertainment, both from date and character. The supposed facts ranging between the years 1846 and 1855, have reference to figures merely, and to figures where there can be no excuse for bulking, or approximative calculations. As a Protestant, Sir Archibald Alison has naturally a preference for whatever he understands by Protestantism, for its purifying, elevating, and generally for its civilizing influences; as a Briton he has an equally natural preference for his only blood; and an equally exalted opinion of the indefinite perfectibility of the Anglo-Saxon, and more especially of the Scottish race. He might perhaps, as a matter of private opinion, incline to the adoption of some such comprehensive measure in dealing with the Irish as was resorted to against the Acadians, and avail himself of the facilities afforded by steam transport for shipping the entire Celtic race to Cape Horn, Sierra Leone, or some equally genial and inviting region. Failing that however, he cannot but rejoice in the somewhat more gradual, but equally certain and less odious, because to some extent voluntary extermination of the Celts and their religion. He is not of course master of his likings, nor is he responsible to us for his opinions, however extreme; but we think it would be, hardly respectful towards any other than an English public to ask it to believe the table-talk contained in the following paragraphs.

"Immense beyond all precedent have been the consequences of these changes, but upon none have they fallen with such force and severity as upon the agitators and Catholics of Ireland. From a statistical paper recently published by the Census Commissioners of Dublin, it appears that the population of the island, which in 1846—the year of the famine, and when Free Trade was introduced—had been 8,386,940, had sunk in 1851 to 6,551,970; and as the emigration from the island has been about 250,000 a-year, it cannot now (1854) exceed 6,000,000.\* At least two millions and a half of

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\* A return has been issued from the Census Office in Dublin, showing the population of Ireland from the year 1805 to 1851, both

persons have disappeared from Ireland during ten years, and of these *above two millions are Roman Catholics*. The consequence is, that the disproportion between the Protestants and Catholics has disappeared; already it is doubtful whether they are not equal in number; at the next census they certainly will be so. The priests in the country have already sunk to one-half their former number—they have declined from nearly 5000 to 2600. At the same time the embarrassments of the landed proprietors, arising from the depression of agriculture, consequent upon Free Trade and the fall in the value of rural produce, have come to such a climax that a rigorous measure became indispensable. The land was in great part wrested from the old insolvent proprietors, and the sales of the Encumbered Estates Commission have transferred it to Saxon wealth nearly as generally as the Celtic exodus has consigned its cultivation to the direction of Saxon hands.

These changes, which have come on so suddenly that we are scarcely able even now to appreciate their full effects, have already produced a visible and most salutary change on the condition of the whole empire. Ireland has ceased to be, what for about a century past it had been, a thorn in the side of England, a source of weakness instead of strength to the United Kingdom. It is no longer necessary to retain thirty thousand soldiers in the country to keep down its inhabitants. The barracks are empty, or tenanted only by the police—monster meetings are unknown—the undiminished

inclusive, as far as the same could be ascertained from various sources. The result is thus set forth:—

Year.	Population.	Year.	Population.
1805, . . .	5,395,456	1829, . . .	7,563,898
1806, . . .	5,460,447	1830, . . .	7,664,974
1807, . . .	5,526,224	1831, . . .	7,767,401
1808, . . .	5,592,792	1832, . . .	7,867,241
1809, . . .	5,660,162	1833, . . .	7,947,285
1810, . . .	5,728,343	1834, . . .	7,887,534
1811, . . .	5,797,347	1835, . . .	7,927,989
1812, . . .	5,867,181	1836, . . .	7,968,655
1813, . . .	5,937,856	1837, . . .	8,009,527
1814, . . .	6,009,544	1838, . . .	8,050,609
1815, . . .	6,142,972	1839, . . .	8,091,902
1816, . . .	6,248,174	1840, . . .	8,133,408
1817, . . .	6,355,177	1841, . . .	8,173,124
1818, . . .	6,464,013	1842, . . .	8,217,055
1819, . . .	6,574,712	1843, . . .	8,259,260
1820, . . .	6,687,366	1844, . . .	8,301,563
1821, . . .	6,801,827	1845, . . .	8,344,142
1822, . . .	6,892,719	1846, . . .	8,386,940
1823, . . .	6,984,826	1847, . . .	—
1824, . . .	7,078,164	1848, . . .	—
1825, . . .	7,172,748	1849, . . .	—
1826, . . .	7,268,598	1850, . . .	—
1827, . . .	7,365,729	1851, . . .	6,551,970
1828, . . .	7,464,156	Census Rep., Aug. 6, 1854, Dublin.	

strength of the empire can be sent to the Baltic or the Euxine. Agitation has disappeared—the repeal of the Union is no longer heard of—all thoughts and desires are turned to the promised land on the other side of the Atlantic. England was punished, and justly punished, for her religious intolerance and political selfishness by a century of vexation and weakness, consequent on the connection with Ireland—she is now reaping the reward of a more generous policy, and a great act of justice, in the comparative comfort of that connection, and the dawn of prosperity visible in the sister isle. But it is not to the gratitude or loyalty of those to whom this act of justice was done that she is indebted for this blessed consummation; she owes it to their ingratitude and blind submission to a foreign potentate, which, by depriving the Catholics of the remuneration for their industry, has driven them headlong across the Atlantic. That which all the wisdom of man had failed to effect has resulted from the unforeseen and not intended consequences of his passions. Thus does the wisdom of the Almighty cause even the wrath of man to praise Him.

Nor have the consequences of emancipation been less decisive against the spread of the Catholic faith in Great Britain. It was natural that the Romish hierarchy, seeing this great victory gained by the effects of agitation in Ireland, and many persons of distinction of both sexes in England embracing their faith, should have thought that the time had come when the work of the Reformation was to be undone, and the British Isles were to be wholly regained by the Holy See. They openly announced the project accordingly. Great Britain was divided into ecclesiastical districts; bishops were appointed, and the cardinal-legate assumed the long-forgotten title of Catholic times. The effect was decisive. A burst of Protestant enthusiasm ensued unparalleled since the Reformation, and the prime-minister of the Crown, a leading supporter of emancipation, took the initiative in calling it forth. The aggressive and ambitious spirit of the Church of Rome—which is recorded in every page of modern history, but had come to be forgotten during the tolerant slumber of the close of the nineteenth century—was again brought to light, and the contest of the Protestants with the Catholics was renewed, but without the withering alliance with political distinction which had so long detached the generous from the side of the former. Men saw that the Church of Rome was unchanged and unchangeable, and must be combated with vigour as in the first fervour of the Reformation; but the contest came to be carried on, not by pains, penalties, and disabilities, but by reason, argument, and intelligence, and above all, by raising the intellectual character of women, among whom its principal votaries are always to be found. The whole vantage-ground gained by the Catholics during the struggle for emancipation was lost by its acquisition.

Nor have the consequences of that concession been less injurious to the cause of Catholicism on the other side of the Atlantic. The pastors in vain followed their flocks to the New World; their ascendant was at an end when they left the shores of the Emerald Isle. Vast was the difference between the dark night of Celtic ignorance, lighted only by the feeble rays of superstition, and the bright aurora of Transatlantic energy, illuminated by the effulgence

of knowledge, intelligence, and intellect. The priest was swallowed up in the gulf of democracy. The ascendant which the Romish clergy had acquired amidst the ignorance and solitude of the Irish wilds, was speedily lost when surrounded by the turmoil of American interests, the conflict of American sects. So signally has the influence of the Church of Rome declined in the United States, that, notwithstanding the immense influx of Irish Catholics in the last ten years, there are only now 1,200,000 members of Romish churches in the Union, out of 13,000,000 embraced in the whole divisions of the Christian communion. It is a common complaint, accordingly, of the Catholic clergy in America, that they have lost all influence over their flocks; that their followers live altogether without God in the world; and that, without embracing any new faith, they have simply renounced the old. This, it is to be feared, is too often the case. From superstition to infidelity is but a step. It is by the torch of knowledge, and it alone, that the flame of a pure and lasting piety is, in an enlightened age, to be kindled. But that torch is not awaiting in America; and, without anticipating the march of events that yet lie buried in the womb of time, it may with confidence be predicted that, however strongly the Catholic tenets may be rooted amidst the traditions and corruptions of the Old World, it will never make head against the energy and intelligence of the New; and that still less will infidelity permanently retain any hold of a people open to the influences and blessed by the choicest gifts of Nature."

It is scarce possible to tax even English credulity more heavily, although religion and Ireland are under discussion. As to the amount of emigration and proportion of Catholics emigrating, in all probability, Sir Archibald Alison is not very much astray, at least so far as he has followed the census tables. We do not for our own part attempt to touch the question of the relative numbers of Protestant and Catholic in Ireland. We have no ambition to burn our fingers with anything of the kind. But when it is coolly affirmed that the Catholic clergy have been diminished from 5000 to 2600, that is to say, to the extent of half their number in the course of nine years, we simply expend five minutes on the enquiry ourselves, and the result is, that at no period since the suppression of the religious houses, did the number of Catholic clergy in Ireland, reach to three thousand much less *five*, and that on Sir Archibald Alison's own shewing, its numbers might be proved to have increased between 1846 and 1849, inasmuch as Battersby's Registry for the former year, containing the name and residence of every priest in Ireland, and certainly not disposed to understate the numbers and influence of the Priesthood, brings them to a lower figure than our author allows for the year 1854. He next states that not only the fee, but the cultivation of the land has passed, under the operation of the

Incumbered Estates Commission, to English hands, in a direct ratio to the diminished numbers of Irish proprietors and Irish peasants. We do not notice for the present, the indecency of slang terms, such as Celt and Saxon, in what professes to be history; we have limited our enquiry to the determination of the facts. And how do they stand? Up to the year 1853 inclusively, when the Incumbered Estates Court was in most active play, the total number of purchasers was 4,213, and of these no more than 181 were from England and Scotland, being about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent upon the new native proprietary. The amount of Irish capital represented is £8,650,284 : 12 : 7, as against £1,779,608 : 12 : 6 British, probably at, or slightly over 5 per cent. upon the capital of the country. So far for the mere change of proprietors, and capital represented by the change; but in order to understand its full effect, you would require to follow the purchasers according to the classification, into Insurance Companies, trading firms, gentlemen and farmers. Of the latter there are only thirty-three, so that to balance the deficiency over two millions of small papist farmers, we have the prodigious influx of thirty-three protestants from England, Scotland and the Isle of Man.\* These are calculations to which the historian, even of Europe, must condescend if he wish to retain any character for accuracy, good faith, or sound opinion; for surely it is impossible to deal seriously with opinions formed out of such materials as the author of *this* History of Europe has at hand. Sir Archibald Alison is a species of political Mamiehean. He acknowledges two equal and co-ordinate principles, one of good and one of evil; currency is the one, and need we say that Popery is the other? The Irish adopted the policy of free trade, why so? to depress the aristocracy at the bidding of the Pope, *justement le poumon*. The potatoes fail, the Pope at it again, *justement le poumon*. The Irish are driven headlong across the Atlantic, why so? because they cannot obtain remuneration for their industry, and for what reason again? because of their ingratitude and blind submission to a foreign potentate, *justement le poumon*; † and all this is done by the Almighty to reward England for her magnanimity in conceding

\* MacNevin's Incumbered Estates, 388.

† "Damn the French, the parlevous, and all that belongs to them. What makes the bread rising? the parlevous that devour us—what makes the mutton five pence a pound? the parlevous that eat it up—what makes the beer three pence halfpenny a pot?"—Good-natured Man, Act III. Sir Archibald has certainly taken a lesson from "little Flanagan."

emancipation, although the author affirms in a hundred places that emancipation was the last triumph of the nomination system ; that the measure was in point of fact, hocussed out of king and people; that the king would have found laying his head on the block an alternative rather pleasing than otherwise, as compared with assenting to the measure, and that the people would have had only too much gratification in chopping it off if he did assent. And notwithstanding his belief, and we shall add ours in the truth of all this, he taxes the Irish with ingratitude, decides emancipation to have been a failure so far as they are concerned, and declares that it would have been equally a failure had it been conceded earlier, more amply, more heartily, and more gracefully. The motives of their gratitude to the English people, we never could understand, and fear we can never enter into. You may be grateful to the prince that mitigates the rigours of justice, you may be grateful to the deliverer that rescues you from oppression, but that you should be grateful to the pickpocket that drops your purse when you have your hand upon his collar ; to the garotte robber that relieves your throat when the policeman has grasped his own ; or to the thug that relaxes the noose when he has barely time to escape being noosed himself is something far more sublime than the forgiveness of injuries or than the love of enemies. If the English people have had nothing to do with our calamities, which in that case all go to the credit of the Pope, if gratitude is the only feeling we can have in their regard, then England has been joined with the rest of the world in a conspiracy against her own character, for she has often confessed to a wicked misgovernment of what has been pleasantly called the Sister Island. No doubt she will make herself a prompt reparation, but meanwhile she must have a curiosity to know the grounds of such a general delusion. As for us who still adhere to the vulgar belief that England has had some share, however slight, in our misfortunes, it is to be feared we are quite beyond the reach of enlightenment.

One would say there had been between the two countries no relations of invasion, conquest, attempted colonization or attempted extermination. England was like Saul, a child of one year old, when she began to reign in 1829. At that period she remitted to Ireland a portion of the punishment to which that intolerable Ireland was liable for presuming to exist, and because the remission was not acknowledged with becoming humility, it is concluded that the infliction ought not to have been removed at all.—Our common histories give an alarmingly

different account. They tell us that many hundred years ago, there was an invasion from that part of the now united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland called England, into that other part of the same now united kingdom called Ireland, an invasion followed by the first throes of a national agony in Ireland aforesaid; the longest and bloodiest that history has recorded. It tells of rapine, treachery and massacre, such as have hardly been equalled, certainly not surpassed by the Spanish settlers in America; and with this difference, that in all England, amongst princes, people, laity or clergy, at no period of the joint history of the countries, were there found bowels of compassion, out of which to compound even one *Las Casas*. And for fear the inevitable fusion of races, wherein the bitterness if not the memory of conquest is lost, should at any period, however late, reconcile the history of Ireland with the analogy of universal history, the furies of religious discord proclaimed the eternity of Irish misrule, and inspired the penal laws: a code we abstain from characterising as we might, through fear of giving to this journal a party complexion, from which it is our desire to keep it free; although it is generally acknowledged that the laws in question were an outrage upon human nature, rather than a crime against Ireland; and far less the opprobrium of England, than an infamy for our kind. One of the last, though by no means the last remnant, of these laws, was abolished by the measure of 1829, and Sir Archibald Alison goes out of his way to show that we are to be grateful to the nation which, as far as its will could be collected apart from constitutional fictions, was as adverse to the removal of Catholic disabilities as that faithful representative of national will and national tolerance, Lord George Gordon's mob. If indeed the enormities of six centuries could be expiated by forty or fifty years of atonement, the reparation ought to have been kindly and spontaneous, but we have the testimony of English Statesmen, that every concession to Ireland was distilled and wrung out of the English people like a drop of blood. The English have conceded, they never have conciliated; and even though they had done so then only could conciliation have been said to fail when it should have received as long and as complete a trial as oppression; that is to say, when it should have been the ruling principle for six centuries or so, and having exercised the ingenuity of the greatest statesmen, to extend and vary its operation, should have been found unavailing;



then and not till then, should conciliation rightly understood be laid aside ; but while it is more than doubtful, whether such or such a measure deserves to be called conciliatory ; and while it is by no means doubtful that some of the measures so called, have been given with anything but an open hand or cheerful heart ; to expect gratitude is to be singularly hopeful ; and those from whom it is expected, if they are at all to profit by the lessons of the past, must endeavour to obtain what they want, as they can ; relying more upon the influence of interest or necessity over their rulers, than upon a sense of justice or friendly dispositions, which have never even been pretended to by those whom they ought to be supposed to direct.

We confess to some surprise and perhaps a little disappointment, that while Sir Archibald Alison was in this mood he said nothing of Maynooth, that darksome and ghostly tenement of which Englishmen make up their ideas from the penny novelist and some other equally authentic sources. There would have been scope for any amount of Irish statistics in the peculiar style of our author ; while as to facts of a more descriptive character, the requirements of probability or plausibility, need have given him no trouble in presence of a public prepared to believe anything. " Maynooth College," he might have said, " was founded by Queen Elizabeth for the diffusion of a more mitigated species of Catholicism, so as to counteract, if possible, the spread of ultramontane doctrine, which had been introduced not long previously by the Legate Rinuncini, President of the Confederation of Kilkenny. Trinity College, Dublin, which owes its origin to that wily Italian, was the cradle of these destructive principles ; and it is not a little singular that the establishment founded by the great Protestant Queen, to check the growth of ultramontaniam, should have become the most active agent in its diffusion ; while an institution which traces its rise, like the pretended Catholic University of the present day, to Papal intrigue, has been for more than two centuries the guardian and expositress of Protestant truth. The college so founded by Queen Elizabeth continued for some time to answer the expectations of that wise princess and her successors until in the reign of George the Third, the Duke of Ormond, to conciliate the ultramontane faction, handed over the government of the college to the well-known Primate Boulter, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Waterford, and correspondent of Edmund Burke. From that time Jesuitry and Ultramontaniam

have been in the ascendant. The college itself is a standing anachronism, and might more properly represent the Sorbonne under Charles IX. and Marie de Medici, than an educational establishment in the nineteenth century. Along its mouldy corridors and vanishing cloisters, flit cowed monks of stealthy tread and scowling aspect, with daggers, potions, and other implements of spiritual warfare in their loose sleeves ; while the cellars are believed to be full of racks and screw boots, with all the modern improvements." To any one who has seen what kind of thing Sir Archibald Alison is capable of writing about Irish politics, this specimen will hardly appear overcharged ; for there is scarce an absurdity or rash judgment in these sentences, which he has not equalled whenever his good or evil fortune may have drawn him into contact with Ireland ; though perhaps it is not quite fair to suppose that Ireland enjoys a monopoly of these favours ; and one is inclined to believe that accounts not more faithful though less preposterous, have found their way into the chapters devoted to other countries. Before taking leave of this part of the history of Europe, we shall borrow a couple of pages from Sir Archibald's character of O'Connell. It is characteristically written at all events. Had he been able to connect a few of O'Connell's misdoings with the currency nothing would have been *a-wanting* (that is the consecrated phrase), to complete the Alisonian perfection of the passage.

" Daniel O'Connell, who mainly achieved this signal triumph for his religion and his country, and for the first time shook the power of the Protestant aristocracy of Great Britain which had brought about the Revolution that precipitated James II. from the throne, was a very remarkable man, and his character is the more worthy of study because it belongs properly to an earlier period of European history ; and yet the success which he achieved proves that the qualities he possessed are calculated in every age to influence a large portion of mankind. He belonged to the age of Ignatius Loyola or St. Francis rather than that of the French Revolution. Pope Hildebrand was not more devoted to the interests of the Holy See : Peter the Hermit did not possess in a higher degree the art of rousing and violently moving the great body of the people. His abilities were of a very high order—no man does such things without great powers—but they were not of a cast superior to his achievements. '*Par negotiis non supra*' was his true characteristic. He was born an agitator, and there he was supreme ; but he was neither more nor less. He had remarkable talents, but no genius, and still less taste or refinement. To great powers of oratory he united a marvellous faculty for moving the multitude ; but he was alike destitute of the chivalrous sentiments which win the hearts of the generous, or the ascendant of reason necessary to mould the

opinions of the enlightened. He had none of the delicacy of feeling which renders it *impossible* for an elevated mind to say or do an unworthy thing. He was all things to all men. With equal facility he addressed the House of Commons in a powerful legal argument, and harangued the electors of Clare in strains of disgraceful ribaldry ; with equal truth he, in the same breath, called the Irish the 'finest peasantry upon earth,' and heaped opprobrium upon the 'stunted corporal' who had delivered Europe, and the 'bigot Peel,' who had endangered his own fame to strike off the fetters of religious intolerance in Ireland.

The secret of these strange contradictions is to be found in the ascendant of the faith to which he was through life sincerely and devotedly attached. His standard of rectitude was different from that to which men, apart from priestly influence, are accustomed. It was neither the honour which inspires the noble-hearted, nor the honesty which directs the simple and innocent. It was simply and exclusively the interests of the See of Rome. Everything was right, everything allowable, provided that was not forgotten. He transferred into the business of life and the contests of men the abominable maxim, which the selfishness of libertines has invented, that lovers' oaths are made only to be broken, and that to them everything is permitted. To the value of truth, or the obligations to regard it, he was as insensible as Napoleon himself. He had all the duplicity and disregard of consistency which, with great vigour and frequent genius, distinguishes the Celtic character. Destitute of the self-respect which in general characterises the Saxon, he had all the insensibility to personal abasement which is so common among the humbler classes of his countrymen : so as he gained his object of acquiring a princely income, he cared not that his wealth was wrung from the scanty earnings of a destitute population. He was indifferent though what he said one day was in direct opposition to what he had previously asserted ; he had no compunction in letting loose the vials of his wrath and the volubility of his abuse on the very men who had conferred upon himself and his faith the most inestimable benefits. He carried to perfection the art, so well understood in after times, of invariably and on every occasion inflaming the present passions of his hearers. Everything was done for present impression ; and that impression was all directed to one end, the advancing the interests of the Church of Rome. To that he was at any time ready to sacrifice truth, consistency, and reputation ; and in doing so, he not only was conscious of no wrong, but he was sustained by the belief of the highest merit, for he was giving to the Church not his body, but his soul. He was the most perfect embodiment that has appeared in recent times of the maxim, that 'the end will justify the means ;' and in his ultimate fate, and that of his measures, is to be found the most striking exemplification of what, even in this world, that maxim leads to."

We are not the apologists of O'Connell, nor are the doctrines, practices and tendencies, real or imputed, of the Roman Church at all under discussion ; but we cannot help thinking it is a

lame explanation of the anomalies in O'Connell's character, to ascribe all the virtues to the man and all the defects to the Church. It requires Sir Archibald's powers of forehead to attempt such a thing; for our part, we adopt the more charitable supposition that he loses all self command the moment his delusions on this subject are presented to his mind. We do not care to particularize names, but it may be affirmed there is not a statesman, popular leader or demagogue in history, whom O'Connell can be said to resemble in structure of mind, in moral character, in the revolution he brought to pass, or in the means by which he wrought it. If the author's reasoning be good for anything, you must hold, *à priori*, that it is impossible for a sincere Catholic to take part in politics without exhibiting in a greater or less degree all the defects existing in, or imputed to the character of O'Connell. He must necessarily be coarse, abusive, slanderous, unscrupulous, corrupt, alike unsparing of friend or foe, absorbed by a single idea, the aggrandisement of his church, and prepared to sacrifice every object, personal or otherwise, to this one design. If you wish for an accurate type of the sincere and devoted Ultramontane in public life, it is surely M. de Montalembert. He is in point of fact a far more correct realization of the idea than O'Connell could have been for a long period of his life. We believe we put forward nothing that will take the public by surprise, or be interpreted as a disrespect of O'Connell's memory, in stating that during very many years of his public life he may have been an ardent, but was in truth a speculative Catholic only; of strong faith, it may be granted, but of very loose practice. Whereas M. de Montalembert having been always a Catholic of exemplary practice and taking up like O'Connell, a liberal in contradistinction to a revolutionary policy, has, we venture to affirm, no one point of resemblance to the Irish leader in any particular of mind or action. But Sir Archibald himself has put the matter quite beyond discussion, for he smoothly ascribes to O'Connell, two motives of action which are perfectly incompatible with each other. He first says O'Connell's sole object in agitation was the exaltation of his church, and in the next sentence alleges it to have been sustainment of a princely income; he proclaims him to have been at one and the same time an abstract of public virtue however ill understood; and a vulgar hypocrite with no higher or holier bravium, than a good house and luxurious table. But reverting again to O'Connell's religion, *justement le*

*poumon*, we find him the most faithful exponent and undoubted incarnation of the doctrine, that the end justifies the means, which every one knows to be a canon of the Roman Church, passed by certain Bishops in no matter what session of the Council of no matter where, presided over by Pope no matter whom. Now in order to show that the doctrine is adopted and advocated by at least one who is neither of O'Connell's country nor religion, we may be permitted to quote from a forgotten volume of Sir Francis Head, entitled "*A Tour in Ireland*," in amassing materials for which that industrious writer consumed an entire fortnight, including a week of personal experience; seven days out of the fifteen having been spent by the author, as he himself assures us, immured with the data he found it necessary to procure. The book had some notice from the critical journals here, but it is chiefly valuable for our purpose, as containing a hearty and outspoken acceptance of the doctrine, that the end justifies the means. It will be remembered in connection with certain real or supposed changes of religion on a rather large scale in the west of Ireland, that the promoters of the movement in question were charged by its opponents, with the use of corrupt influences, with pecuniary proselytism, and appeals to the animal rather than to the rational portion of our nature. We protest energetically against being supposed to renew the accusation, or give expression to any opinion whatever on the matter. Bishops, ministers, and laymen concerned in the inculcation indignantly repelled the imputation, and affirmed that they neither could, nor did hold out to their proselytes any other inducement than the conviction brought home to their understandings by reasoning and persuasion. Not so Sir Francis Head: after describing the New Reformation and its progress, he enthusiastically welcomes and adopts the agencies said to have been employed in its diffusion.

"It is however fair to state," he says, "that by the Roman Catholic Priesthood, it is declared, that of this extraordinary amount of conversion which they do not attempt to deny, almost the whole has been effected by what they call the meal system, and accordingly they sneer at those who have deserted them as belonging to what they call the stirabout religion. *I must however say that I highly approve of this stirabout movement*, for what can more clearly demonstrate to young people the inestimable advantage of the Christian faith, than that its ministers and supporters should practise openly the charity they teach, \* \* \* I therefore most earnestly and fervently hope that all who are friendly to the Irish will

promote the good cause by supplying these distant schools with meal. In this friendly effort the Irish Protestant has the power of contributing infinitely, *infinitely more, and consequently of producing more effect than the poorer Catholic*; but while religious antagonism ought, generally speaking, to be condemned in this struggle, *whatever way* the scale may preponderate, the children are sure to be gainers by the contention."

In presence of sentiments like these, for which we should be sorry to make any form of religion responsible, indignation is far too dignified a feeling—they are below criticism, and almost below rebuke; they fall under the jurisdiction not of opinion but of morality, they are less an offence against religion than against decency. The flippancy, ignorance and pretension we have had occasion to remark in Sir Archibald Alison or any other writer, are food for criticism and a mark for railery, but it is something too shocking to see bribery and treating exalted into a principle, and worst of all into a religious principle. It is painful to see the name of any religious communion connected with so infamous a traffic, and even were the imputed corruption proven against the missionary societies with whom we have to deal, it would still be a sign of grace in the men, that they had not the abominable courage to avow their work, and proclaim their success to be in the direct ratio to their stirabout; nor, after all, could it be to them a matter of "indifference" which way the balance preponderated, or in other words, whether the children of such a nurture became eventually good Protestants, accomplished hypocrites, or mere atheists. It was reserved for Sir Francis Head to consecrate and reconcile these two beautiful but conflicting principles of morality—first, that the end justifies the means, and secondly, that if the means be pleasant to our appetite or comfortable upon our backs, the end is of no consequence whatever. Would it be honourable in us to father these vile ethics of Sir Francis Head upon the genius of Protestantism? Is it honest in Sir Archibald Alison, to throw the whole blame of whatever is blame-worthy in O'Connell upon the religion he professed?

We do not by any means wish to deny that there are some touches of nature in this character of O'Connell, or that the picture has resemblance to the original. It would be equally unfair to say, that apart from the worth of its facts and deductions, the passage quoted is not well put together; but the very circumstance brings us back to our original com-

plaint; for with an English public and an Irish subject, an acquired literary reputation, a fascinating style, and an oracular manner, will give currency to any paradox that can be hitched into an antithesis or serve to barb a sneer. Throughout the entire portion of the volume that deals with the question of emancipation, reform, and free trade, there is an awkward and uneasy affectation of impartiality that meets you at every step. The Author acknowledges the first of these measures to have been an act of justice as well as of expediency, and yet his sympathies are markedly with its opponents. He cannot be sufficiently loud or earnest in praise of Lord Eldon, the Duke of York, or George the Fourth upon this head.—He deprecates the facility with which the claims of the Catholics were conceded; maintains all through the hopelessness of improving their condition, or propitiating their enmity by the gratification of their wishes; and would appear to value the triumph of the measure only in proportion to the nullity of its results. He never goes beyond the surface or the hour, he makes no allowance for circumstances, he often draws his pen through past history, he seldom forgets that he carries his public with him, and, therefore, takes no trouble to convince it; the whole affair is a decree "*e motu proprio et certâ scientiâ*," and we are quite persuaded will be received as such. On the question of reform and free trade, which latter he takes up by anticipation, there is less pretence of impartiality. Sir Archibald is an undisguised Tory in the narrow and modern sense of the word; he is an equally undisguised protectionist—his history may be a statement of facts if you will, but it is the statement of an advocate. And now, before taking leave of this portion of the history of Europe, we cannot in justice to Sir Archibald, avoid making an extract from his character of George the IV. which, although appearing to us somewhat too favourably drawn, is in the general outlines and many features of detail, faithful and striking.

"Unfortunately his character, like that of most men, was of a very mixed description, and the bad qualities were those of the heart rather than the head. He was as well informed, clear-sighted, and intelligent as the ministers in daily converse with him on business asserted; but he was also as selfish, capricious, and self-willed, as the women admitted to still closer intimacy too fatally experienced. Love is the touch-stone not only of the warmth, but of the character of the heart; it does not alter the disposition, but only brings it out; it renders the brave more brave, the generous more generous;

but not less certainly the selfish more selfish, the egotistical more egotistical. George IV. was wholly incapable of standing this searching test. Supposing his severance from Queen Caroline to admit of excuse, from what was afterwards proved of the frailties and indiscretions of that ill-starred princess, his conduct on other occasions when he chose for himself, and could not plead the Marriage Act in extenuation, was cold hearted, perfidious, and deserving of the very highest reprobation. His early amours with 'Perdita' probably came to no other end than that which an accomplished courtesan expects and deserves; but the case was very different with a most superior and charming lady, Mrs. Fitzherbert, of whose person he obtained possession by going through a fictitious and fraudulent marriage-ceremony, which he afterwards made Mr. Fox deny in Parliament. That illustrious man never forgave the insult thus offered to his honour; and when he discovered the falsehood of the denial of which he had thus been made the unsuspecting instrument, he withdrew altogether from an intimacy followed by requisitions so degrading. Of truth, like other systematic voluptuaries, he was in a great degree regardless, at least when it interfered with his pleasures or his passions. Self-willed and capricious throughout, he became, as he advanced in life, faithful only to one desire, the common refuge of such characters—he was mainly governed by the love of ease; and to this object he sacrificed many objects which he even regarded as matters of conscience. He was strongly opposed to Catholic emancipation, and had serious compunctious visitings for having yielded to it; but he had not energy sufficient to face the struggle which would have ensued had he thrown himself on the country, and refused the royal assent; nor, in truth, could such refusal at that period have served any good purpose."

The remaining portion of the present volume, and especially the chapters devoted to the events of the year '80 on the Continent, including the French, and Belgian, and Polish revolution, is eloquently written. The imagination is perpetually gratified by animated description, and the interest seldom languishes over barren details. However, from what we know of Sir Archibald Alison, we never can regard a history written by him otherwise than as a piece of art, or rely upon it as an authentic narrative. Certain facts there are too broad and too prominent for misstatement or mystification. On these of course every one who has been cotemporary, or nearly cotemporary with the events can speak *en connaissance de cause*; but when we have no authority beyond Sir Archibald's for any minor event he records or any inference he draws; or where he relies upon the authority of M. Louis Blanc, from whom he has borrowed very largely, we must be permitted to suspend our belief until we shall have examined for ourselves. Sir Archibald's general views of continental history are very much the same as those which influence



his judgment in dealing with domestic politics. He is conservative throughout, but he seems to regard the Belgian revolution with peculiar disfavour. We do not venture to insinuate a reason for this feeling; no doubt, it can be sufficiently accounted for, and is we dare say, very reputable in itself. His judgment too upon the complicity of Louis Philippe in the revolution of July, appears to us sufficiently moderate and rational. He represents the Duke of Orleans as having intrigued successfully until he narrowed the discretion of Europe to a choice between himself and anarchy in France, and then took credit for a sacrifice to country and society, when he seized the crown he had been playing for. The ingratitude and perfidy of the usurping juggler to his sovereign, kinsman and benefactor (for Charles was all three) are noted in terms of severe but measured censure; and we should ourselves be grateful to Sir Archibald Alison for this expression of feeling, did we not look upon it rather as an accident of his toryism, than the dictate either of his heart or judgment; had we not in a word, the immovable conviction that in this as in most other instances he has decided "*non lege rationis sed ratione legis*." Of course it would be to claim an infallibility we deny Sir Archibald, did we not acknowledge that we may be entirely mistaken in the impression we have contracted regarding what we can only examine upon external evidence; the feelings and spirit of the author. Many, it is probable will find us inconsiderate, and even prejudiced in the only estimate we have been enabled to form of what we have read, and which we conceived it our duty to submit to the study possibly to the revision of the public. We deserve and claim no credit for apportioning to Sir Archibald the praise of style and method, for, these it is not in our power to disparage were we so disposed; and if we have been wrong in taxing him with inaccuracy, contradictory statements, slovenly investigation, or reliance upon compilers, rash judgment, invincible prepossessions, shallowness, mares-nesting and gobe-moucherie generally, it will require no very deep or lengthened research to do Sir Archibald justice, as all the matters upon which he or we have erred, lie upon the surface, or at little depth beneath it.

It is, however, with very real pleasure we find that upon one subject at least, we can recognise in Sir Archibald Alison, not only the accomplished writer, but the strong thinker and correct reasoner. It is a matter on which his judgment

must have been convinced, for it rather contradicts his instincts; that his feelings should have been enlisted, causes no surprise, for there are few who do not feel for Poland. His narrative of the Polish struggle in 1830, and its result, is equal to the majesty and the sadness of the subject. He does not confine himself to barren sympathies or civil nothings, but affirms that the present complications in European politics, are the logical and inevitable consequences of the extinction of Poland; that Poland restored is the only reparation that God or man can accept, for Poland destroyed; that the decrees of eternal justice, as well as the force of things have connected her re-constitution with the safety of European liberty and what is almost equally precious, European civilization; that any other solution of the Eastern question, will be treacherous, temporary, and fatal; and that scarce any sacrifice the great powers of Europe might impose upon themselves or exact from others, would be too large a price for the independence and strength of Poland, as the one condition of stability and repose for European interests. We copy from the last pages of the present volume, the passages relating to the fall of Warsaw, and embodying the reflections of the author to which we have alluded.

“The weight of the attack was directed against the faubourg of Wola and the bridge of Czysto, defended by two strong redoubts on one side, and three on the other. A tremendous fire was opened on the works by the Russian guns which preceded their columns; but, notwithstanding this, the fire of the redoubts was so vigorous that the Muscovite columns of assault were shaken, and Uminski, by a flank charge, completed their defeat near the first of these points. The 20,000 men, absent under Ramorino, might then have saved Poland; and as it was, the result was for some time doubtful. But towards four o'clock the Russian fire had established a superiority over that of the redoubts which defended the bridge of Czysto, and the corps of Pahlen and Kreutz, the élite of the Russian army, was formed in columns of assault. At a signal given these noble veterans rushed forward, with drums beating, colours flying, and amidst warlike cries, towards the entrenchments. A terrible fire, first of canister, then of grape, spread death among them as they came within range; but the assailants pushed resolutely on, and, notwithstanding an obstinate resistance on the part of the Poles, several of the entrenchments fell into their hands. It was the superior fire of artillery which mainly occasioned this success. Upon learning of this disaster, Krukowiecki, finding the resistance could no longer be prolonged, agreed to a surrender at discretion, on condition that the Polish army was permitted to retire to Plock. Next day the Russians entered in triumph at the northern gates, while the Polish troops, in

the deepest dejection, wended their way through the southern. Five thousand of their number had fallen; 4000 prisoners and 180 guns remained in the hands of the conquerors, whose loss in these two bloody days, admitted by Paskiewitch to have been 5378 killed and wounded, was in reality nearly 20,000 men.

After the capitulation of Warsaw, Paskiewitch insisted that the army which had retired to Plock should submit to the will of the Emperor; but its chiefs disdained to surrender, and, in circumstances obviously desperate, insisted on continuing the contest. It was in vain: the deathblow had been given to Poland under the walls of Warsaw. Ramorino, whose absence had cost it so dear on the final struggle, retired towards the Upper Vistula, where he was closely followed by a large body of Russians, who summoned him to surrender. He indignantly refused, but in the night crossed the frontiers into the Austrian territory. Rywki, who commanded another division of the Polish troops, hard pressed by the corps of Rosen and Doctovoff, was driven to the confines of the republic of Cracow, and crossed the frontier of Galicia, where his troops were disarmed. The principal army under Malachowski, which had retreated from Warsaw, was raised in a few days by fugitives from various quarters to 27,000 men with 93 guns, besides the garrison of Modlin, to which it retired, which was 6000 more. But it was almost destitute of ammunition. The men, whose clothing was worn out, were without pay; magazines there were none to carry on the contest. The capitulation of Warsaw deprived them of hope, the last refuge of the destitute; dissensions broke out among the chiefs; Malachowski refused the supreme command, as he had been discredited by having signed the capitulation, and Rybinski was by a plurality elected general-in-chief. For a few days he continued the contest; but the forces which Paskiewitch directed against them were so great that the forces under him were obliged to cross the frontier and lay down their arms in the Prussian territory, to the number of 21,000. This terminated the war, after it had continued, with scarce any intermission, for eight months.

Short as this campaign had been, it had cost the Russians dear, and they had sustained more serious defeats than they had ever sustained from the arms of Napoleon. The Poles had delivered six pitched battles and above thirty combats, with an army never amounting in all to 80,000 men, and the resources only of four millions of people. No alliances or external aid of any kind had added to their strength; they stood alone to front the conquerors of Napoleon. The losses of the Russians during the war, brief as it was, had been immense. It appeared from an official statement, published by the Russian government to justify a subsequent levy of four in five hundred of the inhabitants, that in this short war they had lost 180,000 men,—an astonishing amount, indicating how much greater the losses in war are from disease and fatigue than battle; for certainly those who perished, or were disabled by the sword, were not a third of the number. In this statement the losses in the siege of Warsaw are set down at 30,680 men. The result is equally honourable to the courage and patriotism of the Poles, and characteristic of the perseverance and resources of the Russians; for never had they been more severely tried, or the scales of fortune hung more even in conflict with a foreign enemy.

If the developement of the resources of Russia during this memorable struggle, and the vigour and ability with which they were directed, were honourable to the capacity and firmness of the Emperor Nicholas, the same cannot be said of his subsequent conduct to the vanquished, which was characterised by all the stern resentment and implacable determination which, not less than vigour and capacity, distinguished that remarkable man. The noblest families in Warsaw were seized, and dragged into exile in Siberia; the oath forced upon the soldiers by the threat of death and the terror of the knout; and the sons of the patriotic families, torn from their mothers' arms, and sent off to distant military colonies as common soldiers, where numbers of them perished of fatigue and misery. Equally characteristic of the iron will of the Emperor was his conduct during the period when the cholera made fearful ravages in the Russian empire. The deaths in a few weeks in St. Petersburg amounted to four thousand; and the people, ascribing it as usual to poison, assembled in tumultuous mobs, invaded the hospitals, and carried off the sick from their beds to their own houses to save them, as they conceived, from destruction. No sooner did he hear of these disorders, than the Emperor repaired to the spot, boldly fronted the mutineers, and exclaimed with a loud voice, 'Down on your knees, and ask pardon of God and your Czar for your sins.' The people sunk with their faces on the ground, and the tumult was appeased.

The astonishing stand which Poland, with less than a fourth of its ancient territory and inhabitants, made without external aid against the whole strength of Russia in this memorable year, throws a clear and precious light on the causes of its previous decline and long-continued misfortunes. It had received from the hand of nature all the gifts which are required to make a nation great and powerful; a noble and fertile soil, ample navigable rivers, spacious harbours, a bold and ardent people, passionately attached to freedom. On the other hand, Russia possessed originally far fewer natural advantages. She had, before Peter the Great, no seaport town, her territory was less fertile, her inhabitants, till they were swelled by foreign conquest, less numerous, and incomparably less brave and chivalrous. What was it which rendered the one constantly victorious over the other—which rendered Polish history, during five centuries, nothing but a series of misfortunes, casually interrupted by glory—Muscovite, of durable victories and acquisitions, never stopped by passing disaster? The reason is to be found in the excess of the very spirit which constituted the spring of Polish vitality, which caused them at times to do such great things, at others to commit such enormous and unpardonable faults.

The spirit which animated Poland was not the regulated principle of Anglo-Saxon liberty, which has rendered England and America the admiration of the globe, but the wild excess of unbridled democracy. Equality, not subordination, was their passion: their stormy comitia, their *Liberum Veto*, their delegated representatives, prove it. Their idea of freedom was absence from all control, and, above all, *liberation from all taxes*. This is the first idea of liberty all over the world; unhappily the Poles never got

beyond it. They clung to it to the very last, amidst all their misfortunes, till they were fairly swallowed up and partitioned by their former vassals. Russia, on the other hand, came in process of time to unite the lust of conquest and unity of feeling, which in every age have characterised Asia, to the steady policy, scientific acquisitions, so far as war is concerned, and far-seeing wisdom, of Europe. Thus Asia in its strength was brought up against Europe in its weakness; thence the conquest of the one by the other. And accordingly the first and only occasion when the balance really hung even between them, was when the resources of a fragment of ancient Poland had been drawn forth by foreign government, when foreign power had compelled its inhabitants to pay taxes, forced them to raise a regular army, and given consistency to their fiery squadrons.

As democracy had been the ruin of ancient Poland, and the cause of its dismemberment, so its excesses have been the barrier, which in recent times, have prevented its restoration. Every triumph of the republican spirit in Western Europe has been the signal for an increase the more to Russian power, a chance the less to Polish independence. Its partition in 1794 was unresisted by the Western powers, because France and England, from the consequence of the Revolution in the former country, instead of being united to withstand Eastern aggression, were engaged in deadly hostility with each other. The triumph of democracy in France, and the organisation of its resources in appalling strength by the genius of Napoleon, led to no other result but the lasting acquisition of Finland and Poland by the Czar. The Revolution of France in 1830 led first to the entire subjugation of Poland by Russia, and its incorporation with the dominions of the conquering power, and then to the closing of the Euxine against foreign vessels of war by the fatal treaty of 1833, which, as will appear in the sequel, converted its waters into a Russian lake; that of 1848 brought a hundred and sixty thousand Muscovites to the banks of the Danube, and opened through subdued Austria a path for the legions of the Czar to Constantinople. It would seem as if Russia, backed by the ices of the pole, and inaccessible from its vast extent, is the scourge perpetually held up by Providence to repress the excesses of vicious civilisation, and restrain men in free states within the bonds which reason and the lasting interests of freedom itself require.

These facts are fraught with a mighty moral, and teach a lesson of the very last importance to the permanent interests of liberty and civilisation. This is, that Russia must be resisted by Europe, if the latter would preserve its religion, its civilisation, its independence; but it must be resisted by Europe in its strength, not Europe in its weakness. The nations of the West must go forth to combat the hordes of the East; but they must go forth in their established ranks, under their traditional leaders, and in their united strength, not with half their forces turned over, from the dread of revolutions, to the enemy. Democracy has tried its utmost strength against despotism, and failed in the struggle: no future age with that arm can hope to achieve what the genius of Napoleon and the fervour of 1830 and 1848 failed to effect. But this failure does not prove that Europe is unable to contend with Russia, that freedom must

succumb to despotism ; it proves only that *divided* Europe cannot stand against *united* Russia, half the strength of liberty against the whole forces of despotism. Freedom has need of all its forces to resist the attack of fanatical zeal, and the lust of conquest led by regulated despotism aided by military skill. Had England been united to France in 1812, Russia would have been repelled to its deserts by the legions of Napoleon and Wellington : had the triumph of the Barricades and the Reform transports not paralysed Britain and Germany in 1831, the independence of Poland would have been re-established by the arms of Skrzynecki. The strength of the East lies in its indissoluble union under a single head ; the weakness of the West, in its ceaseless divisions under many.

In the very front rank of the great league of the Western powers, which can alone preserve Europe from Russian subjugation, must be placed **THE RESTORATION OF POLAND**. Such a measure would not be revolutionary ; it would be conservative. Restoration is a work of justice, of which no government, how strong soever, need be ashamed : the principle of Revolution is spoliation, not restitution. To restore Poland is not to introduce new ways, but to return to the old ones. In the courage and heroism of the Sarmatian race is to be found the real and the only effective barrier against the encroachments of the Muscovite : in their indelible feeling of nationality, the provision made by Providence for its resurrection, like the Phoenix from its ashes. Such a barrier is not to be found in Turkey. England and France may fight their own battle in the Crimea or on the Danube, but they will not find their real allies in the Ottomans. The Cross must defend itself ; it is not to be defended by the Crescent. Europe committed a great sin in permitting the barrier of Poland to be swept away ; it can be expiated only by aiding in its restoration. The extension of Austria to the mouth of the Danube, and the acquisition by it of Moldavia and Wallachia, under the burden of the stipulated payment to the Porte, is the obvious mode, without doing injustice to any one, of winning its consent to the cession of Galicia. If Prussia casts in its lot with the Muscovites, it cannot complain if it undergoes the fate which it itself imposed on Saxony when its sovereign adhered to Napoleon in 1814. But to cement the league which is to achieve this mighty deliverance, the cause of independence must be severed from that of democracy ; Poland must be restored by an effort of united Europe, not by arming one section of it against the other. Its partition was the sin of the sovereigns alone, and restitution must be made or retribution endured by the sovereigns, not the people."

We remember to have noticed sentiments almost identical with these in a well known quarterly journal, the representative of opinions differing in many respects, almost in all, from those which Sir Archibald Alison commonly puts forward ; and we are glad to perceive this unity, not only of feeling but of judgment, in historians and publicists who have

little else in common. In an article upon M. Mérimée's life of Demetrius the Impostor, in No. LXX (Jan. 1854) of the Dublin Review, we find the following passage:—

"It is quite with a touch of enthusiasm M. Mérimée records the services rendered to Russia by the patriotic butcher, Minin, to whose harangues Russia is mainly indebted for her independence and her present race of Emperors, and the traditions of whose trade it will not be denied have been faithfully preserved by the Romanoffs. Not being Russians ourselves, and not pretending to any thing like pure cosmopolitanism, we cannot say we dwell with pleasure upon any event or any series of events which led, however remotely, to the fall of Poland. It was on the contrary with a feeling of irrepressible melancholy we read the last of her successes, and our heart was touched anew as we reverted to the fate of that glorious land so dear to memory and so sacred to sorrow. We grieved to think that her pure cause should be under the detestable protection of Democracy; to see the palm of her confession broken and repudiated, and the purple of her martyrdom dabbled in the base blood that ran upon the barricades of '48. We know it was the Nemesis of Poland that plied her scourge by the hands of Bem and Dembinski, but we could wish to see her more nobly avenged and on a lawful field. In the war which Russia has so determinedly drawn upon herself; does no statesman look to the reconstitution of Poland as an issue? Does no monarchist think of detaching from revolution her most formidable ally? Does no liberal think opposing a bulwark to the encroachments of despotism? Does Napoleon III. mean to repeat the crime and blunder of Napoleon I. in trifling with the liberties of Poland? Does it ever occur to Austria and Prussia that if their right eye scandalize them, it were well to pluck it out; and that it is better to continue in life without Galicia or Posen, than to go down with Galicia and Posen into that terrestrial empire of darkness, which is ruled by the 'terrestrial deity' of the Russians."

It is hardly necessary to say, that these are our sentiments also; and that we adhere with a settled and immoveable conviction to the belief, that Poland must be built up again, and entrenched upon the confines of civilisation. The outposts of European freedom and greatness should be again committed to the sacred band that held them and advanced them so proudly before. The nation that, under the disadvantages of a constitution and government the most absurd, perhaps, ever imposed upon a community civilised or savage, beat down the power of Turkey when Turkey was powerful, and rolled back the torrent of triumphant barbarism from the gates of Vienna, from the gates of Europe; surely such a people, under a strong and well knit monarchy, would stand upon the frontier land of European society, and, like the angel at the gate

of Paradise, warn off with her sword of fire the barbarians who have forfeited their right of citizenship. Trammelled, as we have said, by a constitution that no mere reform could mend, preyed upon by parricidal factions, often represented in the field by a few thousand lances, when she might have disposed of as many myriads, yet even thus she propagated her boundaries year after year, absorbed vast provinces, annihilated armies sixteen times the strength of her own, gave laws in the Kremlin, and nearly half a century after heaven and the constitution had wrought her downfall, maintained with the resources of four millions of Poles the struggle we have seen, against the master of forty millions of Russians. It is difficult to understand how these circumstances should not have forced themselves more peremptorily, not upon the statesmen but upon the people of these countries. We do not think there is virtue, genius or courage in our government to face such a solution of the question, nor is it to be expected that any pressure of events outside our own four seas will put that dish of skimmed milk into motion. The treaty that may be supposed to follow our successes, and put a restraint upon Russian encroachment, will be our own handiwork, the contrivance of man, whereas Poland is conspicuously marked by the finger of God to be the rampart of liberty and Christianity. That rampart is prostrate but not demolished, and it rests with us to build it up "*e vivis et electis lapidibus*." While Poland yet existed, it was part of the constitutions of Polish chivalry that, during the chaunting of the gospel at the altar, the knightly worshipper should stand with his sword half drawn, an attitude sublimely indicative of his place and functions in the economy of European society. When Europe comes to feel the value of Poland, and realize the truth that society is a commonwealth of nations, in which every individual people has its allotted part, not to be usurped by any other without derangement of her entire polity—when she comes to understand further, that the place so long held by Poland, and now so long vacant, is necessary to the general security, and can be filled by Poland alone—when the people of this empire will be careful to separate the cause of Poland from that of other nationalities whose claims, supposing them to have any, cannot be urged with profit to them, or without disaster to the cause of Poland—when all this comes to pass, there will be some hope of the only issue to the present contest



worth the struggle. The notion of the preservation of Turkey has drifted and cleared away with the smoke of the first shot. It is for Europe, for ourselves, we stand; and even upon no higher, no more dignified principle, the restoration of Poland ought to be the rallying word upon every hustings. On no pretence of embarrassing the course of negotiations, of detaching Austria from the allies, or of provoking the hostility of Prussia, should evasion of this question be permitted. We, for our part, have never triumphed in the weakness or humiliation of Austria; we have no sympathy with her rebels or her defamers; the dearest action of Irishmen has been spent in her service; we are bound to her for a generous and open-hearted hospitality in evil times; and we would not willingly deprive her of a foot of territory or a scruple of influence. We have no particular grudge against Prussia, if we take anything from her it must be at a valuation. Let Austria have the Danubian provinces and something more; mediatize half a dozen of German princes and throw their dukedoms to Prussia, but let Poland be revived at any cost. Gratify the pride, make safe the interests of Austria and Prussia as events may permit; the means will not be wanting if the determination be adopted and adhered to. Austria and Prussia will be more immediate gainers; Austria, no doubt, is aware of this, but her position is lamentably peculiar. She owes it to Russia that she exists. When all Europe, and England more particularly, stood by and floated her in the death struggle with democracy upon all her frontiers, Russia interposed and saved her. And has Russia no claim upon her gratitude? Alas, Poland was her first deliverer, and gratitude never interposed to forbid the partition, though the partition was simply a crime, while the reduction of Russian power is a necessity. After a little decent reluctance, and a little ceremonious pressure from without, Austria, we may be assured, will come to terms. Prussia, too, it is likely, will come to understand her own interests, and may be brought to surrender Posen for a proper equivalent; but she is under the fascination still, and will require more peremptory dealing. In a word, Europe can have no faith in moral obligations, she must have her "material guarantee" or nothing. Russian and European interests can have nothing in common; their enmity is instinctive, their antipathy invincible, their union impossible, their very co-existence scarce conceivable—

Statesmen are not even yet disabused of the idea that Russian and European destinies, like the lines of the parabola, can approach for ever without ever coming into contact. Men seem to think that some squinting treaty looking every way and no way, or blinking the only interest it would appear to stare upon, is the necessity of the time—Diplomatists, if it be left to them, will continue to substitute darkness for safety, ambiguity of clauses for opposition of forces, paper for iron, and back-doors for ramparts in front—Poland is the only rampart that will stand; and unless we raise it up, ministers may outwit each other upon details and win their little victories with their customary little arts; but the solid victory will remain with Russia—nay we can suppose her to play the part of the penitent and vanquished, and consent like Sampson to be bound with bonds of her own choosing, that she can snap without an effort; but we, who know the secret of her strength, how long are we to trifle with our opportunity?—Let us lay it to heart that Russia is beyond her own control, and that nothing short of a physical obstacle can arrest her progress. A great and fanatical people set in motion by the superstition of a destiny, is no more master of its own will than an avalanche detached from the mountain; and you might as well attempt to arrest the one by artificial obstructions as the other. It is only the opposite mountain, the *natural* barrier in a word, that can offer an effectual resistance—Poland, we say once again, is that barrier, and can expect to have no other—Poland belongs to the West by religion, civilization, tradition, manners, feelings, instincts, antipathies; and while Russia holds a single fort in the West, Europe is threatened and defied—Goldsmith, a mere poet, an unfortunate scholar, a philanthropic vagabond, who never learned diplomacy, and had as little acquaintance with red tape as with the red ribbon; a few years before the first partition of Poland, felt and described the danger of Russian preponderance in the West more forcibly than any one of us all appears to understand it now. “A fort in the power of this people,” he says, “would be like the possession of a flood-gate; and when ambition, interest, or necessity prompted, they might then be able to deluge the world with a barbarous inundation.” When Goldsmith wrote, the possession of a single fort by Russia in Western Europe was almost an improbable event. We now find her conterminous with Austria, Prussia, and Turkey; overawing the first, fascinating the second, and on the point of swallowing the third.

We have no occasion to enumerate the successive encroachments of Russia, or mark them by degrees of latitude—The newspapers have done that sufficiently for any good purpose—if there be any possibility of getting into the right track, we have every fact and every argument as broadly before us as human wit or divine Providence can shape them.—If we require time for deliberation at this stage of the question, enlightenment may come of it, one day or another, but meanwhile the world will go round and events will revolve without waiting for us.—We know all that we can hope to know, and unless we have to act upon the evidence before us we cannot expect to act at all—Are we to shut our eyes upon the sun and refuse his service, under promise of a ray that started from some yet undiscovered star in the morning of the creation, and will reach us in its own good time, as it does not loiter on the way.—Public opinion as yet has never taken the direction of Poland—We yawn horribly over an occasional provincial meeting of more than average stupidity professedly in favor of Poland, but where that unhappy country, as unfortunate in her sympathizers as in her tyrants, is swamped in the perilous stuff thrown off about Italy and Hungary. The favours of England to distressed nationalities, have been as indiscriminate, as fallacious and as ruinous as a prostitute's. "A teeming mistress but a barren wife," she plighted her troth to liberty, and intrigued with revolution: she sinned with conspiracy and brought forth disaster.—A different course is open to her now—an opportunity of retrieval and reparation such as occurs but once in a history, has arisen, and is passing. The greatness of England, the greatness of France; liberty, civilization, progress, peace and safety for Europe, are concerned in her decision; but she deceives herself, she deceives the expectation of the world, she is false to her glory, false to her repose and false to her conscience, if she abandon Poland—The Restoration of Poland is still possible—how long will it continue so? In human affairs there can be eventually but one moment's interval between, *time enough*, and *too late*—Even now that moment would seem to be present; it solicits, but it cannot tarry. "O Jerusalem, would that thou hadst known and that *in this thy day*, the things that are for thy peace."

## ART. VII.—THE NATIONAL AND KILDARE PLACE SYSTEMS.

1. *The Twenty-first Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, (for the year 1854).* Dublin: Thom. 1855.
2. *Fifteenth Report of the Church Education Society for Ireland. Being for the year 1854.* Dublin: 1855.

Dull and thoughtless indeed must they be who can pass by the noble edifices raised for the education of the poor in our Metropolis without being moved with feelings of pride and gratification. Those buildings stand as so many testimonies of the good and noble-minded men who have struggled in the grand and glorious cause of Popular Education, and to whom the Irish poor are, and ever will be indebted.

Those acquainted with the state of education in Ireland some twenty years ago, can only appreciate the effects that the National System of Education has wrought upon the Country which then was steeped in ignorance, an ignorance which a grand system of education, like the National, alone could remove. In this great national system and as part of it, plans were devised and first adopted for securing in a peculiar way native talent, for the work of instruction and for training it where found in such a fashion as to make its re-production in teachers a second time most effectual—in this as in the great question of Religion, the Commissioners have set examples of ability and forethought to all who are, and may be engaged in a kindred cause.—Strenuously have they carried out the wise and judicious principles upon which the system has been founded, namely, absence of all *compulsion*, and avoidance of all *restriction*, as far as the religious feelings of the community are concerned. The failure of the Kildare Place Society, was to them a great lesson, and the present generation feels the practical effects of that lesson. The unwise policy of the supporters of the Kildare Place system, who foolishly thought that the Irish people would suffer their children to be instructed by a system of Education which aimed at the subversion of their peculiar religious convictions, was its *ruin*. The Roman Catholic part of the community saw that it was a “mockery, a delusion, and a snare,” that when their children “asked for bread, they were offered a stone,” and the slow conviction was at last forced on the Kildare Place Society itself, that their efforts were a vain and useless labor, and yet, though short the time was, that it was in operation, it produced some effects fraught with evil to the people of Ireland, and to the

State at large, for it was the cause of spreading over the land mischievous disunion and religious animosity.

They tried to force on the poor what they dare not attempt on the rich, and failing in this, they formed themselves into a body "of a vindictive *few*," and continued to declaim against a system based upon principles of liberality and religious freedom.

If the tree is to be judged by its fruit, what greater testimony of the fairness and superiority of the National System can be desired than the following :—

"It was stated, on the sworn testimony of several witnesses examined before the committee, that in five thousand schools, attended by upwards of half a million of children, in charge of about six thousand teachers of various religious denominations, not a single case of proselytism had ever been established on satisfactory evidence. \* \* \* The proselytising spirit by which so many religious persons of different creeds are actuated in their efforts to disseminate the blessings of instruction among the children of the Irish poor, renders this crowning triumph of the national system the more extraordinary. It may be fairly asked, has not its success been unexampled? has not it attained the first and most important object of the eminent statesman by whom it was founded? has it not realized the anticipations of the most honored and distinguished men of the present age, of all parties, who have given it their support? has it not gained the confidence of the great majority of the people?"\*

That it has succeeded in effecting all here stated, its most strenuous opponents must admit, and that it has been productive of feelings of affection among the rising generation of the lower classes of the country, there are none who can in honor or justice deny. The Rules issued by the Commissioners for the guidance of teachers of National Schools, are such as cannot fail if properly carried out to have a most salutary and lasting effect upon the minds of those children committed to their care. By the observance of those rules, besides attending to the mere literary instruction of his pupils, the teacher inculcates the principles of Morality, Honesty, and Truth, and teaches them to obey and respect their parents, and all those placed in *authority* over them. Their duties as Christians to each other, are read out to them by the teacher from the General Lesson, without interfering for a moment with the tenets of any religious persuasion.

It must be obvious to those who have at heart the amelior-

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\* We have taken the above extract from a review and compendium of the minutes of evidence taken before a select committee of the House of Lords, 1854.

ration of the condition of the poor of Ireland, that the most effectual step to its attainment has been the introduction of the National System. The success of the system is unparalleled, the good it has effected illimitable, it is admired and lauded by England's greatest statesmen, and appreciated by every true patriot of our own country. Protestants, Catholics, and Presbyterians, forget all religious differences in supporting the system, and justly prize it for its effects on their common country, and the most illustrious and noble peers of the realm have raised their voices in its behalf, seeing that it has done more to cicatrise the wounds inflicted by party and sectarian animosity, than any measure ever adopted by the British legislature, and whatever may be the objects contemplated by its opponents, we can only say that it is illiberal and calculated to revive the religious hatred that existed between creed and creed, before the blessings of *united* education were diffused amongst the Irish poor. Every body who has paid a serious attention to the working of the system, must be aware of its steady progress, in promoting harmony and goodwill amongst the rising generation. In the National Schools, but especially in those immediately under the Commissioners themselves, religious discord is never heard, and if united education has met some little opposition from a few, and so been retarded in some parts of the country, who can deny that it has succeeded, aye triumphed in the Model Schools throughout Ireland? Who has ever visited the Commissioners' School in Marlborough Street, and taken the trouble to investigate the system in its real working, that has not come out satisfied that it is the one most suited to the country, and therefore entitled to the support of all good and impartial men. That the system is appreciated in the sister-country, the following extract from an address delivered by the Earl of Derby, (then Lord Stanley) to the members of a Mechanics' Institution in England, will clearly show :—

“A rule should be adopted in all schools, somewhat analogous to that already adopted in Ireland, namely, that religious instructions, though given, should be optional, not compulsory, and that every school receiving aid from the public funds, whether National or local, should be bound to admit to its secular teaching, every child of whatever denomination,—that child not being compelled to attend the religious teacher.”

It was our good fortune to be present at the examinations

held on the 25th July last in the four departments of the central institution in Marlborough-street, when our present Viceroy attended, and we shall here submit to our readers a few notes of our visit.

His Excellency first entered the Infant Department, accompanied by many of the most distinguished educationists of the age, of various religious denominations, and heard with the greatest delight the examination of some hundred of those little ones, who even in the years of infancy receive the blessings of an education adapted to their capacity. The cheerful and happy countenances of those young creatures most forcibly indicated the parent-like affection and care with which they are treated by the lady and gentleman presiding over this school. Both are what teachers *ought* to be; in them are combined every quality that could be desired in a thorough teacher and a prudent and affectionate parent. The enquiries of these young creatures, no matter how frequent, are attended to; the inquisitiveness and curiosity of the infant mind are not looked upon as troublesome and profitless, the greatest and almost incredible attention is bestowed upon the enlargement of their little sphere of knowledge. The infant asks a question, and that question is answered in words of kindness and love which tell on their little hearts. The infant is sure to ask again, for it has not been discouraged by a sullen look or sharp reply from the teacher. Thus it is that this department stands unrivalled by any other of a similar character in Great Britain. In Europe, perhaps, there is not an infant school more admirably conducted; and the appointment of the teachers to this important branch of the Institution is another proof of that wisdom and justice of the Commissioners that have ever characterised them in the selection of their officers.

A most eminent writer and thorough educationist, in his notes of a visit to this school, writes—

“I wish that I could induce the citizens of Dublin to visit this most interesting establishment. There can be no more delightful spectacle than the faces of happy infancy: in the intelligent eye, modest demeanour, and orderly conduct of these infants, may be read the promise of a brighter future for Ireland. Habituated as I have been to school inspection, I never have seen anything like the same intelligence of eye, manifested in any school as in the infants' school, Marlborough-street; and I would almost undertake, from this evidence alone, to point out the children in the upper

school who have had the advantage of previous training in the infant school."

Would that the poor of Dublin were to form a proper estimate of the value of this establishment, and send their infants to this *second home* which, there can be no doubt, is far preferable in many instances to their own homes, which in too many cases are situated in confined and ill-ventilated back lanes of the city, where the growth of infancy is dwarfed, and the little minds contaminated by the contagion of the bad example too frequently shown them by those around.

The Wilderspin system, which is considered by educationists to be the best that has been devised, is fully and effectually carried out in this school. By this system all free play is given for the developement of the young mind, and its effects upon those young creatures cannot fail to strike even the most casual visitor. During our visit in this and the other departments, we could not but observe from the appearance of the pupils that the seventh practical rule of the Commissioners, which relates to the cleanliness, &c. of the pupils, was strictly attended to. We give a copy of the rule from the Report before us.

"To promote, both by precept and example, Cleanliness, Neatness, and Decency. To effect this the Teachers should set an example of cleanliness and neatness in their own persons, and in the state and general appearance of their schools. They should also satisfy themselves, by personal inspection every morning, that the children have had their hands and faces washed, their hair combed, and clothes cleaned, and, when necessary, mended. The school apartments too should be swept and dusted every evening, and be whitewashed at least once a year."

We had every reason to feel pleased with our visit to the Infant School, and we could not but feel satisfied that the children there assembled were receiving an education in every way calculated to promote their happiness and well being in after-life. The master of the school is the author of an excellent work on Infant Education, entitled "Young's Infant School Teacher's Manual," from which we give the following:—

"We learn to know things through our senses; this is called *perceiving*. When we once know anything we can think of it again; this is called *remembering*. How do we know the difference between one object and another? By *comparing* them. Can you tell me which is the taller of these two children, the boy or the girl? The



boy. Which is the elder? The boy. How do you know? Because he is so much bigger. Yes; you have observed that children increase in size as they get older, and so you *judged* of their ages by their difference of size. In this way we can judge of the differences of all things, and by reasoning on their qualities we learn to know their uses. We can judge of *actions* as well as of *things*. We all know that to get our food and clothes, some one must work. Little children cannot work, but their parents labor for them. Now, when we see people who are idle all day we say that they do wrong, and that they will soon come to want. Why do we say this? Because we know that much labor is needed to prepare food and clothing for our use; and if men are idle, others will not give them what they want. It is by our *minds*, then, that we are able to tell right from wrong, and God requires us to think on what we do, and to obey his laws. Does he require the animals to reason on what they do? No; for he has not given them speech and reason like man.

Let us think of another power in our minds. We said that by means of our senses we can perceive whatever is around us; but we can sometimes think of things we never saw; this is called *imagining*. Let us try to imagine a palm tree. I show you this picture to help you to imagine it. Now you must think of a tall, straight tree, growing upright, with no branches at the sides, and only one great bunch of leaves at the top. Now, look again at the picture; fancy the stem as tall as an elm tree; the leaves at the top each as long as this room is wide, and a great bunch of fruit in the middle of the leaves. Have you any idea of the palm tree, now? How did you get it? Yes; from the picture, and by what you know of other trees and by my description.

Let us now see how many mental powers we have found out. We can perceive; we use signs or language; remember, compare, judge, imagine. What a wonderful thing is the mind! It is said that God at first made man in his own image; that is, he gave him a thinking spirit or soul, and made him pure and good. Two things our mind can learn about God; how well He has made all things, and how merciful he has been to man who sinned against Him. When we think of these things it should make us love him more and more every day. \*

The feeling which we have of what is right or wrong in our actions is called *conscience*, and although no one may see us when doing a wrong act, conscience would tell us we were not doing as we ought. We should always listen to conscience. We should always do what we know to be right, not what we see others do. Children often try to excuse themselves when in fault, by saying that they only followed the example of some of their companions: is this right? No; for we should not join in any act without first thinking if it be right to do so. Do you know what you ought to do? The great thing is to love and serve God; the next, to love your fellow creatures, and to do them all the good you can. Do you know what it is wrong and wicked to do? Is it right to hate any one or to try to injure them? Is it right to give way to anger, greediness, and other passions? No; for we should try to govern our minds and to obey

God's law, and not our own bad feelings. Ought we to say what is not true? No, for God is not pleased with those who lie. May we be rude or disobedient to our parents? No; we are commanded to obey them in all things. Can children serve the Lord? Yes; Joseph, the prophet Samuel, King Josiah, Timothy, and many other holy men, sought the Lord while they were yet children, and he led them all through their lives in the right way; and we must try to learn how to be good. We cannot do this all at once. Many little children who are naughty when they first come to school, learn by degrees to do what is right. Will you strive to improve? You must try very much, and not be discouraged; endeavour always to find out which is the right way to act."

The extract here given is sufficient in itself to prove that, "the right man is in the right place." He has had experience in the training of the infant mind, and possesses the ability of handing down to posterity the results of that experience, and in a style truly indicative of an amiable teacher. The little work referred to can be had at a very cheap rate, and should find admission to every nursery and school set apart for the education of infant children. We cannot too strongly recommend this little work to those engaged in infant training.

On leaving the infant school, his Excellency was conducted by the Resident Commissioner, the Right Honorable Alexander Macdonnell, to the Girls' School, where a most searching examination of the pupils took place. We have never known a greater interest to have been taken by any person in the system than was evinced by his Excellency, as he went from class to class in the male and female Schools. In the latter, specimens of needlework were submitted for his Excellency's inspection, which proved that industrial education formed no inconsiderable feature in the system.

When we reflect upon the duties that those females may be called upon to fulfil in after life, whether as teachers or mothers, we cannot but admire and appreciate the inestimable benefits conferred upon them, and we might say, upon society, by the training they receive in this school. The lady presiding over it is justly entitled not only to the commendation of the Commissioners, but of all who have the interest of the community at heart. For we hold, there can be no duty of greater importance than the proper training of females, since upon it depends the morality of the generations yet to come. Who can read the beautiful and pathetic poem by Hood, entitled "The Bridge of Sighs," without feeling the importance of proper female training.

When we consider the important trust committed to females,

either as teachers or parents, we cannot too highly estimate the great good that is effected by the system of training adopted in the school occupying our attention at present: truly has it been said, that until the mother be taught, the infant cannot be taught; and until the infant be taught, the child will not be teachable.

The female teacher holds perhaps a greater sympathetic sway over the minds of children than the males, and hence we consider them better calculated to conduct the education of infant children than the latter. Indeed the infant school would be a most fitting place for the young and inexperienced female teacher to commence her vocation, and we were proud to see on the day of our visit so many young and amiable females exercising an almost maternal influence over the large number of children assembled in the infant school.

A wise man has said, that "upon the mother depend the destinies of the child:" in this assertion no doubt there is much truth indeed; but if the mother be not assisted by the teacher, her efforts cannot be attended with that success it otherwise would. The influence of maternal instruction is almost all-powerful, and when wisely exercised never fails to produce the most happy results, both to the offspring and to the parent.

We cannot withhold giving the following extract from a work that came under our notice some short time since, and our fair readers will no doubt feel as great an interest in it as we do ourselves.

"Who can educate a child but a mother? In perpetual change, it requires all the flexibility of the female character to follow and catch the infinite varieties through which it passes. Any other eye becomes giddy in attempting it. What but the female imagination—its vivacity—its disinterestedness—passing into another being, and still preserving all the peculiarities of its own—can fully comprehend them. The child is fresh and frank—hates constraint and hypocrisy—lives on sympathy—is all love. Who can think with it, and almost in it—who can understand it, through the heart, that best of interpreters—who can satisfy the first want of its young nature—like a mother? But mothers are not always inspired, even by nature. They require reflection as well as instinct, method as well as affection. How many children are taught caprice by kindness—weakness by indecision! Rousseau leaves all to nature: but parents cannot thus abdicate their trust: they must not be left to nature as well as their children. Where firmness is not, there will be no protection—Where love is not, protection will not consult the happiness of the child. What yields, cannot support; a child requires both love and support. If the mother appears like another

child, if she partakes all vacillations of her offspring. How should it respect her—what reason should it have to believe her its mother? But firmness should not degenerate into severity; or anxiety into ill temper. A child is much more prone to imitation than to fear. He lives in you, feels in you; What he finds in you, he reproduces in himself. Hence nothing is indifferent. Looks and words fall on these young natures, with the same force as actions do on that of others. They creep into their imaginations: they settle there, and form, for years after, part of their recollections, and very generally too, of their characters. This is a fact of infinite importance, it is the key of all early education. Feed your child with sounds and sights of sincerity and fondness; breathe about him an atmosphere of serenity, “*ce calme mêlé de joie*”—his natural element; love him well, and love him wisely, and you may dispose of him in all things even as you will. But who can do this like a mother? And what mother so well as she who feels and studies it for herself? Such mothers, it is hoped, may yet be numerous, though neither fashionables nor managers, nor blue stockings; but mothers in the high and holy sense of the name,—deeply penetrated with their sacred calling, and pursuing it ‘in singleness, and in simplicity—with energy and with intelligence—with assiduity, but without fidget—with dignity, but without parade.’ It is this *domestic*, this *fireside education*—this education of *truth and love*—which has given the greater portion of its value to Scotch Education; which transmit the talent and virtue of the mother to the son, and receives in return from the son the tribute of his earliest and most durable affection—not to the father, not to the wife—not to the child—but to the *aged mother*, the emigrant sends back the first fruits of his distant exertions.”\*

We now ask our readers to pass with us to the boys’ school, and here, indeed, are manifested the great blessings of the national system. Protestant, Catholic, and Presbyterian children are, as in the other schools, *united* by the friendly ties of brotherhood, receiving an education, though nominally limited to the elementary branches, yet is such as fits them to become useful members to society, and prepares them for a more exalted course of study, should circumstances permit them to prosecute such; and it is not necessary for us to state, that those who have been fortunate enough to have had time and opportunity to do so, have proved to the world that the education they had received in this school was such as enabled them to attain positions in society of which both the Commissioners and themselves may justly be proud.

In our visit to this school on the day referred to, we could not but think that a brighter future for Ireland was indicated by the answering of so many of her poorest children then assembled, on subjects a knowledge of which heretofore could

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\* See also, “National Education,” by Mr. Frederic Hill.

only be obtained by those so circumstanced in point of wealth and influence as could procure the services of teachers competent to impart it; but now such things are discarded, and all restrictions of patronage and birth are abolished, and the child of the poorest of our fellow creatures can receive an education that the princes of old never enjoyed. The philosophy of the steam engine and the advanced branches of science are, to the higher classes of many of our national schools, as "household words"; but this is nothing compared with the gem of the system, namely, in affording a practical knowledge of those subjects that must necessarily be of the greatest benefit and of certain advantage to them when they come to act their part on the great stage of life.

Great advantages have resulted from the national system, and certainly, whatever be the objections urged against it by others, we are bound by a sense of justice and impartiality to defend and support it more strenuously now than ever, knowing, as we do, the animosity that is now being fostered against it, and the mis-representations that have and are being made of the present Board. But out of evil cometh good, by the blessing of the All Just, for we find that the uncalled for and unmerited attacks made of late on the Commissioners have only tended to invigorate them, and with greater zeal, energy and determination to promulgate the system, by the adoption of measures that must ultimately crown their exertions with still greater success.

Their officers are "up and doing," and it is but awarding them the praise that is justly due to them, to say that among them are to be found the best and most practical educationists of the present day.

Could our readers but have seen the manner in which the gentleman in charge of the boys' school examined his pupils on the day in question; they would have felt proud that the children of the poor of our city should have the benefits of his instruction. Calmly yet effectually did he conduct the examinations; no unbecoming display was visible; it was sufficient for him that he knew that the character of the school was at stake, and the Commissioners expected he would do his duty, and this he did both with credit to himself and justice to his pupils. He varied his interrogations so as to suit the capacities of his pupils, and acquitted himself to the satisfaction of all present. The Commissioners attach the greatest importance

to the office of head master of any of their model schools, and we need not say how wise they are in doing so, for an incompetent person placed in such a position would be productive of most evil results, and seeing this, the Commissioners invariably select from amongst the ranks of national school teachers those who are in every sense qualified to fill the important post; and it affords us much pleasure to say, that in those ranks such men are always to be found. A gentleman thoroughly acquainted with the various systems of education in Europe, and most competent to judge of the qualifications requisite in a thorough teacher, thus describes the head master who presided over the school at the time of his visit in 1847.

"In the boys' school I found that the head master was not only an excellent educationist, but that he had a pride and enthusiasm in his profession such as are rarely witnessed. He had studied the special characters of the pupils, and knew how to vary his lessons so as to suit not merely the different comprehensions, but the different idiosyncrasies of the pupil. He is one of the rare exceptions to the rule, that educational enthusiasts are rather apt to indulge in theatrical display. There was nothing dramatic about him: on the contrary, he was as steady a man of business as a railway secretary, who has to fix departures and arrivals not only by minutes but by seconds."

This is a flattering compliment, no doubt, to this gentleman, but one fully and justly deserved; but this compliment extends to the Commissioners themselves, as his appointment affords another example of their wise discernment in the selection of their officers. The teacher referred to had been a pupil in the model school, and rose from the ranks, having passed through every gradation that a pupil could, till at last we find him selected for the situation of head master. Even here he was not to remain; his talents bid him aspire to a far loftier position, and that position he has attained and most independently too; for merit, and merit only, was rewarded by the Commissioners when they appointed him as one of their head inspectors. Here is one of the very many happy results arising from the national system, but especially from the principles of justice and fair play upon which it is conducted. Well might the Commissioners have engraven on their gates the motto, "*Que sim non unde natus.*" It is scarcely possible to see the advantages that have been afforded to "Nature's aristocracy" in Ireland by the adoption of this system. Sincerely do we unite our hopes with that expressed

by the author of the Digest before us\* when he says, "Long may it exist to diffuse the blessings of a literary, moral and religious education amongst the children of different religious persuasions throughout every part of Ireland."

Our readers are not to conclude that what we have quoted is the only instance where merit has had its reward under the Commissioners, or that the education given in the model schools is such as is calculated to make *teachers* only. No; as regards the one it is a well known fact that others have succeeded equally as well, for the gentleman in question did only follow the example shewn him by his teacher who, some time previously, by his amazing cleverness, to use the words of one of the professors, attained a similar position after undergoing a somewhat similar gradation; and as to the other point alluded to, namely, the education given in the schools, we have only to look around us and see that those who have had the good fortune to remain from five to six years in the school, have been enabled to embark with success in other respectable employments besides that of teaching.

It is an incontrovertible fact that pupils who have received instruction here for the time referred to, no matter whether apprenticed to trades or placed as clerks in public offices, have given the most satisfactory proofs that the education which they had received was such as prepared them for the world, and fitted them to discharge the duties of their respective callings ably and efficiently. There is not, perhaps, a public office in the metropolis where some of the pupils of this school have not found their way. We find them holding appointments in the office of the Board, the Custom House, the Bank, the Four Courts, the General Post Office, the Ordnance Office, and many others too numerous to mention. If artisans, they are found inferior, at least, to none of their class, but superior to many. In the Exhibitions of 1851 and 1858 we have witnessed their work, and it affords us more than ordinary pleasure to be able to state, that it was a late pupil of this school that received the prize for wood-carving in both, and he entertains the greatest hopes of meeting with the same success in the Paris Exhibition. Of course we do not mean to say that he was taught this craft at school; but there it was that he received an intellectual education that prompted

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\* Digest, published by Groombridge and Son, London.

him to *aspire*. And can it be considered presumption in us, witnessing the genius of the pupils displayed in the beautiful drawings ornamenting the central model school, to assert that they are destined to reflect the greatest credit on themselves, the Institution, and the country.

To those of our readers who have not as yet beheld the specimens of art executed by the poor children of our metropolis, we would suggest a visit to the model school, where they may see what has been done and is doing by the Commissioners, to promote and encourage in every way, in this and other subjects, the native talent of the lower classes of the country. And yet we regret to say, that those are the very gentlemen who are assailed and their motives misrepresented, by those who would have themselves looked on as disinterested and zealous advocates for the education of the Irish poor.

We forbear to particularize the Commissioners who have been calumniated by men whose position and influence should lead us to consider them as being gifted with minds far too high to permit them to misrepresent the motives or detract from the merits of their fellow-men, being aware that the very men whom they reviled, and whose characters they attempted to stigmatise, were those that watched with more than a father's care and anxiety over the education of the poor of Ireland, no matter what creed they may have professed, or at what altar they may have bent their knee in adoration to the Most High. Years may roll on and with them may come events that will shew how falsely some of the members of the Board have been accused of the violation of the principles upon which the National system was founded.

No compulsion, as already mentioned in our paper, is the grand feature in the system, and one to which is not only owing the success of the system but its triumph over obstacles that have been placed in the way to that success. And yet we find when Members of the Board were found bold and honorable enough to oppose innovation on this very principle of justice, they are maligned by men eager, not only for the downfall, but in fact the eradication from the country, of a system that has conferred many of the greatest blessings that heaven itself could give.

Looking upon the fine intellectual body of men in the prime of life assembled in the Lecture Hall, on the day of our visit,



and composed of members of the Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Presbyterian Churches, destined by Providence for the heaven-like mission they were about to enter on, we could not help asking, what the opponents of the system could desire more. We could not but admire the wisdom and fore-thought of that high and noble-minded Statesman, who played so prominent a part in establishing a system that must ever entitle him to the gratitude and respect of all fair and impartial men. And to the noble Lord himself, it must be a source of some gratification to know, that after so many years' trial in the country, the National system of Education is not only not hastening to decay, but is in a state of youthful vigour. That it may continue so is the prayer of all men who desire to see the lower classes of the country, of every religious sect, united by the ties of brotherhood and christian love. And there are no just grounds for fear that it will not, so long as such liberal men as those who now form the Board are delegated to carry out unflinchingly and inviolably, as they do, the principles of the system. Let them persevere as they have done, and the clamour and the malignity by which they have been assailed will soon die away, and the opposers of the system itself will at length see the fruitlessness of their opposition, and desist at last from inventing difficulties and excuses for continued hostility.

We should have thought they had already learned that their revolutionary opposition had ceased to be encouraged by every statesman of honor, and even the English Clergy themselves, who though for a time they withheld their condemnation of such proceedings, have long since come forward and manfully acknowledged their error in so doing.

What, let us ask, could be done for the education of the children of the Irish poor of every religious persuasion, that is not done by the Commissioners? Teachers are trained and dispersed over the country, no matter how remote or unfriendly the locality, to impart the blessings of education to the offspring of the poorest peasant, to expand the young mind, and to inculcate in the heart of youth, the principles of christian forbearance and brotherly love; to prevent as far as in them lies religious animosity being engendered in young breasts, and to teach them to practise the golden rule of Christians, *to love one another*, no matter what their creed or circumstances in life maybe. This duty is expected from teachers, and the importance of its being faithfully discharged, is impressed upon them while at the parent institution, and for its omission are they only accountable.

We have now submitted to our readers the notes of our visit to the Model School, and however we may have failed to perform the task undertaken by us in this respect, we can console ourselves with the thoughts of having stated truth and truth only, and therefore rest satisfied that though humble our endeavours may have been in pointing out the great and invaluable benefits conferred on the Irish poor by the national system, there is none who can question the fairness of any statement we have made, or of any fact which we have recorded. And we trust from these facts, the public will learn what weight to attach to the foul accusations that have been preferred from time to time against the Commissioners, by wily and designing men, whose only object is to promote religious hatred between creed and creed.

We now venture to say a few words as regards the religious character of the system, which we do in the spirit of justice and impartiality, otherwise we would not only be compromising our own character, but that of the IRISH QUARTERLY, whose pages have never yet been devoted to a cause savoring of party or sectarian spirit. We believe we are speaking the sentiments of the great majority of the Irish nation, when we say that a more conciliatory scheme has never been devised to heal the wounds inflicted by religious hostility upon a people, than the national system of Education. That the system is the one most congenial to the country the following statement affords most conclusive proof: in 1833 the number of national schools in Ireland was 789, in 1854 the numbered 5247 thus shewing an increase of 4458, and an average increase per year of 212·8.

In the commencement of our paper we alluded to the liberal principles upon which the national system was founded, and to which no doubt it owes its success, which, to use the words of the distinguished and excellent educationist, Lord Monteagle, is *unexampled*. Every possible respect has been shown to the religious feelings of all parties, and notwithstanding all this, the system has met with the most implacable opposition from some who, from their high position and influence, we should expect to act otherwise. But, despite of all opposition and captious criticism, the system has triumphed, and more than realized the most sanguine expectations of the good men that gave it birth; in fact to its success may be attributed the jealousy of many of its opponents, who fear that the Irish poor have received by its means an education above their rank and station. To the superiority of the secular working of the system all parties

have long since agreed, so that the only point to be discussed is that of the religious instruction, and this it is that has given rise to all opposition. And we may be permitted to ask those who feel themselves aggrieved on this head, have not the Commissioners in their rules provided against any interference with the tenets of the religious doctrines of any of the pupils who attend their schools? Would it not be a violation of the grand principle of the system and one that could not be overlooked or excused by the country or the state, were the Commissioners to sanction even an attempt to interfere with the religious feelings of the pupils. And knowing this, they have adopted measures, so that the slightest ground does not exist for apprehension on this point; and convinced they have done this, it is but just to say, that to whatever censure their recent acts may have exposed them, we too must offer ourselves as participators, for we believe had they not pursued the course they did, and fought their battle with firmness and determination, they might look in vain for the support of the Irish nation. In fine, had they acted otherwise than they did, National Education was no more.

The Commissioners do not prohibit religious instruction from being given by the pastors of the respective churches to which the pupils belong: on the contrary, they desire it and afford every reasonable facility for it, as may be clearly seen from every report issued by them as well as from the one now before us. In the Central Model School, from ten till half-past twelve o'clock on each successive Tuesday, Protestant, Catholic, and Presbyterian children receive religious instruction from their respective pastors: now in the name of common sense, can there be anything fairer than this, and in every National School the manager is empowered to set apart any half hour of the day for the same purpose, provided the particular time be specified in the time table, which the Commissioners require to be hung up in every National School, setting forth the subjects taught in the School, and the time allotted to each.\*

By this simple yet judicious arrangement, it will be seen that children not wishing to be present during the religious instruction, can withdraw or absent themselves prior to its commencement. Should religious instruction be communicated to the pupils at any other time than that specified in the "time table," the Commissioners look upon it as a violation of their rules, and take immediate steps to prevent a recurrence

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\* See Note, page 689.

of the practice ; and in the event of its being continued, withdraw their grants from the School. The primary object of the National System being to effect United Education amongst all children, irrespective of their various creeds, the Commissioners have prohibited any patron from delivering religious instruction in any of their Schools, when children of opposite religious persuasions are present. When it was proposed to rescind the rule of the Commissioners, bearing on this particular point, and to vest patrons with the power of determining the religious education to be given in their School, it received the most strenuous opposition from those who wisely saw that it could not fail to be productive of the most unhappy and mischievous results : among the opponents of so dangerous a scheme, (and one containing the very embryo of the downfall of the National System) are to be found Lord Monteagle, the Right Hon. Alexander Macdonnell, the Dean of Waterford, and Mr. M'Creedy, all honest and impartial friends to popular education. We are told by the author of the Digest already referred to, that the noble lord opposed the modification suggested on the grounds :—

“ That the enforcement of any system of compulsory religious teaching, at the will of the patron, without regard either to the conscience or feelings of the child, the rights of the parent, or the principles of religious liberty, would be at variance with the recommendations of the Parliamentary Reports on Education of 1812, 1824, 1828, 1830 ; that it would contradict the letter of Lord Stanley in 1831 ; that it would be repulsive to the numerous Presbyterian congregations of Ireland, now happily united in support of the national system ; and that it would necessarily lead to a disruption of the present Commission, consisting of men who could not justly be asked, or expected, to administer a system the very opposite of that to which they have hitherto most usefully devoted their zeal, their industry, and their public spirit.”

His lordship also states that the

“ Suggested change would be more impracticable and inexpedient at a moment like the present, when it has been shewn that the progress of the national system has been unexampled.”

In fact, were such a modification as the one alluded to, introduced into the system, it would there and then become what the opponents to united education have been, and are seeking for at this present moment. To term the system *National*, were such a plan adopted, would be absurd. *United Education* would be a farce ; Proselytism would have an ample field, and its agents might pursue their godless work with more or less impunity, for the government would be supplying

funds for the purpose. In fine, the Kildare-place System would be revived, and the same sectarian hostility aggravated in the country, as existed heretofore when the education of the poor of Ireland was committed to the Kildare-place Society. The evils that would accrue from the adoption of the Bishop of Ossory's scheme, would be equally certain to follow from the introduction of such a modification as the one in question, namely, "the schools would be converted into hostile camps, the children brought up to regard each other with sectarian animosity, and the growth of kindly feeling effectually checked. In the present state of Ireland, it is impossible to contemplate anything more fatal to its tranquillity than an organized system of conversion established in every school of which the patron thought fit to violate the rights of conscience."\*

From what we have stated it must be obvious to all understanding the religious state of Ireland, that previous to the interfering with the rules of the National Board as pertaining to the religious instruction of pupils, the State must be prepared to give denominational grants, and this once done, united education is lost for ever, for Protestants and Catholics would again be engaged in those feuds and religious discussions that have already effected but too much mischievous influence throughout this country. The education of the poor on such a principle would be nothing less than an ingenious device for proselytism, which might succeed for a time, but eventually could not fail to bring odium and disrepute upon the proposers. Then perhaps the opponents of the National system, after having had ample field and means for their religious zeal in cultivating the minds of the poor, would be taught, "That no plan of education, however wisely contrived in other respects, can be carried into execution in this country unless it be explicitly avowed and clearly understood as its leading principle, that no attempt should be made to influence or disturb the peculiar religious tenets of any sect or description of Christians."† The field of education, now ploughed and harrowed by national teachers, would again in a short time become barren, and refuse to yield the rich and hallowed harvest to the Irish poor which millions of them have reaped since the introduction of the National system among us.

\* A Review and Compendium of the Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee of the House of Lords, appointed on the 17th of February, 1854, to enquire into the practical working of the system of National Education in Ireland. Groombridge and Co., London.

† Fourteenth Report of the Commissioners, 1812.

Subjoined we give two programmes of instruction for National Schools, which will suffice to prove to the world that the education of the poor of Ireland is held at heart by those appointed to administer to their wants in this respect. When our readers shall have perused them attentively, they cannot but admit that they furnish conclusive evidence of the earnest solicitude felt by the Commissioners and their officers for the improvement and well-being of the Irish people.

*Programme of Instruction for Male National Schools, or  
MINIMUM amount of proficiency required for each class.*

I. CLASS.

Children in the highest division of First Class will be expected *at least*—To name the Days of the Week, and the Months and Seasons of the Year. To count correctly and intelligently up to 20. To read any number up to 20. To add *mentally* any two or more single digits (as  $5+4+6+3$ ) whose sum shall not exceed 20. To spell correctly the simpler words of the lessons they shall have previously read, and to understand their meaning. To know the vowel sounds. To answer simple questions on the subjects of the lessons already learnt by them.

Note.—So soon as Children have learned the Alphabet, or even some few letters, they are to commence at once to *read* as well as spell.

II. CLASS.

Children in the senior division of the Second Class will be expected —To read and set down any number of three places of figures. To know the addition and subtraction tables. To be able to work on Slate or Black Board simple questions in Addition and Subtraction, no part of the work including any number of more than three places of figures. To name the Syllables in a Word. To distinguish readily, in any easy sentence selected in their daily lessons, the Article, Noun, and Adjective. To know the outlines of the map of the world. To Write on Slates. To spell correctly the and simpler words of the Lessons they may have already read, to understand their meaning. To answer simple Questions on the Subjects of the Lessons already learnt by them, and to be able to repeat correctly and neatly such Lessons as are in Rhyme.

SEQUEL CLASS.

Children enrolled One Quarter or more in either Sequel Class will be expected—To read and set down any number of five places of figures. To know the Multiplication, Pence, and Time Tables. To be able to work easy Questions in Simple Multiplication, and Simple Short Division. To distinguish readily, in any easy sentence selected in their daily Lessons, the Article, Noun, Personal Pronoun, Adjective, Verb, and Adverb. To know the Map of the World. To write on Paper. To write out from memory any part of the Multiplication Table. To write out from memory, in proper order, the names of the Months of the Year, with the number of Days in

each. To spell correctly the simpler words of the Lessons they may have already read, and to understand their meaning. To answer simple questions on the Subjects of the Lessons already learnt by them. To read with a fair degree of ease and correctness.

### III. CLASS.

Children enrolled One Quarter or more in the Third Class will be expected—to know Notation and Numeration well, and to repeat all the more useful Arithmetical Tables. To work readily Questions in the Simple and Compound Rules of Arithmetic. To distinguish readily and with certainty, in any easy sentence, selected in their daily Lessons, all the parts of Speech. To know the Maps of the World and Europe. To write on Paper, and to write a fair hand. To know and to be able to write down the characters or marks used in punctuation. To write down correctly easy sentences from Dictation. To write out from memory the Time and Money Tables. To spell correctly the Words of the Lessons they may have already learnt, and to explain their meaning. To answer simple questions on the subject-matter of those Lessons, and to repeat such of them as are in rhyme neatly and correctly. To know what is meant by Accent and Emphasis, and to read with ease and correctness, and with due attention to the pauses.

### IV. CLASS.

Pupils enrolled One Quarter or more in the Fourth Class will be expected—To know *all* the Arithmetical Tables, and to be able to write out from memory, and in a neat and correct form, any one of them. To be able to work Sums in Proportion, Fractions, and Practice. To know the Prefixes, Affixes, and principal Roots given in the Fourth Book. To know so much of English Grammar as to be able to parse easy sentences. To know the Maps of *all* the Continents and of Ireland. To know the definitions of the more common technical terms of Geography, as *Axis, Poles, Equator, Latitude, Longitude, Zones, &c.*, and to explain the ordinary proofs of the Earth's Sphericity. To write correctly from dictation *any* sentence selected from Third Book. To draw on a slate any of the simple plane Geometrical Forms. To answer readily on the subject matter of the Lessons they may have already read, and to explain with clearness the meaning of the words contained in them. To write a good hand. To read with fluency and correctness.

### V. CLASS.

Pupils enrolled One Quarter or more in the Fifth Class will be expected—To know the Commercial Rules of Arithmetic, and the Mensuration of Superficies. To know how to keep Cash, Personal, Real, and Farm Accounts, and how to write out Bills, Shop Accounts, &c. To analyse and parse correctly Complex Sentences.

To know the Geography of the British Empire, and the *simpler* portions of the Geography Generalized. To write correctly from dictation any ordinary sentence selected for them. To write out from memory with correct spelling and syntax, the substance of any fable or short story chosen from the Second or Third Book. To know the forms of Epistolary Correspondence, and how to Address, Subscribe, and

Direct Letters, &c. To analyse the words of their ordinary Lessons, pointing out their Roots. Prefixes, and Affixes, and to explain their meaning with clearness and precision. To answer with intelligence and judgment on the subject matter of the lessons already learnt by them. To write a good hand with ease and freedom. To read with entire ease, fluency, and judgment, both poetry and prose.

Note I.—The *Spelling Book Superseded* should be taught to III., IV., & V. Classes.

Note II.—Mental calculation should be taught to the same Classes.

Note III.—The "*Knowledge of Common Things*" is to be learnt from the Lesson Books; and the Classes should be regularly and carefully examined upon the *subject-matter* of the Lessons read by them.

Note IV.—*Periodic Repetitions* should be regularly instituted, the three great means of instruction being EXPLANATION, INTERROGATION, and REPETITION.

Note.—The Manager is requested to transmit this *Programme* to the Teacher, with directions to have it framed and hung up in the School for his guidance.

*Programme of Instruction for Female National Schools, or MINIMUM amount of proficiency required for each class.*

#### I. CLASS.

Children in the highest division of First Class will be expected—To name the Days of the Week, and the Months and Seasons of the Year. To count correctly and intelligently up to 20. To read any number up to 20. To add *mentally* any two or more single digits (as  $5+4+6+3$ ) whose sum shall not exceed 20. To spell correctly the simpler words of the lessons they shall have previously read, and to understand their meaning. To know the vowel sounds. To answer simple questions on the subjects of the lessons already learnt by them.

Note.—So soon as Children have learned the Alphabet, or even some few of its letters, they are to commence at once to *read* as well as spell.

#### II. CLASS.

Children in the senior division of the Second Class will be expected—To read and set down any number of three places of figures. To know the addition and subtraction tables. To be able to work on Slate or Black Board simple questions in Addition and Subtraction, no part of the work including any number of more than three places of figures. To name the Syllables in a Word. To distinguish readily, in any easy sentence selected in their daily lessons, the Article, Noun, and Adjective. To know the Outlines of the Map of the World. To Write on Slates. To spell correctly the simpler words of the Lessons they may have already read, and to understand their meaning. To answer Simple Questions on the Subjects of the Lessons already learnt by them, and to be able to repeat correctly and neatly such Lessons as are in Rhyme.

#### SEQUEL CLASS.

Children enrolled One Quarter or more in either Sequel Class



will be expected—To read and set down any number of five places of figures. To know the Multiplication, Pence, and Time Tables. To be able to work easy Questions in Simple Multiplication, and Simple Short Division. To distinguish readily, in any easy sentence selected in their daily Lessons, the Article, Noun, Personal Pronoun, Adjective, Verb, and Adverb. To know the Map of the World. To write on Paper. To write out from memory any part of the Multiplication Table. To write out from memory, in proper order, the names of the Months of the Year, with the number of Days in each. To spell correctly the simpler words of the Lessons they may have already read, and to understand their meaning. To answer simple questions on the Subjects of the Lessons already learnt by them. To read with a fair degree of ease and correctness.

### III. CLASS.

Children enrolled One Quarter or more in the Third Class will be expected—To know Notation and Numeration well, and to repeat all the more useful Arithmetical Tables. To work readily Questions in all the Simple Rules of Arithmetic, and in Addition, Subtraction, Multiplication, and Division of Money. To distinguish readily and with certainty, in any easy sentence, selected in their daily Lessons, all the Parts of Speech. To know the Maps of the World and Europe. To write on Paper, and to write a fair hand. To know and to be able to write down the Characters or Marks used in punctuation. To write down correctly easy sentences from Dictation. To write out from memory the Time and Money Tables. To spell correctly the Words of the Lessons they may have already learnt, and to explain their meaning. To answer simple questions on the subject matter of those Lessons, and to repeat such of them as are in rhyme neatly and correctly. To know what is meant by Accent and Emphasis, and to read with ease and correctness, and with due attention to the pauses.

### IV. CLASS.

Pupils enrolled One Quarter or more in the Fourth Class will be expected—To be able to write out from memory, and in a neat and correct form, any of the more useful Arithmetical Tables. To be able to work Sums in the Compound Rules, Simple Proportion, and Practice. To know the Prefixes and Affixes given in the Fourth Book or *Spelling Book Superseded*. To know the inflections of the Noun, Pronoun, Adjective, and Verb, and to be able to parse an easy sentence. To know the Maps of all the Continents and of Ireland. To know the definitions of the more common technical terms of Geography, as *Axis, Poles, Equator, Latitude, Longitude, Zones, &c.* To write correctly from dictation any sentence selected from Third Book. To answer readily on the subject matter of the Lessons they may have already read, and to explain with clearness the meaning of the words contained in them. To write a good hand. To read with fluency and correctness.

### V. CLASS.

Pupils enrolled One Quarter or more in the Fifth Class will be

expected.—To know Fractions, Practice, and Interest. To know how to keep a Cash Account, and how to write out a short Shop Bill. To be able to parse Compound Sentences. To know the Geography of the British Empire, and to explain the ordinary proofs of the Earth's Sphericity. To write correctly from dictation any ordinary sentences selected for them. To write out from memory, with correct spelling and syntax, the substance of any fable or short story chosen from the Second or Third Book. To know the forms of Epistolary Correspondence, and how to Address, Subscribe, and Direct Letters, &c. To be able to explain the composition and meaning of the words of their ordinary reading Lessons. To answer with intelligence and judgment on the subject-matter of the Lessons already learnt by them. To write a good hand with ease and freedom. To read with ease, fluency, and judgment, both poetry and prose.

Note I.—The *Spelling Book Superseded* should be taught to at least the III., IV., & V. Classes.

Note II.—Mental Calculation should be taught to the same Classes,

Note III.—*Needlework* should be taught to all the Children beyond the I. Class.

Note IV.—The "*Knowledge of Common Things*" is to be learnt from the Lesson Books; and the Classes should be regularly and carefully examined upon the *subject-matter* of the Lessons read by them.

Note V.—*Periodic Repetitions* should be regularly instituted, the three great means of instruction being EXPLANATION, INTERROGATION, and REPETITION.

Note.—The Manager is requested to transmit this *Programme* to the Teacher, with directions to have it framed and hung up in the School-room for her guidance.

These programmes furnish a guide both to inspectors and teachers, and while they point out the duties of the latter, they shew to the pupils the qualifications that must be attained by them before their promotion to a higher class can take place. The effect that will be produced by the circulation of those programmes among the National teachers, cannot fail to be productive of most valuable results. By this course patrons of schools will be enabled to have a decided check on the teachers, and the latter knowing this will endeavour to bring up their classes to the prescribed standard, and thus be not only prepared for inspection at any time, but *desire* it. In fine, by these programmes the duties of teachers are definitely pointed out, and on the manner in which discharged depends their promotion or depression. The framers of these papers have displayed much wisdom and experience in practical education, and are entitled to the highest praise. In perusing

the programmes, it cannot fail to strike our readers how admirably they are drawn up, and how free they are from any thing that could for a moment impede united education. We have no doubt that their distribution will be hailed with delight by, and receive the greatest attention from, all managers of National Schools throughout Ireland, no matter what religious doctrine they may profess. While such men as the framers of these programmes are engaged in the great cause of National Education, we need not be apprehensive of its failure. Truly and deservedly has it been said by an eminent writer, that "All unprejudiced persons, from our revered monarch on her throne to the lowest of her subjects, who have visited either the Model Schools in Marlborough-street, Dublin, or the humblest school in the most distant parts of the country, will allow that a sound system of instruction is taught there, superior both in quality and extent to what is to be met with in most of the National Schools in England."

At the present moment, when the religious instruction given in National Schools engages so much of public attention, it may be desirable to submit for the information of our readers, the rules laid down by the Commissioners for the guidance of all managers whether of vested or non-vested schools. They are as follows :—

*" Religious and Secular Instruction.*

1. Opportunities are to be afforded (as hereinafter provided for) to the children of all National Schools for receiving such religious instruction as their parents or guardians approve of.

2 Religious instruction must be so arranged, that each School shall be open to children of all communions ; that due regard be had to parental right and authority ; that, accordingly, no child be *compelled* to receive, or to be present at, any religious instruction of which his parents or guardians disapprove ; and that the time for giving it be so fixed, that no child shall be thereby, in effect, excluded, directly or indirectly, from the other advantages which the School affords.

3. A public notification of the times for religious instruction must be inserted in large letters in the 'Time Table' supplied by the Commissioners, who recommend that, as far as may be practicable, the general nature of such religious instruction be also stated therein.

4. The 'Time-Table' must be kept constantly hung up in a conspicuous place in the School-room.

5. The Teacher must, immediately before the commencement of religious instruction, announce distinctly to the pupils, that the hour for religious instruction has arrived, and must, at the same time, put

and keep up, during the period allotted to such religious instruction and within the view of all the pupils, a notification thereof, containing the words ' Religious Instruction,' printed in large characters, on a form to be supplied by the Commissioners.

6. When the secular instruction precedes the religious instruction, in any National School, there shall be a sufficient interval between the announcement and the commencement of the religious instruction; and whether the religious or the secular instruction shall have priority in any National School, the books used for the instruction first in order, shall be carefully laid aside, at its termination, in the press or other place appropriated for keeping the School-books.

7. No secular instruction, whether literary or industrial, shall be carried on in the same apartment, during school hours,\* simultaneously with religious instruction.

8. In Schools, towards the building of which the Commissioners have contributed, and which are vested in Trustees, for the purposes of National Education, or which are vested in the Commissioners in their corporate capacity, such pastors or other persons as shall be approved of by the parents or guardians of the children respectively, shall have access to them *in the School-room*, for the purpose of giving them religious instruction there, at convenient times to be appointed for that purpose.

9. In Schools NOT VESTED, and which receive no other aid than Salary and Books, it is for the Patrons or Managers to determine whether any, and if any, what religious instruction shall be given *in the School-room*; but if they do not permit it to be given in the School-room, the children whose parents or guardians so desire, must be allowed to absent themselves from the School, at reasonable times, for the purpose of receiving such instruction ELSEWHERE.

In such Schools, the Commissioners do not insist that opportunities shall be afforded (as in the case of Vested Schools) for religious instruction being given *in the School-room*, by such Pastors, or other persons as shall be approved by the parents or guardians of the children.

10. The reading of the Scriptures, either in the Protestant Authorized or Douay Version,—the teaching of Catechisms,—public prayer,—and all other religious exercises, come within the rules as to religious instruction.

11. The Patrons and Managers of *all* National Schools have the right to permit the Holy Scriptures (either in the Authorized or Douay Version) to be read, at the time or times set apart for religious instruction; and in *all Vested Schools* the parents or guardians of the children have the right to require the Patrons and Managers to afford opportunities for the reading of the Holy Scriptures in the School-room, under proper persons approved of by the parents or guardians for that purpose.

12. Religious instruction, prayer, or other religious exercises, may take place, at any time, before and after the ordinary School business

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\* The term "SCHOOL HOURS," is always to be understood to mean the entire time, in each day, from the opening of the School to the closing of the same for the dismissal of the pupils.

(during which all children, of whatever denomination they may be, are required to attend); but must not take place *more than once*, at an *intermediate* time, between the commencement and the close of the ordinary School business. The Commissioners, however, will not sanction any arrangement for religious instruction, prayer, or other religious exercises *at an intermediate time*, in cases where it shall appear to them, that such arrangement will interfere with the usefulness of the School, by preventing children of any religious denomination from availing themselves of its advantages, or by subjecting those in attendance to any practical inconvenience.

13. The secular School business must not be interrupted, or suspended, by any spiritual exercise whatsoever.

*Note.*—The Commissioners earnestly recommend that Religious Instruction shall take place either immediately before the commencement, or immediately after the close, of the ordinary School business; and they further recommend that, whenever the Patron or manager thinks fit to have religious instruction at an intermediate time, a separate apartment shall (when practicable) be provided for the reception of those children whose parents or guardians may disapprove of their being present thereat.

14. Patrons, Managers, and Teachers, are not required to *exclude* any children from any religious instruction given in the School; but all children are to have full power to absent themselves or to withdraw from it. If any parents or guardians object to the religious instruction given in a National School, it devolves upon them to adopt measures to prevent their children from being present thereat.

15. Patrons, Managers, and Teachers, are not to use any means, directly or indirectly, to induce children to attend any religious instruction, contrary to the wishes of their parents or guardians. The Commissioners will regard such interference as opposed to the whole spirit of the system of National Education.

16. If any child of a religious persuasion different from that of the Teacher of any National School, attend during the time or times set apart for religious instruction given by such Teacher, it shall be his or her duty, on the *first attendance* of every such child, during the time for such religious instruction given by such Teacher in such School, *forthwith* to notify the same to the parent or guardian of such child on, and by, a Form to be furnished by the Commissioners.

17. The Teachers are required to keep a record of the names of the children to whose parents they have sent the printed Form of notification.

18. The Registry kept in each School, according to the Form furnished by the Commissioners, must show the religious denomination of each child on the School Roll.

19. A sufficient number of hours, to be approved of in each case, by the Commissioners, is to be appropriated to the ordinary School business, during which all children, of whatever denomination they may be, are required to attend.

Such are the rules relating to religious instruction commu-

nicated in our National Schools. We give them *verbatim* as they appear in the Commissioners' Report of last year, and forbear to offer any suggestion or comment upon them for the present; but we have no doubt that the impartial reader will pronounce them free from anything calculated to encourage proselytism or violation of the rights of conscience. The Commissioners have, it must be acknowledged, in the framing of these rules, paid the greatest respect to the religious feelings of parents and guardians of children of all religious denominations, and had the Kildare Place Society, or that of the Charter Schools, done the same, their exertions would have been crowned with signal success instead of signal failure.

It is evident from the foregoing rules, that no school is excluded from the grants made by the Commissioners, provided the managers be guided by these rules. Protestants, Catholics, and Presbyterians are equally eligible, without the slightest fear of their religious tenets being interfered with, or being compelled to read any book that might to them be objectionable. What cause, therefore, has the Church Education Society, or any other Society, to declaim against a system founded, as it is, upon the principles of religious liberty, affording, as it does, advantages to the poor of the country of all religious persuasions, and scrupulously protecting at the same time liberty of conscience in every national school throughout the land?

The state well knowing this, we need not be surprised that it has paused to interfere with the system, or hearken to the demands of its opponents for separate grants; for, were such demands acceded, the good work that has been attended with "unexampled success" would be rendered null and void, and the wealthy, having funds at their disposal for the proselytism of the poor, would, no doubt, find a field for their godless work. Food and clothes would have their influence with a poverty-stricken people, and urge them on to do what their conscience would in vain tell them was wrong. "Thus the state would become the means of degrading the lower orders in Ireland, and of erecting rival schools in each parish or district, thereby perpetuating those religious feuds and that party spirit which, alas! have done so much towards marring the prospects of the country." The failure of the Charter School system, and that of the Kildare Place, should be a sufficient warning to the country to resist the introduction of any system of edu-

cation where the religious rights of the poor would neither be respected nor protected. "You may reason and expostulate with the parents; but never attempt to kidnap their children, or to make proselytes of them. That is not a fair mode of procedure. But offer them that which is good, and in most cases you will find, if it is offered in a spirit of frankness and conciliation, it will be willingly accepted." These are the sentiments of a distinguished educationist, and one well acquainted with the Irish character.

We forbear offering any further comment upon the system as relates to religious instruction; meanwhile we would remind those who appear so much aggrieved on this point, of the crimes perpetrated under the Kildare Place and Charter Schools Societies, but especially under the latter; for it is a fact that cannot be contradicted, that discoveries were made in charter schools by commissioners of education enquiry, that were of so criminal a nature that they dared not to insert them in their public report, but presented a separate sealed report to the king, in consequence of which they were immediately broken up.

"The unhappy history of the charter schools may be very briefly related. A great point appeared to be gained when the State interfered in the education of the people; but the State delegated its authority to irresponsible bodies, abandoned the funds and the duties to volunteers, exercised no control over the expenditure of the one or the performance of the other.

The system of the Schools involved in it as reasonable men must confess, much moral evil; children were taken from their homes, their names were changed, they were made orphans in the lifetime of their parents, and placed under the care of teachers appointed by a system of jobbing. They were worse than failures, they were abuses: the Report of the Commissioners of Education presented to Parliament in 1825, supported by unquestionable evidence, declared that one million and a half of the public money had been lavished on a mere bubble. The parliament instituted proceedings against the administrators of the schools, and solemnly declared that 'the evil was so monstrous that it could not be corrected.' Still there were persons found who clung to the delusions that these schools were efficacious instruments of conversion, and some years elapsed before Parliament gave effect to the condemnation it pronounced by withdrawing the grant."

From all the facts and evidences now given to the reader, he is enabled to judge for himself on the subject of National Education as carried out under the Irish Board. We have placed before him nothing but what he himself can ascertain to be the truth.

In another part of our paper we have borne testimony to the admirable course of secular instruction given in National Schools; yet, being of opinion that the course would become still more useful were Mapping and Land Surveying taught to the advanced pupils, especially to those attending the District Model Schools, we would strongly urge upon the Commissioners to give the matter their consideration. We speak from experience when we say, that persons having a competent knowledge of either subject can, in the present age procure, without any difficulty, respectable and remunerative employment either in Great Britain or her colonies.

In closing our paper we would state, how we sincerely regret to find that, notwithstanding the many appeals made from time to time to the Commissioners, both by their own officers and many most distinguished men totally unconnected with the Board, to adopt some measures by which the middle and lower classes of Ireland would be enabled to receive a classical education—nothing has as yet been done.

This deficiency in the system of education has long since been proved, and, doubtless, many of the Commissioners themselves are well aware of the injustice done to the Irish people by not filling up the great gap existing between the schools and the universities. That the state has amply endowed Colleges in Ireland is true, and granted salaries to Professors in Irish Universities is also true; but it pointed out no course by which students could arrive at these seats of learning. The wealthy of the land did not require them, the lower and middle classes did; but no matter how eagerly the latter desire to avail themselves of the advantages that those universities confer, they are prevented through the mere want of an elementary knowledge of classics.\*

It is a pity, indeed, that such a state of things should exist in Ireland, while every means are afforded in England and Scotland even to the poorest, if gifted with genius and ability, to enter the learned professions. That the Queen's Colleges have but partially succeeded in Ireland cannot be denied even

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\* It is quite unnecessary to argue upon the question as here stated: the remarks of the writer are fully supported by the practice in the Schools of America, Austria, Prussia and France. For a full account of the systems of European countries, we refer the reader to the admirable works of Mr. Joseph Kay, and Mr. Horace Mann.



by their most zealous supporters ; and it is our own firm conviction, that they will never realize the expectations of their promoters until some means be devised by which they may be made accessible to the middle and lower classes, with whom there is always in every country a large undeveloped fund of genius and talent, and, until this is done, education as a system is imperfect in Ireland.

We do not ask the state to bear the whole expense of having those classes taught the study of languages. In any case the expense will be very trifling, but we feel conscious that, if any attempt were made to confer such a boon upon the country, it would be hailed with such gratitude that the people themselves would willingly share in defraying the expense.

The following is an extract taken from an able letter, written by the Rev. James McCosh, L.L.D., to the Earl of St. Germans, when Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, on the subject now occupying our attention :—

“ Without such intermediate institutions the work begun in the National Schools will be improperly intercepted. I am not one of those who think it is for the good of the country that the higher classes of society should be brought down, but I am convinced that it is for the advantage of the country at large, and even of the higher classes, that facilities should be given to the more deserving members of the lower ranks to raise themselves to a higher elevation. It is for the benefit of the whole social atmosphere, that the more fervent and aspiring parts of the lower stratum should be allowed to mount upwards and carry their heat and energy along with them into the upper regions. I believe that a country is not wisely or impartially governed which does not prepare a way by which the son of the tradesman or small farmer may, if gifted with the proper talents and perseverance, rise to the higher offices of the land. But there are no such facilities at this moment in Ireland: a young man might have genius and indomitable perseverance, equal to that of my two countrymen, Robert Burns and Hugh Miller, but there are wide districts in Ireland, whole half counties in which he could not at this day find the means of acquiring that smattering of the Latin language, which the two eminent persons referred to were enabled to procure at their own door in Scotland, and no possible means of enabling him to rise to any of the learned professions. I hold that if a country be equitably governed, there will be provision made for enabling young men of ability and energy to rise beyond the common schools to the colleges, and thence, if they have crowning merit, to the very highest offices in church and state. Such fresh blood ever poured into the veins of the upper classes in rank and profession would greatly promote their health and energy, and would bring them into a state of more friendly sympathy and fellowship with the other portions of the community. The Irish in the more sequestered

districts have been taught to look upon themselves as a people trampled on and crushed, and I know nothing better fitted to gain their generous hearts, than to find that their promising youth, instead of pining in poverty in their turf-built cabins, or being driven to far distant shores, have really the means of rising to honour and competence in their own land.

The existing deficiency, while so far limiting the benefits which the lower storey of the building might effect, is found to be a still greater hindrance to the utility of the upper storey. When the difficulties with which the Queen's Colleges have had to contend are taken into account, they may be regarded as wonderfully successful. Still they might accomplish much more than they have hitherto done, provided the Government of the country were to finish what they have so well begun. And here I may be permitted to remark, that I believe there is a great misunderstanding among the friends of the Queen's Colleges as to the chief hindrance to their entire success. Certain influential members of various churches have spoken strongly against them, and this circumstance is supposed to constitute the main obstacle with which they have had to contend. This, in my humble opinion, is a mistake. The influences referred to have been brought to bear against the National Schools without much visible effect. I have far too high an opinion of the independent spirit of the Irish people, to believe that they are to be deterred by such influences from supporting institutions which have as they see a beneficial tendency. *I am convinced that the grand difficulties with which the Queen's Colleges have had to contend have proceeded, not from ecclesiastical opposition, but the utter want of adequate feeders.* Give us only a sufficient number of Classical Schools judiciously planted throughout the land, and in a few years the class rooms of the Queen's Colleges would be crowded. Nay, I am persuaded that Trinity College itself would feel the influence, in an increased number of young men, belonging to the middle and lower classes, eagerly seeking to take advantage of its high scholarship and its many privileges.

I do not plead, then, for these intermediate schools merely as a means of increasing the usefulness of the Queen's Colleges. As a professor in one of these Colleges, I acknowledge that I am anxious to make them thoroughly fulfil the end designed by them. I would not be worthy of the office which I have the honour to hold, were I not desirous to see them accomplish the good which they are fitted to serve. But I plead for upper schools, not on the grounds of promoting the welfare of the Queen's Colleges, I plead for them as fitted to benefit every other Collegiate Institution in this island or in Great Britain to which Irishmen are accustomed to resort. I plead for them as calculated to elevate the Irish people to a higher status in the scale of nations, and scatter innumerable blessings throughout the land."

We know of no reason why a duty of such public interest should not be undertaken by the state; the country is no doubt indebted to it for what it has already done, but the legislature

that has given us the national system of education should not debar us the means of distinguishing ourselves in those Colleges that are little more than useless ornaments to the nation at present.

If the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland be not vested with authority to afford a classical education to the middle and lower classes of society, they have only to apply for it to have it granted to them. They have surmounted all dangers that could impede the success of the system ; they have proved to the world how uncalled for and how undeserved were the slanderous attacks made upon them, nor were some of those attacks made upon them in their corporate capacity, but upon many of them as individuals. They have now gained the confidence of the liberal and unprejudiced clergy of all churches and their followers, and nothing remains to crown the system they have stood by and upheld, though calumniated and assailed, by those who, when they found they could not employ it as an agency of proselytism and by it degrade the Irish poor, pronounced it to be godless and irreligious, but to fill up the gap between their schools and the colleges of the country. This done, the educational wants of Ireland are supplied, and the opponents of the national system silenced for ever.

We thought thus when we visited the Manchester Athenæum some few days ago, and we were reminded of the eloquent address delivered to its members by Sir A. Alison, in which he said :—

“In vain does an utilitarian age ask, what is the use of such pursuits? What benefit is thence to arise to society? In what respect is the sum of human happiness to be increased by this extension? What, I would ask, in reply, is the use of the poetry of Milton—the music of Handel—the paintings of Raffaele? Why are the roses more prized than all the harvests of the fields, though they are beautiful alone?—To what does every thing great or elevating in nature tend, if not to the soul itself, to that soul which is eternal and invisible, and never ceases to yearn after the eternal and invisible, how far soever it may be removed from whatever affects only present existence, and which in that very yearning at once reveals its ultimate destiny, and points to the means by which alone that destiny is to be attained? Regarding then literature in its highest aspect, that of the great fountain not merely of useful knowledge, but of elevated and generous sentiments, let me earnestly entreat you to apply vigorously to that which alone can give the passport to its whole treasures—the study of foreign languages. Charles V. said, that whenever he read a

foreign language he felt a new soul within him. It is the them which is the great cause of the difference between vated minds and mere ordinary information. How may be the genius of our own writers, there must even sameness in their conception. Foreign reading is like fling, you receive new ideas at every step. No amount tion derived merely from the writers of our own count the deficiency. No mind can become enlarged which i with the the thoughts of remote ages and distant coun commerce can be extensive, in which foreign is not large for domestic produce. It is by the collision of flint and steel alone that fire is struck. It is by promoting thi of ideas that commerce in every age has so powerful to the advancement of the human mind.

THE

# IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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No. XX.—DECEMBER, 1855.

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## ART. I.—A QUARTETTE OF IRISH POETS.

1. *The Poems of Thomas Davis. Now first collected. With Notes and Historical Illustrations.* Dublin: Published by James Duffy, 7, Wellington-quay. London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co., Stationers' Hall Court. 1853.
2. *The Poetical Works of Gerald Griffin, Esq.* London: Simms and M'Intyre, Paternoster-row; and Donegall-street, Belfast. 1851.
3. *The Poems of J. J. Callanan. A New Edition, with a Biographical Introduction and Notes.* Cork: Messrs. Bolster, 70, Patrick-street. 1847.
4. *Miscellaneous Poems and Songs.* By Francis Davis, (the "Belfast Man.") Belfast: Printed and Published by John Henderson, Bookseller to the Queen. Dublin: James M'Glashan, D'Olier-street. London: E. Farrington, 16, Bath-street, Newgate-street. Glasgow: Griffin and Co. 1852.

Though true it is that the poets whom we have chosen to form the subject of this review are already known, in a superficial way, to a small portion of Irish readers, it is also certain that the public of this country are very far from having an adequate acquaintance with their beauties, or from forming a just appreciation of their literary merits. There is not a puny little volume of English verse, with the name of an English author on the back, and the evidence of a Della Cruscan intellect in the unrivalled neatness of its gilded cover, which we may not easily find upon the tables of the salon or the boudoir; but should we not seek in vain in the same abodes

of fashion, O candid reader ! for books with such titles as the head of our opening page presents to view ? Yet it may very fairly be questioned whether England, at the present day, can produce three poets any of whom could be mentioned in the same breath with either Thomas Davis, Griffin, or Callanan, for genius, moral worth, or proud nobility of purpose ! It is for this reason that we now intend to introduce to the particular notice of our readers these Irish poets, and also another of their confraternity, Francis Davis, [the Belfast man,] as we are determined to make an effort, at least, to rescue them from the comparative oblivion into which they have apparently fallen, and to excite a more general desire to cultivate their acquaintance.

It is truly astonishing that with all the imaginative talent which Irishmen possess there is so little poetry written by them. Every journal in the country teems with the speeches of men whose minds must evidently be strongly imbued with poetic feeling. Let us instance the orations made at public meetings ; how full they are of lofty images, bold or beautiful, set forth in the choicest and most captivating language ! How picturesque or dramatic, as the case may be, the metaphors appear ! what verve and spirit characterize the whole discourse ! what wonderful fluency and command of impassioned language is evident throughout ! In these particulars an Irishman can easily out rival the native of any country in Europe ; but, unfortunately, some of these qualities, though excellent in the abstract, are not those suited to the purpose to which they are turned by our lively countrymen. If, by proper training or natural inclination, Irishmen would direct their intellectual powers to the cultivation of literature, instead of wasting them in the desultory and useless exercise to which we have alluded, it is not difficult to conceive how much brilliant success must attend their efforts. The incentives, however, should be great and manifold which could induce men to follow literature in a country where avocations, so contrary in their nature, have been prosecuted for such a length of time, and it is very much to be feared that we cannot expect to see such a blissful consummation effected, until the great brood of evils which afflict our unfortunate land have disappeared from amongst us. It is unreasonable to expect that anything solid, or becoming the minds of an enlightened and intellectual people, can be regularly carried on while distracting passions are at work, and

even those most eminently capacitated must be excused from paying that attention to those studies which require such undivided care, and such concentrated vigor both of mind and body, when we call to mind the chilling influences which repel exertion.

The contemplation of this deplorable state of society becomes maddening when we reflect on the many incentives to the cultivation of poetry which Irishmen possess. The scenery of Ireland, as we all know, is just the very kind of scenery suited to the inspiration of the muse. Its towering mountains enveloped in mystic mist, its glorious lakes and rivers, its valleys and plains of incomparable verdure, the romantic character of its peasantry, the numerous interesting legends and historic associations which are connected with its lovely scenes, the fairy rath, the mountain cairn, the round tower, the ivy-mantled castle, the ruined abbey, almost everything both in nature and in art which is most calculated to awaken the poetic feeling has its home in our delightful country; and when with these we join the poetical turn of mind of the people themselves, to which we have already alluded, it is impossible to prevent ourselves from seeing that Nature intended Ireland to be a land of song rather than of sorrow. There is nothing that would tend more surely to improve the national mind than a general cultivation of poetry: the more we would see our old traditions enlarged and decked out in poetic dress, the more, naturally, we should value them, and the more strongly attached we should become to the localities which gave them birth: the example given by a few would be quickly followed by others; hundreds would vie with each other in publishing them to the world, until the genius of the country would be employed, like that of Germany, in immortalizing them.

It is needless to say what a beneficial effect this movement would have on the national character: a morally independent feeling would of necessity be inculcated, and everything which we are taught to consider as arising from virtuous principles and elevated views, all the blessings of freedom, in a word, would spring up and bless our people. Let us hope for the best: we have men of genius among us yet; men of generous hearts and determined energies, who would gladly agree to devote their lives to that which would ensure lasting benefits to their country. Let but the example be set, and we hesitate

not to say that many a valuable recruit will be added to the ranks, and that if a system be founded which may be well adapted to the contemplated end, fruits will follow whose beneficent nature the most sanguine imagination cannot conceive, and whose practical effects will do more for "the poor old country" than all the orators of tenant right and Repeal could ever achieve, were their labours spread over the space of centuries. Indulging in the hope of seeing this most enviable result, we shall now proceed to examine the productions of some of those who have carried out most successfully, in their own persons, the principles regarding which we have been expressing our opinions. There are none of them, indeed, who can be reprehended for their voluminous turn, or for that failing commonly termed bookmaking; but they have, both one and all, the very strongest claims upon our admiration, and, indeed, our love, for the thorough nationality which is apparent throughout all their writings, for the unremitting assiduity with which they have applied themselves to the revivifying of our ancient traditions, and for the diligent determination with which they endeavored to give the impress of nationality, both by peculiarity of phrase, vigor of language, and character of allusion, to the offspring of their genius. The fame of some of them as ballad writers has been long since acknowledged, and they ought to rank with those of any country in the world in that species of poetry. They possess, indeed, everything which ballad poetry ought to possess; a certain happy elasticity of rhythm, irrepressible animation, energetic and appropriate phraseology, and a racy tone which is truly the literary counterpart of the conversational character of the Irish peasantry.

The long narrations which are very frequent throughout, are almost all remarkable for very great beauty, and are well worthy of the fine old legends which they clothe. One great advantage which belongs to many of the smaller pieces is their adaptation to Irish Music, to which numbers have been wedded, some indeed by their Authors, this necessarily tending to promote a circulation of the sentiments which typify them, and naturally heightening considerably the interest attaching to their beauties. The clear method in which their thoughts are generally conveyed is highly creditable to their taste as Poets, as also the complete absence of mystification by which they are distinguished, and the simple, easy flow of language



which characterizes them. In this and in the absence of oppressive ornament, and florid expression, they have decidedly the advantage of their English brethren of the present generation, and it is curious and interesting to remark, that though intense luxuriance of imagination is almost inseparable from the prose effusions of Irishmen, we have so many instances in the poetry of the country, of charming simplicity, and almost fastidious purity in the use of language. This peculiarity will be abundantly evident in the extracts which the following pages will contain, and to the examination of which, with many apologies for our obtrusive remarks, we now humbly invite the reader to accompany us.

No Irish Poet has ever equalled Davis in burning nationality, forcible expression, or in the wonderful capacity of impressing the reader with the conviction that his Poetry is the genuine emanation of his heart. There is something quite entrancing in his manly aspirations, conveyed in such vigorous, withal uncommon phraseology, and something intensely satisfactory in the unshackled form in which his noble imaginings become developed. Unworthy of his country must he be who can read the inspiring lyrics of Davis without feeling his heart beat high with patriotic emotion, and without experiencing animated impulsive sympathy with many of the heroic sentiments which they breathe. And can we believe it! he who has endowed his country and the world with those magnificent lyrics, this inappreciable volume of Poetry, in which the "*afflatus divinæ auræ*" is so apparent, he, who by their electric power, astounded, dazzled, and carried by storm, the hearts and souls of eight millions of people, did not commence his poetical life until he was in his 28th year! and the great majority of the poems now before us, were finished in the first year in which his muse commenced to sing.

Davis has furnished more than ample evidence of his towering genius in statesmanlike qualities, and was besides a brilliant original essayist, with every likelihood of becoming a remarkable historian. With these latter attributes of his prolific mind, we have nothing to do, beyond remarking the extraordinary combination of such different capacities, all of which Davis possessed in such an exalted degree. If ever there was a Poet gifted with power to awaken a nation to a sense of its own position, or to fill the mind of a people with a proud consciousness of the glory which belongs to them, and of that

not to say that many a valuable recruit will be added to the ranks, and that if a system be founded which may be well adapted to the contemplated end, fruits will follow whose beneficent nature the most sanguine imagination cannot conceive, and whose practical effects will do more for "the poor old country" than all the orators of tenant right and Repeal could ever achieve, were their labours spread over the space of centuries. Indulging in the hope of seeing this most enviable result, we shall now proceed to examine the productions of some of those who have carried out most successfully, in their own persons, the principles regarding which we have been expressing our opinions. There are none of them, indeed, who can be reprehended for their voluminous turn, or for that failing commonly termed bookmaking; but they have, both one and all, the very strongest claims upon our admiration, and, indeed, our love, for the thorough nationality which is apparent throughout all their writings, for the unremitting assiduity with which they have applied themselves to the revivifying of our ancient traditions, and for the diligent determination with which they endeavored to give the impress of nationality, both by peculiarity of phrase, vigor of language, and character of allusion, to the offspring of their genius. The fame of some of them as ballad writers has been long since acknowledged, and they ought to rank with those of any country in the world in that species of poetry. They possess, indeed, everything which ballad poetry ought to possess; a certain happy elasticity of rhythm, irrepressible animation, energetic and appropriate phraseology, and a racy tone which is truly the literary counterpart of the conversational character of the Irish peasantry.

The long narrations which are very frequent throughout, are almost all remarkable for very great beauty, and are well worthy of the fine old legends which they clothe. One great advantage which belongs to many of the smaller pieces is their adaptation to Irish Music, to which numbers have been wedded, some indeed by their Authors, this necessarily tending to promote a circulation of the sentiments which typify them, and naturally heightening considerably the interest attaching to their beauties. The clear method in which their thoughts are generally conveyed is highly creditable to their taste as Poets, as also the complete absence of mystification by which they are distinguished, and the simple, easy flow of language

which characterizes them. In this and in the absence of oppressive ornament, and florid expression, they have decidedly the advantage of their English brethren of the present generation, and it is curious and interesting to remark, that though intense luxuriance of imagination is almost inseparable from the prose effusions of Irishmen, we have so many instances in the poetry of the country, of charming simplicity, and almost fastidious purity in the use of language. This peculiarity will be abundantly evident in the extracts which the following pages will contain, and to the examination of which, with many apologies for our obtrusive remarks, we now humbly invite the reader to accompany us.

No Irish Poet has ever equalled Davis in burning nationality, forcible expression, or in the wonderful capacity of impressing the reader with the conviction that his Poetry is the genuine emanation of his heart. There is something quite entrancing in his manly aspirations, conveyed in such vigorous, withal uncommon phraseology, and something intensely satisfactory in the unshackled form in which his noble imaginings become developed. Unworthy of his country must he be who can read the inspiring lyrics of Davis without feeling his heart beat high with patriotic emotion, and without experiencing animated impulsive sympathy with many of the heroic sentiments which they breathe. And can we believe it! he who has endowed his country and the world with those magnificent lyrics, this inappreciable volume of Poetry, in which the "*afflatus divinæ auræ*" is so apparent, he, who by their electric power, astounded, dazzled, and carried by storm, the hearts and souls of eight millions of people, did not commence his poetical life until he was in his 28th year! and the great majority of the poems now before us, were finished in the first year in which his muse commenced to sing.

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which might yet be theirs, if ever lived the Bard, the touch of whose lyre could infuse into the soul a magnanimous contempt of death, and create an unconquerable resolve to combat every difficulty which might lie between the cherished object of patriotic ambition, and the mind in which that ambition was brooding, that Poet was Thomas Davis! This peculiarity was materially strengthened by the great knowledge which Davis had acquired of the traditions, great historical events, and all the other interesting particulars of his country, which evinced an herculean amount of research, and a memory curiously tenacious.

Davis is not generally given to the melting strain, but his love songs fall as softly on the ear, as the summer rain on the flowers. He can rage with the tempest, and murmur as sweet and delicious as the breeze of evening. Nor do we consider that Davis is a Poet whose writings are to be cherished only in Ireland: it is true he has made Ireland the theme of his every poetical effort, and has written like one who deeply felt, and was too proud to conceal the depth of his feelings on the wrongs of his country; indeed in this respect he much more resembles the magnanimous patriots of Greece and Rome, than their less heroic brethern of modern times: but with the gall which he has infused into his thoughts, there mingles a current of the milk of human kindness, a world wide generosity, a benevolent longing for universal happiness which claim brotherhood with the sympathies, the hopes, and the ideas of the whole family of man, and must elicit the meed of no qualified admiration, even from the readers of the sister country. Notwithstanding the short time that Davis devoted himself to poetry, he has done much for his countrymen: he has created a *National Poetry*, one of the proudest boasts which a Poet can have; whose future effects are incalculable, and may prove the regeneration of Ireland; for it is not unreasonable to suppose, that what has produced National greatness in other countries may be attended with the same results in one which certainly, as much, and possibly more than any other, is actuated by impulses of an intellectual, though an ardently intellectual kind. It seems to us that a few examples of the different phases of Davis's poetical genius, would (to those unacquainted with his poetry) afford the best means of understanding his peculiarities. We shall therefore commence the execution of that design by presenting the reader with

some of his patriotic pieces. The soul of Davis glowed perpetually with the ardent fire of love, for nature as well as man. It was not with the eye of empty admiration that he was wont to gaze upon the scenic beauties of Ireland, or even with that impulsive passion for the sublime or beautiful, which, notwithstanding the intensity of its momentary rapture, leaves no solid or durable impression upon the mind, but rather with an earnest, quiet, though inextinguishable feeling of pure love, which delighted in pondering long and deeply on the objects of its dear solicitude and inspiration, and in singing in heartfelt strains the magnificence of their glory. His delight at beholding some surpassing landscape, was not that of the artist, whose bosom thrills at the opportunity he possesses of rendering his canvass immortal, or of bestowing undying light on the touches of his pencil; but, on the contrary, it resembled rather, the strong domestic love of the child for its mother, who loves its parent for her own sake, and thoroughly irrespective of all extraneous considerations: the pure love of the Patriot to whom the suggestive sublimity of his immemorial hills, has become "a feeling and a passion," who is united to them by every tie which binds him both to God and Man, and who experiences an unspeakable pride in demonstrating to the world, the everlasting nature of the bonds which constitute between them the happy association. For the verification of this, there is hardly one of Davis's poems which does not afford sufficient proofs, and there are few who will not be ready to give their acquiescence in its active appearance in these stanzas—

## MY LAND.

## I.

She is a rich and rare land;  
Oh! she's a fresh and fair land;  
She is a dear and rare land—  
This native land of mine.

## II.

No men than her's are braver—  
Her women's hearts ne'er waver;  
I'd freely die to save her,  
And think my lot divine.

## III.

She's not a dull or cold land;  
No! she's a warm and bold land;  
Oh! she's a true and old land—  
This native land of mine.

## IV.

Could beauty ever guard her,  
And virtue still reward her,  
No foe would cross her border—  
No friend within it pine!

## V.

Oh, she's a fresh and fair land  
Oh, she's a true and rare land!  
Yes, she's a rare and fair land—  
This native land of mine.

Davis belonged to that cheerful school of Philosophy, who have taken self reliance as their motto, and whose doctrines inculcate unbending fortitude in all the eventualities of life,

and indomitable perseverance, and untiring labour in the pursuit of the objects contemplated. Like his Transatlantic Brother he believed that,

“Life is real ! Life is earnest !  
And the grave is not its goal ;  
Dust thou art, to dust returnest,  
Was not spoken of the soul.”

Noble principle ! pregnant with heaven-born wisdom, which never can be sufficiently appreciated, or too frequently adopted. The Poet who promulgates such a creed, is not only a Poet in the general sense of the word, he is a Philosopher and a sage, as much so in a particular respect, as Socrates, Plato, Pericles, or Bacon, incalculably benefiting his generation, and carrying into effect the inscrutable designs of Providence. There is a perfect system of philosophy in the following—

#### THE RIGHT ROAD.

##### I.

LET the feeble-hearted pine,  
Let the sickly spirit whine,  
But work and win be thine,  
While you've life.  
God smiles upon the bold—  
So, when your flag's unrolled,  
Bear it bravely till you're cold  
In the strife,

##### II.

If to rank or fame you soar,  
Out your spirit frankly pour—  
Men will serve you and adore,  
Like a king.

Woo your girl with honest pride,  
Till you've won her for your bride—  
Then to her, through time and tide  
Ever cling.

##### III.

Never under wrongs despair ;  
Labour long, and everywhere,  
Link your countrymen, prepare,  
And strike home.  
Thus have great men ever wrought  
Thus must greatness still be sought,  
Thus laboured, loved, and fought  
Greece and Rome.

Though some of Davis's ballads may not exactly please the English reader, on account of the rather rough manner in which allusion is made to our neighbours in the Sister Country, still it is impossible for any one to feel insensible to their magnificent merits as compositions, and as inspiring lays well adapted to beget enthusiasm in the hearts of the most callous. The volume before us so abounds in such lyric gems, that the most fastidious amateur in this branch of poetry could not complain, were we induced to lay before him instead of one example which we cite, a dozen more illustrations from the rich treasury of the Author. These ballads are formed of those imperishable materials, which never can be obliterated from the mind, while a spark of national feeling remains within the breast of an Irishman ; the subjects taken from those prominent incidents in our country's history, which rivet the attention with so much unaccountable power, the frequent

impulsive reference to the heroic exploits of our fathers which goad us like a spur, to emulate their glory; the fire of the language, the rapid bounding metre, resounding like thunder leaping over the hills, all the accessories which the Poet has used in the formation of these spirited pieces are equally faultless and superb, and there never was a more happy exemplification of the wisdom of him who said, "give to me the construction of the ballads of the people, and I will leave to others the making of their laws," than in the aptitude of these noble effusions, to the end for which they were intended. Many, indeed almost all the ballads of this description which the volume before us contains, have been set to music, and many of our readers are conversant with them. However, we feel it impossible to refrain from calling attention here to Clare's Dragoons, which even if it has been read and sung repeatedly for the reader's advantage, can well afford to bear additional inspection, and to command renewed admiration.

## CLARE'S DRAGOONS.

A1B—*Viva la.*

I.

When on Ramillies' bloody field,  
The baffled French were forced to yield,  
The victor Saxon backward reeled  
Before the charge of Clare's Dragoons.  
The Flag, we conquered in that fray,  
Look lone in Ypres' choir, they say,  
We'll win them company to-day,  
Or bravely die like Clare's Dragoons.

CHORUS.

*Viva la*, for Ireland's wrong  
*Viva la*, for Ireland's right!  
*Viva la*, in battle throng,  
For a Spanish steed, and sabre bright

II.

The brave old lord died near the fight,  
But, for each drop he lost that night,  
A Saxon cavalier shall bite  
The dust before Lord Clare's Dragoons.  
For, never, when our spurs were set,  
And never, when our sabres met,  
Could we the Saxon soldiers get  
To stand the shock of Clare's Dragoons.

CHORUS.

*Viva la*, the New Brigade!  
*Viva la*, the Old One, too!  
*Viva la*, the rose shall fade,  
And the Shamrock shine for ever new!

III.

Another Clare is here to lead,  
The worthy son of such a breed;  
The French expect some famous deed,  
When Clare leads on his bold Dragoons.

Our colonel comes from Brian's race,  
His wounds are in his breast and face,  
The *bearna baoghaid*\* is still his place,  
The foremost of his bold Dragoons.

CHORUS.

*Viva la*, the New Brigade  
*Viva la*, the Old One, too  
*Viva la*, the rose shall fade,  
And the Shamrock shine for ever new,

IV.

There's not a man in squadron here  
Was ever known to flinch or fear;  
Though first in charge and last in reer.  
Have ever been Lord Clare's Dragoons;  
But, see! we'll soon have work to do  
To shame our boasts, or prove them true,  
For hither comes the English crew,  
To sweep away Lord Clare's Dragoons.

CHORUS.

*Viva la*, for Ireland's wrong!  
*Viva la*, for Ireland's right!  
*Viva la*, in battle throng,  
For a Spanish steed and sabre bright!

V.

Oh! comrades! think how Ireland pines,  
Her exiled lords, her rifled shrines,  
Her dearest hope, the ordered lines,  
And bursting charge of Clare's Dragoons.  
Then sling your Green Flag to the sky,  
Be Limerick your battle-cry,  
And charge, till blood floats fetlock-high,  
Around the track of Clare's Dragoons!

CHORUS.

*Viva la*, the New Brigade!  
*Viva la*, the Old One, too!  
*Viva la*, the rose shall fade,  
And the Shamrock shine for ever new!

\* Gap of danger.

Next in merit, if not equal in that respect, the Love Songs of Davis are worthy of note ; and so great has been his success (according to our estimation) in portraying the genuine character of his countrymen as evinced in love-making, that even at the risk of being deemed hyperbolic, we do not hesitate to pronounce his superiority in this respect over everything we have seen from the pen of Moore, who seems to have earned the title of "The Bard of Love." In good plain truth no Irish Poet has ever indicated greater proficiency in this particular, and it is only in the simple songs of the country-people in the West, or South of Ireland, that any similarity to Davis's ditties can be discerned, always excepting Griffin, of whom more hereafter. That gentle entreaty, faithful, quaint, and picturesque expression, and overflowing assurance of deep, undying passion which so strongly characterizes the *coorting* of the Irish peasant, have all found a sweet full echo in the verse of Davis, and are softly bodied forth, with all the additional attractions of harmony, and graceful language. The Author unites within himself the combined qualities of Pindar, Sappho, and Alcaeus, and engrafts the luxuriant fancy of the Persian Poets, on the wild vigor of the Scandinavian Scald. The following is a pretty tolerable specimen of his Ballad style.—

## THE GIRL OF DUNBWT.

## I.

'Tis pretty to see the girl of Dunbwy  
Stepping the mountain statelily—  
Though ragged her gown, and naked her feet,  
No lady in Ireland to match her is meet.

## II.

Poor is her diet, and hardly she lies—  
Yet a monarch might kneel for a glance of her eyes;  
The child of a peasant—yet England's proud Queen  
Has less rank in her heart, and less grace in her mien.

## III.

Her brow 'neath her raven hair gleams, just as if  
A breaker spread white 'neath a shadowy cliff—  
And love, and devotion, and energy speak  
From her beauty-proud eye, and her passion-pale cheek.

## IV.

But, pale as her cheek is, there's fruit on her lip,  
And her teeth flash as white as the crescent moon's tip.  
And her form and her step, like the reed-deer's, go past—  
As lightsome, as lovely, as haughty, as fast.

## V.

I saw her but once, and I looked in her eye,  
And she knew that I worshipped in passing her by;  
The saint of the wayside—she granted my prayer,  
Though we spoke not a word, for her mother was there.

## VI.

I never can think upon Bantry's bright hills,  
But her image starts up, and my longing eye fills;  
And I whisper her softly, "again, love, we'll meet,  
And I'll lie in your bosom, and live at your feet."



Davis does not forget to infuse into his amatory strains that, "sweet, sad, sorrow," which is as much indicative of the Irish character as the impulsive, irrepressible mirth for which it has ever been remarkable; the former which resembles the mournful aspect of their unrivalled mountain scenery, the latter the smiling verdure of their plains; one, the fascinating "Allegro," the other the solemn "Penseroso" of Ireland. "Annie Dear," is a good instance of this peculiarity, and to those who have heard it sung to that delicious and appropriate music to which it has been wedded, it will require no effort on the part of the Author of these remarks to render its beauty appreciated.—

## ANNIE DEAR.

IR.—*Maids in May.*

## I.

Our mountain brooks were rushing,  
Annie, dear,  
The Autumn eve was flushing,  
Annie, dear,  
But brighter was your blushing,  
When first, your murmurs hushing,  
I told my love outgushing,  
Annie, dear.

## II.

Ah! but our hopes were splendid,  
Annie, dear,  
How sadly they have ended,  
Annie, dear;  
The ring betwixt us broken,  
When our vows of love were spoken,  
Of your poor heart was a token,  
Annie, dear.

## III.

The primrose flowers were shining,  
Annie, dear,  
When, on my breast reclining,  
Annie, dear!  
Began our *Mi-se-maile*,  
And many a month did follow  
Of joy—but life is hollow,  
Annie, dear:

## IV.

For once, when home returning,  
Annie, dear,  
I found our cottage burning,  
Annie, dear;  
Around ~~us~~ were the yeomen,  
Of every ill an omen,  
The country's bitter foemen,  
Annie, dear.

## V.

But why arose a morrow,  
Annie, dear,  
Upon that night of sorrow,  
Annie, dear?  
Far better, by thee lying,  
Their bayonets defying,  
Than live an exile sighing,  
Annie, dear.

We are tempted from its great charm of language, and well sustained interest, to insert here, another of Davis's ballads, namely,

## THE FLOWER OF FINAE.

Bright red is the sun on the waves of Lough Sheeha,  
A cool gentle breeze from the mountain is stealing,  
While fair round its islets the small ripples play;  
But fairer than all is the Flower of Finae.

Her hair is like night, and her eyes like grey morning,  
She trips on the heather as if its touch scorning,  
Yet her heart and her lips are as mild as May day,  
Sweet Eily MacMahon, the Flower of Finae.

But who down the hill side than red deer runs fleetest?  
And who on the lake side is hastening to greet her?  
Who but Fergus O'Farrell, the fiery and gay,  
The darling and pride of the Flower of Finae?

One kiss and one clasp, and one wild look of gladness;  
 Ah! why do they change on a sudden to sadness—  
 He has told his hard fortune, nor more he can stay,  
 He must leave his poor Elly to pine at Finae.

For Fergus O'Farrell was true to his sire-land,  
 And the dark land of tyranny drove him from Ireland;  
 He joins the Brigade. In the wars far away,  
 But he vows he'll come back to the Flower of Finae.

He fought at Cremona—she hears of his story;  
 He fought at Cassano—she's proud of his glory,  
 Yet sadly she sings *Siubhail a ruin*\* all the day,  
 "Oh, come, come, my darling, come home to Finae."

Eight long years have passed, till she's nigh broken-hearted,  
 Her *reel* and her *rock*, and her *flax* she has parted;  
 She sails with the "Wild Geese" to Flanders away,  
 And leaves her sad parents alone in Finae.

Lord Clare on the field of Ramillies is charging—  
 Before him the Sacsanach squadrons enlarging—  
 Behind him the Cravats their sections display—  
 Beside him rides Fergus and shouts for Finae.

On the slopes of La Judoligne the Frenchmen are flying,  
 Lord Clare and his squadrons the foe still defying,  
 Outnumbered, and wounded, retreat in array;  
 And bleeding rides Fergus and thinks of Finae.

In the cloisters of Ypres a banner is swaying,  
 And by it a pale weeping maiden is praying;  
 That flag's the sole trophy of Ramillies' fray;  
 This nun is poor Elly, the Flower of Finae.

What a pity that a mind so rich in all those qualifications which render the possessor capable of effecting so much good for his native country, should have been so untimely prevented from achieving those benefits for which it so passionately yearned! How sad to think that he whose colossal intellect was equally well suited to devise the comprehensive plans of a statesman, for the well being of a kingdom, and to warble the dulcet strains of a lover to melt the heart of his beloved; to create a literature for his country, and point out the way in which it could be ennobled, enriched and rendered as durable as the island in which it was produced, or sound such notes of warlike inspiration as would rouse a nation to arms, and imbue with heroic zeal the soul of the most apathetic, should so quickly have passed from amongst us, and have deprived us so suddenly of the blessings of his inspired presence. Strange indeed did it seem to the general mass of his countrymen that one whose herculean efforts, and cheerful hopefulness were but the apparent manifestations of vigorous and robust health, and whose liveliness of thought appeared like the reflection of a mind to whom sorrow was unknown, should all at once cease to shed its light upon that

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\* *Vulgo*, Shule aroon.

horizon, which it had so often vividly illumined : but those who knew the secrets of his labours, the intensity of his application, his sad misgivings, his prophetic anticipations of an evil future, and the torturing effects they produced upon his mind, saw nothing to excite their astonishment in his illness, and premature end. His unhappy case illustrates the truth of the inimitable lines of an Italian Poet—

“Se a ciascun l' interno affano  
Si leggesse in fronte scritto ;  
Quanti mai, che invidia fanno,  
Ci farebbero pietà.”

Alas ! it would seem as though he himself anticipated this dire calamity, and foretold his approaching departure from amongst those upon whom he had conferred so many benefits, in those truly beautiful and pathetic lines, with the insertion of which we shall close our review of one of the most illustrious sons whom Erin mourns.—

## MY GRAVE.

Shall they bury me in the deep,  
Where wind-forgetting waters sleep ?  
Shall they dig a grave for me,  
Under the green-wood tree ?  
Or on the wild heath,  
Where the wilder breath  
Of the storm doth blow ?  
Oh, no ! oh, no !

Shall they bury me in the Palace Tomb,  
Or under the shade of Cathedral domes ?  
Sweet 'twere to lie on Italy's shore ;  
Yef not there—nor in Greece, though I love  
it more  
In the wolf or the vulture my grave shall I  
find ?  
Shall my ashes career on the world-seeing  
wind ?

Shall they fling my corpse in the battle  
mound,  
Where coffinless thousands lie under the  
ground ?

Just as they fall they are buried so—  
Oh, no ! oh, no !

No ! on an Irish green hill-side,  
On an opening lawn—but not too wide ;  
For I love the drip of the wetted trees—  
I love not the gales, but a gentle breeze,  
To freshen the turf—put no tombstone  
there,

But green sods decked with daisies fair ;  
Nor sods too deep, but so that the dew,  
The matted grass-roots may trickle through.  
Be my epitaph writ on my country's mind,  
“HE SERVED HIS COUNTRY, AND LOVED HIS  
KIND.”

Oh ! 'twere merry unto the grave to go,  
If one were sure to be buried so.

Gerald Griffin, possessing an intellect not indeed so towering or versatile as that of Davis, but one which closely resembled his in the character of his love songs, and in the same deep and tender method of expressing his love for his country, has done a great deal for the literature of Ireland. As a Tragic Writer it is only necessary to allude to his *Gisippus*, which as many of our readers are aware, was acted in Covent Garden Theatre for more than one hundred consecutive nights, and which if it does not keep the stage at present, is not the fault of the play, but on the contrary, is but too significative of the decay of public taste in relation to the excellencies of the

**Drama.** The novels of Griffin are in like manner well known, and the fame of the Collegians has been great, and deservedly so. But the Poetry of this gifted man, with the exception of some of his pieces, such for instance as, "The Sister of Charity," has not received the same extent of circulation, or obtained anything like the degree of public approval and warm admiration to which it appears so admirably entitled. This may have arisen from many causes, but from none is it more likely to have proceeded than from the fact of the poems having been left in an unpublished, that is to say in a collectively unpublished state for a long period after they were composed; which misfortune their subsequent publication only tended to increase, for this reason, that the author himself having ceased to exist, that attraction which attaches itself to a living author was removed, and thus, the poetry which had not the advantage of being presented to the public during the life-time of the interesting Bard, was doomed to comparative, and temporary oblivion. It does not, however, require any very extraordinary power of divination to foresee the time when these beautiful ballads will emerge from the present gloom which envelopes them, and shine like some "bright particular star," in their own exalted sphere: when the sweet pathos, angelic tenderness, native richness of fancy, and delicious harmony which belong to them, will have interwoven themselves thoroughly in our minds, with all those glorious scenes, and dear traditions which they describe, and beautify; and when their general perusal will have given another incentive to our countrymen to,

"Be up and doing,  
With a heart for any fate;  
Still achieving, still pursuing,  
Learn to labour and to wait."

Tender pathos is evidently the chief characteristic of Griffin's Poetry: it permeates everything his muse has attempted, like a gentle rivulet flowing through velvet meads. Here it is that he resembles Davis so closely, and indeed it would be difficult to determine upon whose brow to place the crown in this particular. We must search the Scripture for instances of divine tenderness such as the following.—

## MY MARY OF THE CURLING HAIR.

AIR.—*Shule, agra.*

My Mary of the curling hair,  
The laughing teeth and bashful air,  
Our bridal morn is dawning fair,  
With blushes in the skies.  
*Shule! Shule! Shule! agra,*  
*Shule asucur, agra shule agra.*  
My love! my pearl  
My own dear girl!  
My mountain maid, arise!  
Wake, linnet of the osier grove!  
Wake, trembling, stainless, virgin dove!  
Wake, nestling of a parent's love!  
Let Moran see thine eyes.  
*Shule! Shule! &c.*  
I'am no stranger, proud and gay,  
To win thee from thy home away,  
And find thee, for a distant day,  
A theme for wasting sighs.  
*Shule! Shule! &c.*

\* Come! come! come, my darling—  
Come, softly, and come, my love!

But we were known from infancy,  
Thy father's hearth was home to me,  
No selfish love was mine for thee,  
Unholy and unwise.  
*Shule! Shule! &c.*

And yet, (to see what Love can do!)  
Though calm my hope has burned, and true,  
My cheek is pale and worn for you,  
And sunken are mine eyes!  
*Shule! Shule! &c.*

But soon my love shall be my bride,  
And happy by our own fire-side,  
My veins shall feel the rosy tide,  
That lingering Hope denies.  
*Shule! Shule! &c.*

My Mary of the curling hair,  
The laughing teeth and bashful air,  
Our bridal morn is dawning fair,  
With blushes in the skies.  
*Shule! Shule! Shule, agra,*  
*Shule asucur, agra shule, agra!*  
My love! my pearl!  
My own dear girl!  
My mountain maid, arise!

Who does not know that sweet song, "Gilli ma chree," which literally teems with unbounded devotion, melting love and shadowed melancholy? The English language does not possess a more exquisite composition of the kind. Its length does not permit the insertion of "The fate of Cathleen," a tale possessing many claims upon our attention, from its simple grace, and eloquent narrative.

"The Orange and Green," perfect as a ballad, and highly indicative of all those fascinating attributes which belonged to Griffin, is still more precious for the invaluable sentiment which it discloses; it may not be completely utopian to suppose that much of that acerbity which at present unfortunately exists between the members of both persuasions, might be gradually softened down, and ultimately swept away altogether, were our gifted literary men of every creed, to join in a crusade against the existence of such a cruel system, by inculcating lessons of good will, and elucidating them by such pleasant illustrations as those we now transcribe.—

## ORANGE AND GREEN,

The night was falling dreary,  
In merry Bandon town,  
When in his cottage weary,  
An Orangeman lay down.  
The summer sun in splendour  
Had set upon the vale,  
And shouts of "No surrender!"  
Arose upon the gale.

Beside the waters, laving  
The feet of aged trees,  
The Orange banners waving,  
Flew boldly in the breeze—  
In mighty chorus meeting,  
A hundred voices join,  
And fifes and drum were beating  
The Battle of the Boyne.

Ha! tow'rd his cottage hieing,  
 What form is speeding now,  
 From yonder thicket flying,  
 With blood upon his brow?  
 "Hide—hide me, worthy stranger!  
 Though green my colour be,  
 And in the day of danger  
 May heaven remember thee!

"In yonder vale contending,  
 Alone against that crew,  
 My life and limbs defending,  
 An orangeman I slew.  
 Hark! hear that fearful warning.  
 There's death in every tone—  
 Oh, save my life till morning,  
 And heav'n prolong your own!"

The Orange heart was melted,  
 In pity to the green;  
 He heard the tale and felt it,  
 His very soul within.  
 "Dread not that angry warning,  
 Though death be in its tone—  
 I'll save your life till morning,  
 Or I will lose my own."

Now, round his lowly dwelling  
 The angry torrent press'd,  
 A hundred voices swelling,  
 The Orangeman address'd—  
 "Arise, arise, and follow  
 The chase along the plain:  
 In yonder stony hollow  
 Your only son is slain!"

With rising shouts they gather  
 Upon the track amain,  
 And leave the childless father,  
 Aghast with sudden pain.  
 He seeks the righted stranger,  
 In covert where he lay—  
 "Arise!" he said, "all danger  
 Is gone and past away!"

"I had a son—one only,  
 One loved as my life,  
 Thy hand has left me lonely,  
 In that accursed strife.  
 I pledged my word to save thee,  
 Until the storm should cease,  
 I keep the pledge I gave thee—  
 Arise, and go in peace!"

The stranger soon departed,  
 From that unhappy vale;  
 The father broken-hearted,  
 Lay brooding o'er that tale.  
 Full twenty summers after  
 To silver turned his beard;  
 And yet the sound of laughter  
 From him was never heard.

The night was falling dreary,  
 In merry Wexford town,  
 When in his cabin weary,  
 A peasant laid him down.  
 And many a voice was singing  
 Along the summer vale,  
 And Wexford town was ringing  
 With shouts of "Granua Uille."

Beside the waters, laving  
 The feet of aged trees,  
 The green flag, gaily waving,  
 Was spread against the breeze—  
 In mighty chorus meeting  
 Loud voices filled the town,  
 And life and drum were beating,  
 "Down, Orangemen, lie Down!"

Hark! 'mid the stirring clangour,  
 That woke the echoes there,  
 Loud voices high in anger,  
 Rise on the evening air.  
 Like billows of the ocean,  
 He sees them hurry on—  
 And, 'mid the wild commotion,  
 An Orangeman alone.

"My hair," he said, "is hoary,  
 And feeble is my hand,  
 And I could tell a story  
 Would shame your cruel band.  
 Full twenty years and over  
 Have changed my heart and brow,  
 And I am grown a lover  
 Of peace and concord now."

"It was not thus I greeted  
 Your brother of the Green;  
 When fainting and defeated,  
 I freely took him in.  
 I pledged my word to save him,  
 From vengeance rushing on,  
 I kept the pledge I gave him,  
 Though he had kill'd my son."

That aged peasant heard him,  
 And knew him as he stood,  
 Remembrance kindly stirr'd him,  
 And tender gratitude:  
 With gushing tears of pleasure,  
 He pierced the listening train,  
 "I'm here to pay the measure  
 Of kindness back again!"

Upon his bosom falling,  
 That old man's tears came down  
 Deep memory recalling  
 That cot and fatal town.  
 "The hand that would offend thee,  
 My being first shall end;  
 I'm living to defend thee,  
 My saviour and my friend!"

He said, and slowly turning,  
 Address'd the wondering crowd,  
 With fervent spirit burning,  
 He told the tale aloud.  
 Now pressed the warm beholders,  
 Their aged foe to greet;  
 They raised him on their shoulders  
 And chair'd him through the street.

As he had saved that stranger,  
 From peril scowling dim,  
 So in his day of danger  
 Did Heav'n remember him.  
 By joyous crowds attended,  
 The worthy pair were seen,  
 And their flags that day were blended  
 Of Orange and of Green.

It were quite unnecessary to dwell for any time upon the beauty of that inimitable composition, "The Sister of Charity." Its touching simplicity, and numberless graces are so well known to the Irish reader, that its fame, at least, has been raised, we should trust upon an imperishable basis. The same may be said of that harmonious and sadly beautiful ballad, "The Bridal of Malahide." "Shanid Castle," a long poem of 494 lines, written in the Spenserian metre, contains many bold and striking passages: the tale is merely a narrative of the loss of his castle by the Desmond, with its ultimate recapture from the English by the same warrior: but it is graphically bold, and powerfully handled, and well repays perusal. The following lines will be received as a charming specimen of Griffin's delicate softness, and unerring ear, in producing, "Concord of Sweet Sounds"—

## HARK! HARK! THE SOFT BUGLE.

Hark! hark! the soft bugle sounds over the  
wood,  
And thrills in the silence of even,  
Till faint, and more faint, in the far solitude,  
It dies on the portals of heaven!  
But echo springs up from her home in the  
rock,  
And seizes the perishing strain;  
And sends the gay challenge with shadowy  
mock,  
From mountain to mountain again!  
And again!  
From mountain to mountain again!

Oh, thus let my love, like a sound of delight,  
Be around thee while shines the glad  
day,  
And leave thee, unpain'd in the silence of  
night,  
And die like sweet music away.  
While hope, with her warm light, thy glanc-  
ing eye fills,  
Oh, say, "Like that echoing strain,  
Though the sounds of his love has died over  
the hills,  
It will waken in heaven again."  
And again!  
It will waken in heaven again.

This piece is followed by numerous short, though interesting lyrics, almost all of which evidence in a considerable degree the chief excellencies of their author, and the glorious music of our country could not be better employed than in an alliance with such gushing springs of native genius. Here are two strophes whose merits will speak for themselves.—

## LIKE THE OAK BY THE FOUNTAIN.

Like the oak by the fountain  
In sunshine and storm,  
Like the rock on the mountain  
Unchanging in form,  
Like the course of the river,  
Through ages the same;  
Like the mist mounting ever  
To heaven, whence it came.

So firm be thy merit,  
So changeless thy soul;  
So constant thy spirit,  
While seasons shall roll;  
The fancy that ranges,  
Ends where it began;  
But the mind that ne'er changes,  
Brings glory to man.

There are so many lovely snatches of verse in the pages before us, that we resemble those genii-conducted mortals in the Oriental fables, wandering through subterranean palaces, whose glistening treasures are so splendid and multifarious.

that it is impossible for the eye to fix on any one, as a superior object of admiration, without regretting the selection it has made, on account of the outshining magnificence of those which it subsequently beholds. All that the character of this undertaking will permit us to accomplish, would be to exhort our readers to see and judge for themselves, assuring them on our sacred reputation as sagacious critics, that we are directing their footsteps towards delicious gardens, where their eye will never tire, nor their lip ever parch with thirst, where sweets abound which will not cloy the appetite, and colors of brilliant beauty gladden the sight, without aching it with its tawdry lustre, or flaming hues which ape the name of splendor. We must find room nevertheless for the following lines, which absolutely defy criticism.—

LINES ADDRESSED TO A SEAGULL, SEEN OFF THE CLIFFS OF MOHER,  
IN THE COUNTY OF CLARE.

White bird of the tempest! oh beautiful thing,  
With the bosom of snow, and the motionless wing,  
Now sweeping the billow, now floating on high,  
Now bathing thy plumes in the light of the sky;  
Now poising o'er ocean thy delicate form,  
Now breasting the surge with thy bosom so warm;  
Now darting aloft, with a heavenly scorn,  
Now shooting along, like a ray of the morn,  
Now lost in the folds of the cloud-curtained dome,  
Now floating abroad like a flake of the foam,  
Now silently poised o'er the war of the main,  
Like the spirit of Charity brooding o'er pain.  
Now gliding with pinion, all silently furled,  
Like an Angel descending to comfort the world!  
Thou seem'st to my spirit, as upward I gaze,  
And see thee, now clothed in mellowest rays;  
Now lost in the storm-driven vapours that fly,  
Like hosts that are routed across the broad sky!  
Like a pure spirit true to its virtue and faith,  
'Mid the tempests of nature, of passion, and death!

Rise! beautiful emblem of purity, rise!  
On the sweet winds of Heaven, to thine own brilliant skies;  
Still higher! still higher! till lost to our sight,  
Thou hidest thy wings in a mantle of light;  
And I think how a pure spirit gazing on thee,  
Must long for the moment—the joyous and free,  
When the soul disembodied, from nature shall spring,  
Unfettered at once to her maker and king;  
When the bright day of service and suffering past,  
Shapes, fairer than thine, shall shine round her at last,  
While, the standard of battle triumphantly furled,  
She smiles like a victor, serene on the world!

We have shewn enough of Griffin to the reader, to make him agree with us in styling him a Lyric Metastasio. The harmony and divine sweetness of the Italian, are fully equalled by our Irish Poet, and the heavenly benignity which pervades the dramas of the one, is no less assuredly the prominent quality in the ballads and narrative poems of the other. In



almost all the other essentials for good poetry, Griffin is not deficient. In clarity, vigour, strength, and affluence of images, dramatic skill, fancy, copious and appropriate diction, he can almost compete with Campbell, Southey, or Rogers: he is as good a moralist as Cowper, as sweet a melodist as Moore, and his language taken "from the pure well of English undefiled," is as chaste as that of Goldsmith. What a contrast does not his beautiful poetry afford to the pantheistic absurdities, and extravagant apostrophes of Bailey, the woful inanities of Browning, the unintelligible puerilities of Maud! Would that one like him still lived to retard by the dignity of his presence amongst us, the unprecedented appearance of everything in poetry, which typifies mawkish sentiment, and undisguised folly.

Another poet whose fame has suffered a great deal by the posthumous publication of his poems was J. J. Callanan. It has often appeared to us that sufficient justice has never been done this beautiful bard. There is not a single grace which belongs to a poet, nor a single attribute which should adorn him, that Callanan might not claim. His genius, even more than that of Davis or of Griffin, was of that peculiar kind which was particularly suited to clothe the legends of his country in their fitting garb. That uncommon cast of thought, in which a romantic gloom seems to be the prevailing characteristic, and which is singularly fertile in weaving those overshadowing webs, half mysterious, half melancholy, which none can mistake to have their prototype in the solemn character of our scenery, joined to a copious and spirited phraseology, which enables the poet, when he does weep, to weep proudly, and, when indignation fires his soul, to speak in tones of thunder, if it ever belonged to mortal, was possessed by Callanan. Having acquaintance with a large store of legendary information, Callanan has turned it to excellent account, and one cannot help observing that the language and sentiments which his poetry contains are singularly appropriate. It would appear, from all we know of Callanan, that he was not of a studious turn, and we have no evidence in anything he has written which would lead us to infer that his mind had drunk deep at the waters of classical knowledge. Yet it is very questionable whether considerable attainments of such a nature would have heightened the merit of this author, particularly when we remember the simple species of subjects, which he has

principally treated. Great classical culture might have made him a second Gray, for such would have been its probable effect; but in doing so the great charm of "raciness of the soil" would have been taken away, and the polished symmetrical vehicle would be rather unadapted to convey the burden of native thought which the poet must have given us. Indeed, truly, there is no reason why we should regret that Callanan has not accepted of any adventitious assistance; his poetry is a rich mine of everything that is fascinating, manly and elevated; and they must be insensible to all beauty who cannot find ample opportunities for the indulgence of true enjoyment in the perusal of his charming compositions. "The Recluse of Inchidony," a long poem in the Spenserian metre, has many claims on our admiration; but the misanthropical vein which runs through the entire of it, takes away a great deal from its merit. This poem reminds us so forcibly of Byron, in peculiarity of sentiment, that we might almost accuse its author of imitation, did he not assure us that he had written it long before he had even read *Childe Harold*. Next in order comes the revenge of "Donal Comm," a poem very much in the Scott style, and evidencing in its pages a very considerable amount of vigorous dramatic power. But the poem which follows this latter is truly an inspired emanation, and to those who have looked upon the scene itself, and pondered on its solemn shores and gloomy waves, the lines themselves must seem like a portion of the landscape which they portray, so wondrously true to nature has the gifted mind of Callanan fashioned his delightful verses. "Gougane Barra" may with justice be termed an epitome of all that is beautiful in Callanan's poetry, and is, most unquestionably, as delicious a morsel of minstrelsy as ever feasted the minds of an Irish or English reader. We will now give it insertion.

## GOUGANE BARRA.

There is a green island in lone Gougane Barra,  
Where Allua of songs rushes forth as an arrow;  
In deep-valled Desmond—a thousand wild fountains  
Come down to that lake, from their home in the mountains.  
There grows the wild ash, and a time-stricken willow  
Looks chidingly down on the mirth of the billow;  
As, like some gay child, that sad monitor scorning,  
It lightly laughs back to the laugh of the morning.  
And its zone of dark hills—oh! to see them all bright'ning,  
When the tempest flings out its red banner of lightning;  
And the waters rush down, 'mid the thunder's deep rattle,  
Like clans from their hills at the voice of the battle;  
And brightly the fire-crested billows are gleaming,  
And wildly from Mullagh the eagles are screaming.

Oh! where is the dwelling in valley or highland,  
So meet for a bard as this lone little island!

How oft when the summer-sun rested on Clara,  
And lit the dark heath on the hills of Ivera,  
Have I sought thee, sweet spot, from my home by the ocean,  
And trod all thy wilds with a Minstrel's devotion,  
And thought of thy bards, when assembling together,  
In the cleft of thy rocks, or the depth of thy heather;  
They fled from the Saxon's dark bondage and slaughter,  
And waked their last song by the rush of thy water.  
High sons of the lyre, oh! how proud was the feeling,  
To think while alone through that solitude stealing,  
Though loftier Minstrels green Erin can number,  
I only awoke your wild harp from its slumber,  
And mingled once more with the voice of those fountains,  
The songs even echo forgot on her mountains,  
And glean'd each grey legend, that darkly was sleeping  
Where the mist and the rain o'er their beauty was creeping.

Least bard of the hills! were it mine to inherit,  
The fire of thy harp, and the wing of thy spirit,  
With the wrongs which like thee to our country has bound me,  
Did your mantle of song fling its radiance around me,  
Still, still in those wilds may young liberty rally,  
And send her strong shout over mountain and valley,  
The star of the west may yet rise in its glory,  
And the land that was darkest, be brightest in story.  
I too shall be gone;—but my name shall be spoken  
When Erin awakes, and her fetters are broken;  
Some Minstrel will come, in the summer eve's gleaming,  
When Freedom's young light on his spirit is beaming,  
And bend o'er my grave with a tear of emotion,  
Where calm Avon-Buce seeks the kisses of ocean,  
Or plant a wild wreath, from the banks of that river,  
O'er the heart, and the harp, that are sleeping for ever.

Now, to establish the author's title to the merit of exquisite simplicity: we have only to regret that the producer of such sweet simplicity as the following ballad contains, has not given us many, many more such invaluable examples of this divine peculiarity.

#### THE NIGHT WAS STILL.

The night was still,—the air was balm,  
Soft dews around were weeping;  
No whisper rose o'er ocean's calm,  
Its waves in light were sleeping,  
With Mary on the beach I stray'd;  
The stars beam'd joy above me;  
I prest her hand and said, "sweet maid,  
"Oh tell me do you love me?"

With modest air she drooped her head,  
Her cheek of beauty veiling;  
Her bosom heav'd,—no word she said;  
I mark'd her strife of feeling;  
"Oh, speak my doom, dear maid," I cried,  
"By yon bright Heaven above thee;"  
She gently raised her eyes and sighed,  
"Too well you know I love thee."

It is not alone in "The Recluse of Inchidony" that a resemblance to Byron may be traced: he evinces a kindred spirit to that of the great author of "Childe Harold," in almost all his poetical writings, though his melancholy was not as deep, or so much steeped in despair as that of the former. Our readers who remember, and there are few who have read "The Siege of Corinth" who will not remember, that beautiful passage commencing, "'Tis midnight on the mountains brown," will not fail to observe a striking similarity to it in the lines below; a

resemblance, albeit, which none can for a moment suppose to wear the most remote appearance of plagiarism, which never can be attributed to Callanan, whose ideas are as fresh as the water in "The thousand wild fountains" which he tells us empty themselves into the lake of "Gougane Barra."

## MOONLIGHT.

'Tis sweet at hush of night  
By the calm moon to wander,  
And view those isles of light  
That float so far beyond her  
In that wide sea  
Whose waters free  
Can find no shore to bound them,  
On whose calm breast  
Pure spirits rest  
With all their glory round them;  
Oh! that my soul all free  
From bonds of earth might sever;  
Oh! that those isles might be  
Her resting place for ever.

When all those glorious spheres  
The watch of Heaven are keeping,  
And dews, like Angels' tears,  
Around are gently weeping;  
O who is he  
That carelessly  
On virtue's bound encroaches,

But then will feel  
Upon him steal  
Their silent sweet reproaches?  
Oh! that my soul all free,  
From bonds of earth might sever;  
Oh! that those isles might be  
Her resting place for ever.

And when in secret sighs  
The lonely heart is pining,  
If we but view those skies  
With all their bright host shining,  
While sad we gaze  
On their mild rays,  
They seem like seraphs smiling,  
To joys above,  
With looks of love,  
The weary spirit willing;  
Oh! that my soul all free  
From bonds of earth could sever;  
Oh! that those isles might be  
Her resting place for ever.

An Irishman who is tolerably well acquainted with the character of his countrymen, cannot but observe in the dirge of "O'Sullivan Bear," a most intensely graphic picture of that strong denunciatory power (to use a mild word) for which the Irish have ever been famous, whenever burning injustice roused their passions. The ballad has sufficient attractions to render its presence here desirable.

The sun upon Ivera  
No longer shines brightly;  
The voice of her music  
No longer is sprightly;  
No more to her maidens  
The light dance is dear,  
Since the death of our darling  
O'Sullivan Bear.

Scully! thou false one,  
You basely betray'd him;  
In his strong hour of need  
When thy right hand should aid him;  
He fed thee;—he clad thee;—  
You had all could delight thee;  
You left him;—you sold him;—  
May Heaven requite thee!

Scully! may all kinds  
Of evil attend thee;  
On thy dark road of life  
May no kind one befriend thee;  
May fevers long burn thee,  
And agues long freeze thee;  
May the strong hand of God  
In his red anger seize thee.

Had he died calmly,  
I would not deplore him,  
Or if the wild strife  
Of the sea-war closed o'er him;  
But with ropes round his white limbs  
Through ocean to trail him,  
Like a fish after slaughter!—  
'Tis therefore I wail him.

Long may the curse  
Of his people pursue them;  
Scully that sold him  
And soldier that slew him,  
One glimpse of Heaven's light  
May they see never;  
May the hearth-stone of hell  
Be their best bed for ever!

In the hole which the vile hands  
Of soldiers had made thee,  
Unhonoured, unshrouded  
And headless they laid thee;  
No sigh to regret thee,  
No eye to rain o'er thee,  
No dirge to lament thee,  
No friend to deplore thee.

Dear head of my darling  
 How gory and pale,  
 These aged eyes see thee  
 High spiked on their gaol ;  
 That cheek in the summer sun  
 Ne'er shall grow warm,  
 Nor that eye e'er catch light :  
 But the flash of the storm.

A curse, blessed ocean,  
 Is on thy green water,  
 From the haven of Cork  
 To Ivera of slaughter,  
 Since the billows were dyed  
 With the red wounds of fear,  
 Of Muirtach Oga,  
 Our O'Sullivan Bear.

It would appear that among the Irish peasantry, a custom prevailed at dances, and merry makings, in which a young man admiring one of the fair dancers, rose and, offering his glass to the object of his admiration, requested her to drink to him. After a considerable number of refusals, the offer was sometimes accepted, and considered a favourable omen : allusion is made by Callanan to this custom in a choice piece of enthusiastic poetry, which affords another convincing proof of the great and transcendent genius, which could so intimately identify itself with all the minute peculiarities of Irish life. The song bears the name of "The girl I love," and runs thus :—

The girl I love is comely, straight, and tall ;  
 Down her white neck her auburn tresses fall :  
 Her dress is neat, her carriage light and free :—  
 Here's a health to that charming maid whoe'er she be !

The rose's blush but fades beside her cheek ;  
 Her eyes are blue, her forehead pale and meek ;  
 Her lips like cherries on a summer tree :—  
 Here's a health to the charming maid whoe'er she be !

When I go to the field no youth can lighter bound,  
 And I freely pay when the cheerful jug goes round ;  
 The barrel is full : but its heart we soon shall see :—  
 Come, here's to that charming maid whoe'er she be !

Had I the wealth, that props the Saxon's reign ;  
 Or the diamond crown that decks the King of Spain,  
 I'd yield them all if she kindly smiled on me :—  
 Here's a health to the maid I love whoe'er she be !

Five pounds of gold for each lock of her hair I'd pay,  
 And five times five, for my love one hour each day ;  
 Her voice is more sweet than the thrush on its own green tree :—  
 Then, my dear, may I drink a fond deep health to thee !

What indeed has Callanan written, which does not bear the impress of elegance, elevated imagination, copious diction, and magical affinity with the very nature of our scenery, and the exact character of our people ? Our very hills and valleys, the former with their towering peaks and shadowy hues, in which a dreamy and delicious gloom constitutes a mysterious charm ; the latter with their verdant and extensive meads, or heathy wastes which seem as though they were never trodden by human footsteps, appear through the diaphanous medium of this beautiful poetry, in such a way, as we have often ob-

served the leaves of an umbrageous tree, over a lucid stream, reflected on a calm evening in its bosom. The Irishman who reads the poetry of Callaghan sarily lay down the volume a more patriotic man; and also of necessity feel himself incited to increase the furtherance of his country's good.

The thoughts contained in these lines which we might almost fancy to hear escaping from the lips of a poor criminal, in unpremeditated discourse with a friend, are the reflections, and so apparently an entire soliloquy.

How hard is my fortune  
And vain my repining;  
The strong rope of fate  
For this young neck is twining:  
My strength is departed,  
My cheeks sunk and sallow;  
While I languish in chains  
In the gaol of Clonmala.\*

No boy of the village  
Was ever yet wilder;  
I'd play with a child  
And my sport would be wilder;  
I'd dance without tiring  
From morning 'till even,  
And the goal-ball I'd strike  
To the lightning of Heaven.

At my bed foot de  
My heart-bat  
Through the boys  
My goal-ball  
My horse among th  
Neglected man  
While I pine in m  
In the gaol of

Next Sunday the  
At home will  
And the young ac  
The field will  
With the dance of  
The evening f  
While this heart  
Shall be cold

\* Clonmala, i.e. the solitude of death, the Irish name of Clonmel.

\* Patron.—Irish gathering of the p

We will wind up our comments on Callaghan by giving our readers an example of his powers as a tragedian in the poem itself (which was a specimen of the forcible expression, masculine flow, and dramatic character of some of the old Irish poetry).

#### THE LAMENT OF O'GNIYE.

How dimn'd is the glory that circled the Gael,  
And fall'n the high people of green Inisfail;\*  
The sword of the Saxon is red with their gore;  
And the mighty of nations is mighty no more!

Like a bark on the ocean, long shattered and tost,  
On the land of your fathers at length you are lost;  
The hand of the spoiler is stretched on your plains,  
And you're doom'd from your cradles to bondage and chains.

O where is the beauty that beam'd on thy brow?  
Strong hand in the battle! how weak art thou now?  
That heart is now broken that never would quail,  
And thy high songs are turned into weeping and wail.

\* Inisfail—the Island of destiny, one of the names of Ireland.

Bright shades of our sires ! from your home in the skies  
O blast not your sons with the scorn of your eyes !  
Proud spirit of Gollam\* how red is thy cheek,  
For thy freemen are slaves, and thy mighty are weak !

O'Neill† of the Hostages: Con ‡ whose high name,  
On a hundred red battles has floated to fame,  
Let the long grass still aigh undisturbed o'er thy sleep;  
Arise not to shame us, awake not to weep.

In thy broad wing of darkness enfold us, O night;  
Withhold, O bright sun, the reproach of thy light;  
For freedom, or valour no more canst thou see,  
In the home of the Brave, in the Isle of the Free,

Affliction's dark waters your spirits have bow'd,  
And oppression hath wrapped all your land in its shroud,  
Since first from the Brehon's|| pure justice you stray'd,  
And bent to those laws the proud Saxon has made.

We know not our country, so strange is her face;  
Her sons once her glory are now her disgrace;  
Gone, gone is the beauty of fair Innisfall,  
For the stranger now rules in the land of the Gael.

Where, where are the woods that oft rung to your cheer,  
Where you waked the wild chase of the wolf and the deer?  
Can those dark heights with ramparts all frowning and riven,  
Be the hills where your forests wav'd brightly in Heaven?

O bondsmen of Egypt ! no Moses appears  
To light your dark steps thro' this desert of tears;  
Degraded and lost ones, no Hector is nigh  
To lead you to freedom, or teach you to die !

Francis Davis, commonly called the Belfast man, the last of those whom we have selected for notice, has decidedly very many claims on our admiration. Though he may not possess that deep spirit of meditation which belonged to Griffin and Callanan, and though some may consider that he has not that profound knowledge of, taste for, and capacity to treat in all the fulness of sustained narrative, the "grey old legends," and historical land marks of Ireland, in the former of which they have shewn themselves such masters, and in the latter of which they have evinced such extraordinary instances of excelling talent, the indomitable spirit which he shews, the melodious nature of his verse, the felicitous turn of his ideas, and the rich, transcendently rich fancy which sparkles so brilliantly through his every lay, adequately compensate us for any deficiency which may render him unequal to the others in particular attributes. Not that we would infer that his peculiar beauties are such as to place him on an equality with

\* Gollamh—A name of Milesius the Spanish progenitor of the Irish O's and Mac's.

† Nial—of the Nine Hostages, the heroic Monarch of Ireland, in the fourth century—  
and ancestor of the O'Neill family.

‡ Con Cead Catha—Con of the Hundred Fights, monarch of the Island in the second century; although the fighter of a hundred battles, he was not the victor of a hundred fields;  
his valorous rival, Owen, King of Munster, compelled him to a division of the Kingdom.

|| Brehons—The hereditary Judges of the Irish Septs.

the poets we have been reviewing, but that we deduce from their existence, the author's right to possess a respectable position among the leading poets of his country. Francis Davis is essentially a lyric poet, and one of a truly passionate and energetic order. His fiery ballads swell out into full toned magnificence, as when a master hand sweeps the diapason of an organ. His music like that of Mozart combines volume, glorious harmony, variety, resistless impetuosity, and peerless grandeur. He is not only "as full of spirit as the mouth of May," he is also "gorgeous as the sun at midsummer." His fancy is elevated, luxuriant, and bewitching: the fruits of his Muse are unexceptionably national, and in addition to all these excellencies, the bright spirit of independence crowns with a halo of undying light, the works of his triumphant genius. He, alone, of those to whom these pages refer, is still alive, and from his comparative youth, we have every reason to expect that he will yet present his countrymen with gifts as brilliant as those he has already bestowed on them, and naturally more characterized than their predecessors, by all those solid beauties which age alone can ripen. Long may he continue (is our earnest wish) to adorn our literature by gems from the casket of his radiant intellect, long may he continue to foster those generous impulses and noble principles which are alone the nursling seeds of liberty, and which when he tends and propagates them, constitute one of the highest avocations of, and form one of the most exalted honors which can be conferred on man.

Davis too, like those we have been considering, entered on the wide field of nationality: he, like many of those gifted men, whose genius shall never be forgotten, had thought that his talents and energies could not have been better employed than in working for his country's welfare. So, giving up all dreams of glory in another sphere, all ambition for literary distinction in contemplative abstract subjects, or in universal themes, which might be more pleasing to a foreign ear, he set himself right manfully to carry out the great object, which had patriotism for its motto. A poor weaver by trade, hard at work from morning until night, in earning his bread, he still continued to snatch a moment at intervals, to devote to his darling occupation. But indeed Davis does not confine himself merely to patriotic subjects: well does he know the art, to "make the tears of sympathy to flow." Power-



fully can he touch the tender chords in our hearts, which melt us to compassion, or chill us to despair. He affords us sufficient instances of that wonderful ability, which can realize the agonized incurable state of the human breast, which forbids all consolation, renders useless all attempts to assuage its intensity, and feeds with a sullen eagerness on the object of its grief. In evidence we shall lay before the reader, a graphic illustration of this species of poetical creation, which merely to peruse is to behold the greatness of its high dramatic merit.

## A MOTHER'S LAMENT.

They tell me that I should not weep  
When Heaven calls its own;  
Ah, think they that a mother's heart  
Is but a living stone?  
They tell me that my constant tears  
Will waste the mother's cheek;  
Ah, know they not were these to cease  
The mother's heart would break?  
When o'er my soul there hangs a cloud,  
With no redeeming ray,  
Will Heaven blame me if I try  
To weep that cloud away?  
Sweet Saviour, dear,  
Look down, and tear  
Her shadow from my view;  
Or take—oh, take,  
For mercy's sake,  
The mother to thee too.

Here, many a holy hour I've sat,  
When none but God did see;  
And on this heaving heart, my bird,  
My beauty, pillowed thee;  
And wept in pride of soul, and looked  
O'er thee and future years;  
And kissed each dimple till it shone  
A little well of tears;  
Or soothed, and made thy wordless mirth  
In infant chuckling rise,  
Till all my joyful spirit reeled  
In frenzy through my eyes.  
My babe, my dove!  
Oh, father above,  
What now of coming years?  
She's thine, she's thine!  
But what are mine?  
Her green grave, and these tears!

I see the blackness of my soul,  
Where all looked bright before:  
My homely hearth, the willow seat,  
The waves before my door;  
I see my babes steal round my knee,  
Half weeping, half in shame:  
And hang their heads, and whisper low,  
When breathing sister's name:  
And then my wandering fancy wings  
Some shadow by my door:  
I start, I shriek—oh no! oh no!  
My Lizzie comes no more.  
Oh no! oh no!  
My lamb of snow,  
There's glory round your brow;  
And broad and bright  
With holy light,  
Are all your play-grounds now!

I look upon the flowery mounds  
Her snowy hands did make;  
I kneel, and bless the dying flowers,  
And kiss them for her sake;  
And oft as drops the fuchsia bell  
Beneath my scalding tear,  
The phantom-echo of her voice,  
Mounts, laughing on my ear!  
Then can you blame a mother's hands  
For twining through her hair,  
When all within that mother's heart  
Is boiling in despair?  
That eye, that cheek—  
Speak, Heaven! speak!  
She's not a putrid clod;  
My child, my child,  
Thy mother's wild:  
Forgive me, oh my God!

Like every one deserving the name of a Poet, Francis Davis can nourish in his inmost heart the most sensitive feelings of Love, can conjure up before his mind the most golden imaginings of a lover's bliss, and can express with nature's most graphic power, the spiritualized sentiments which are akin to the tender passion. It would not be perhaps altogether just to compare him in this particular to those whose works have occupied the preceding pages, as they have been so eminent in inditing love songs, that they are as remarkable

for excellence in this branch of the poetic art, as they are in any of its others. However, that all votaries of Venus will willingly concede to him a respectable share of admiration for his accomplishments as an amatory minstrel, will not be doubted by the reader of the lines that follow.—

## MY BETROTHED.

Oh, come my betrothed, to thine anxious bride,  
Too long have they kept thee from my side !  
Sure I sought thee by mountain and mead, ashore !  
And I watched and I wept till my heart was sore,  
While the false to the false did say :  
We will lead her away by the mound and the rath,  
And we'll nourish her heart in its worse than death,  
Till her tears shall have traced a pearly path,  
For the work of a future day.

Ah, little they knew what their guile could do !  
It has won me a host of the stern and true,  
Who have sworn by the eye of the yellow sun  
That my home is their hearts till thy hand be won :  
And they've gathered my tears and sighs ;  
And they've woven them into a cloudy frown,  
That shall gird my brow like an ebony crown,  
Till these feet in my wrath shall have trampled down  
All, all that betwixt us rise.

Then come, my betrothed, to thine anxious bride,  
Thou art dear to my breast as my heart's red tide,  
And a wonder it is you tarry so long,  
And your soul so proud, and your arm so strong,  
And your limb without a chain ;  
And your feet in their flight like the midnight wind,  
When he baha at the flash that he leaves behind ;  
And your heart so warm, and your look so kind—  
Oh, come to my breast again !

Oh my dearest has eyes like the noontide sun ;  
So bright, that my own dare scarce look on :  
And the clouds of a thousand years gone by,  
Brought back, and again on the clouded sky,  
Heaped haughtily pile o'er pile ;  
Then all in a boundless blaze outspread,  
Rent, shaken, and tossed o'er their flaming bed,  
Till each heart by the light of the heavens was read,  
Were as nought to his softest smile :

And to hear my love in his wild mirth sing  
To the flap of the battle-god's fiery wing !  
How his chorus shrieks through the iron tones  
Of crashing towers and creaking thrones,  
And the crumbling of bastions strong !  
Yet, sweet to my ear as the sigh that slips  
From the nervous dance of a maiden's lips,  
When the eye first wanes in its love eclipse,  
Is his soul-creating song !

Then come, my betrothed, to thine anxious bride !  
Thou hast tarried too long, but I may not chide ;  
For the prop and the hope of my home thou art,  
Ay, the vein that suckles my growing heart :  
Oh, I'd frown on the world for thee !  
And it is not a dull, cold, soulless croud,  
With a lip in the dust at a tyrant's nod,  
Unworthy one glance of the patriot's god,  
That you ever shall find in me !

In the true spirit of literature, which never permits the gall

of political acerbity to interfere with our appreciation of that which is beautiful, and apparently the warm outpouring of the heart, we must needs (whatever our creed or principles may be,) divest ourselves of all prejudices, if we wish to form an estimate of the worth of the fiery poems of Francis Davis. Let us regard them in the light of compositions created for a certain end, an end which by every appearance the author considered a correct and honest one, and which, if it fell short of being so, was more occasioned by the want of clear-sightedness on his part, than by any other cause. Those narrowing influences which have, alas, too often regulated the taste, or distaste of many, for cotemporary literature, cannot be indulged in, with any semblance either of reason, becoming feeling, or common justice, and we are as much bound to admire the literary beauties (provided they are unstained by vicious thoughts,) of the poet whose volume was brought out yesterday, with mayhap the approving stamp of some sect obnoxious to the generality of readers, merely because they profess different religious principles, as we are to admire the artistic beauties and sublimities of the ancient writers. Convinced that none of our readers will peruse any of the following patriotic ballads in any other than a generous, and impartial spirit, we will now offer them a specimen worthy their attention—

## ON AGAIN.

And so the would-be storm is past,  
And truemen have outlived it;  
Can truth be bowed by falsehood's blast,  
They're slaves who e'er believed it:  
Let cravens crawl and adders hiss,  
And foes look on delighted!  
To one and all our answer's this,  
We're wronged and must be righted.  
Then on again,  
A chain's a chain,  
And though a king should make it,  
Be this our creed,  
A slave indeed  
Is he who dare not break it.  
'Tis not in slander's poisonous lips  
To kill the patriot's ardour;  
Their blight may reach the blossom-tips,  
But not the fount of verdure:  
For he who feels his country's dole,  
By nought can be confounded,  
But onward sweeps his fearless soul,  
Though death be walking round it:

Then on again,  
A chain's a chain,  
And though a king should make it,  
A slave, though freed,  
Were he indeed,  
Who dare not try to break it.

And while ye guard against the shoals  
That hide each past endeavour,  
Give freemen's tongues to truemen's souls,  
Or damn the terms for ever:  
Let baseness wander through the dark,  
And hug its own restriction,  
But, oh! be ours the guiding spark!  
Produced by mental friction:  
Then on again,  
A chain's a chain,  
And though a king should make it,  
Be this our creed,  
A slave indeed  
Is he who dare not break it.

Davis is a "facile princeps" in his choice and management of metre, that truant and rebellious offspring of the Muse, which it requires so much carefulness to keep in anything like order. With inimitable taste he selects a light and easy

flowing measure to suit his ingenious and fancy-clad thoughts, and blending with admirable skill, the art of the scholar with the active imaginings of the poet, he weaves, as we shall now behold, a brilliant woof of Poesy, remarkable for its rich colouring, and epigrammatic point.—

## FOUR ON THE STEM.

Oh, who has not heard of the mystical  
power,  
Which lives in that sweet little emerald  
flower,  
So rare in the valley, so prized in the bower,  
Our dear little, rare little, eye-opening gem?

So beaming, so teeming  
With beauty and wonder,  
When magic and logic  
Are sporting their thunder;  
And riving and driving  
Your senses asunder:

Oh, seek ye a shamrock with four on the  
stem!

When wizards were charming, with mystical  
bothers,  
The eyes and the ears of our elf-fearing  
mothers,  
It winged each delusion, or so said our  
fathers,  
And why should their children its powers  
condemn?

Then up with it, step with it,  
Up with it merrily;  
Roses and posies  
Are drooping so drearily;  
Lying and dying,  
And Erin so cheerily,

Mocking delusion with four on the stem!

And now that our elms and their castles  
of ether  
(Since Erin and Knowledge were talking  
together)

Have changed into goblins of sabre and  
feather,

The four-in-one-flower shall reason con-  
demn?

Oh no, men! for foemen  
And malice and knavery,  
Slipped round us, and bound us  
In darkness and slavery,  
Then led us and bled us,  
In spite of our bravery,

For this—we could number but three on  
the stem!

Then hail to the union of spirits and  
flowers

The past to the foe, but the future be  
ours;

For Ulster has found in her own blooming  
bowers,

The gay golden leaf that completed the  
gem.

Then up with it, step with it,  
Up with it merrily;  
Forward! from norward  
And southward come cheerily;  
Munster and Leinster,  
And Connaught unwearily,

Tell Erin's foes she has four on the stem!

We are compelled very reluctantly to pass over great numbers of the beautiful pieces of poetry with which the volume before us abounds. They who wish to fathom the bright depths of Davis's fancy must read for themselves; we cannot do more than exhibit a few brilliants from the inexhaustible mine of his prolific and sparkling genius. The following lines are typical of almost oriental, imaginative opulence.—

## DREAM OF A WANDERER.

I looked upon the ocean,  
And I looked upon the strand;  
I looked upon the heaven  
That o'erhung the stranger's land:  
But the brilliant blue was wanting,  
And the robe of many dyes,  
That each sea-sprung vale displayeth  
Where my native mountains rise.  
And the waves, like warlike spirits,  
In their darkly-glistening shrouds,  
Rose and flung their silvery helmets  
In the pathway of the clouds:

But the breeze of bracing freshness,  
That my fevered frame did seek,  
In an icy odour only,  
Wanted o'er my wasted cheek.  
And I found me,  
As around me  
Rung the elemental roar,  
Heart stricken  
And forsaken,  
On a sterile, stranger shore.

But a soothing angel hovered  
 By that darkly-writhing main,  
 And on dreamy pilions bore me  
 To my native isle again  
 Oh, the sweetness and the brightness  
 Of her meadows and her rills,  
 And the rainbow tinge of beauty  
 That was sleeping on her hills,  
 As the rosy lip of morning,  
 In the ripeness of its sheen,  
 Burst, and rolled a golden current  
 O'er the glistening glancing green;  
 Where the little shamrock shaded  
 Stem and leaf from human sight,  
 Underneath the hoary crystal  
 Of a chastened autumn night:  
 While the breezes  
 Wooed the daisies,  
 With a heaven in their tone;  
 And the fountains  
 On the mountains  
 All in ruddled silver shone.

How I leaped upon those mountains!  
 How I gazed upon that sky!  
 Till my very spirit revelled  
 Through a galaxy of joy;  
 But the beauteous vision's fading  
 To a scene of darker hue;  
 And an ocean strand of strangers  
 Bursts again upon my view;  
 And the mountain billows marshalled  
 In their merry might advance:  
 How I trembled as they gambolled  
 In their fearful foamy dance,  
 What tears of burning bitterness!  
 What frenzied words I spoke!  
 My home—my home, ah heaven!  
 And thus weeping, I awoke.  
 But I found me,  
 As around me  
 Waved the tawny autumn's pride,  
 'Mid the pleasures,  
 Yea, the treasures  
 Of my native Lagan side!

There are very few of the present day, who have more right to our consideration as poets of fancy, than the subject of our present comments. There is a richness about him which seems almost interminable: a charming command of the most delicious images, combined with a marvellous power of presenting them in the most attractive form. Davis indeed would be the very man, we should now be inclined to consider competent to take up our old traditions, and to do them the justice they deserve: his brilliant fancy is just suited to a description of the fairy dance, the wily tricks of the Leprechaun, or the fantastic pranks of the Phooka. Would that words of ours could induce him to carry out an undertaking so suited to his genius: he would be well rewarded for it, in reflecting upon what he would have done for his country, whose history would thus receive new life, and, whose children would thus be furnished with new incentives to national exertion. We cannot refrain from giving another example of this species of poetry in corroboration of our views.—

## THE FAIRY SERENADE.

AWAKE thee! awake thee! my pretty fairy queen!  
 Sea, the sky is blue and the grass is green,  
 And the monarch of the east is gone;  
 And the blue sky weeps  
 While the red prince sleeps  
 On his gorgeous golden throne:  
 And the spider spreads  
 Out his pearly threads,  
 And the young moon tips Billevehan;  
 But as faint the while  
 As a mortal's smile,  
 Or the glance of a dying fawn.  
 Oh, the gay green bower,  
 And the twilight hour  
 Ere the sky puts its star-bloom on!

And broad are the lawns of your airy fairy king;  
 And we'll o'er them glide on the watery wing  
 Of a love-sick maiden's sigh.  
 And thy crown I'll plume  
 With the golden bloom  
 Of the blue-robed violet's eye;  
 And we'll fill our glass  
 From a blade of grass,  
 And we'll drink to its emerald dye;  
 While we dance those springs  
 The young daisy sings,  
 When she's kissed by the twilight fly.  
 Oh the gay green bower,  
 And the grey eve hour,  
 When the dew-lamps round us lie!

And I'll show thee the mortal's world, my  
 queen,  
 With its dim, and its dark, and the gulfs  
 between,  
 And its wringing wrongs and care ;  
 Oh, 'tis full of guile  
 As the wanton's smile,  
 And as cold as the miser's prayer !

And it seems at most  
 But a desert coast,  
 Save a few buds wondrous fair,  
 That the minstrel child  
 Rears on the wild,  
 With that cold-eyed world to share—  
 Then ours be the bower,  
 And the twilight hour,  
 And no ice-eyed mortals there !

In order that our readers may not forget that Davis has an additional attribute for which he has justly earned as much celebrity, as for excellence in any other, namely, a resistless spirit of independence, which sweeps all low animosities and petty cavillings before it, as a strong spring tide carries off the weed which it tears from the rocks, we should not finish our remarks without giving room for the following ardent ejaculations.—

#### WISHES AND WISHERS.

Oh ! know ye the wish of the true, the true !  
 Oh, know ye the wish of the true ?  
 'Tis to see the slave's hand  
 Whirling liberty's brand,  
 As its toll-nurtured muscles could do,  
 And the wide world's oppressors in view :  
 God ripen that wish of the true !

Then hurrah for that wish of the true, the true !  
 Hurrah for that wish of the true ;  
 And another hurrah  
 For the fast coming day,  
 When the many shall preach to the few,  
 From a gospel as pure as the dew—  
 Oh ! there's hope in that wish of the true !

Oh ! know ye the wish of the proud, the proud !  
 Oh, know ye the wish of the proud ?  
 'Tis to empty their veins,  
 'Mid the crashing of chains,  
 Aye, the veins of their heart, if allowed,  
 So the neck of oppression be bowed :  
 What a holy wish that of the proud !

Then hurrah for that wish of the proud, the proud !  
 Hurrah for that wish of the proud,  
 And a sweeping hurrah  
 For the clash, flash, and neigh.  
 Where young liberty leaps from the cloud,  
 That curls blue o'er her enemy's shroud—  
 Oh ! the world for that wish of the proud !

Oh ! know ye the wish of the brave, the brave !  
 Oh, know ye the wish of the brave ?  
 'Tis to toss out a lance,  
 For the glory of France,  
 And to dance upon tyranny's grave,  
 Wheresoe'er its black banner may wave :  
 God strengthen that wish of the brave !

Then hurrah for that wish of the brave, the brave !  
 Hurrah for that wish of the brave,  
 And hurrah for the hand,  
 And the casque-clearing brand,  
 That the rights of a nation can save,  
 Or redeem by its world lighting wave—  
 Heaven bless the broad brand of the brave !

Though few, there are men amongst us who devote themselves to the cultivation of poetry ; men whose vigorous intellects, luxuriant imaginations, and strong love of the beautiful in nature entitle them to be considered promising votaries of the muse. Even these few might effect much for the reconstruction of their country's literature. How much could they not accomplish towards the illustration of their enchanting legends ? Surely they do not require to be reminded what more exalted honor they might derive from elucidating the hidden traditions of Ireland, in language suited to such interesting and eminently poetical subjects, than from adorning foreign scenery, and

foreign themes, with the jewels which would ornament, with far better grace, an altar dedicated to the encouragement of native talent, and the preservation of native story? Are we never to break the degrading spell which compels us to profess such admiration for, and to exhibit so much infatuated delight, in that which belongs not to us by any of the connecting links of sympathy, kindred, or natural association, and necessitates us, in like manner, to treat with withering indifference, all those appealing objects, principles, and inestimable truths, which should fire the hearts of a people, with a flame unquenchable in itself, and irresistible in the results its active intensity would accomplish? What do we admire in the people of other countries, which we will not find, by careful and impartial investigation, either to have been possessed by our noble and chivalrous ancestors, or to be in our own power to possess if we ardently desired to enjoy it? Would to heaven that that silly pride, which hitherto has confined itself to matters of a genealogical character, would transmit itself from the weak attributes of our intellect to its stronger characteristics! How happy we should be, could we feel the fullness of our degradation with the sensitiveness of pride, and use the same pride as a powerful lever, to raise us from the depths of the disgraceful slough in which we have been wallowing! Would that the wand of some beneficent Prospero, could remove the causes of our incapacity to achieve any practical benefit of a literary kind! Such men as Ferguson, and Mac Carthy, have worked some deep shafts in the prolific mine of Irish tradition, and the ore they have turned up has been amply sufficient to prove to them, how richly it has been impregnated with the elements of invaluable mental coin, and how charmingly it has been coloured with the splendor of native fancy, and the more endearing brightness of national virtue, veneration, and warm genuine feeling, the legitimate offspring of the heart. Their own experience must have taught them the unexampled beauty of the tales which abound among our people, the curious and sweetly romantic garb in which they are arrayed, the sad, yet bewitching tone which prevails throughout them, in which we can almost fancy we detect the melancholy keen, which ever accompanies the funerals of the country people in the West, and South of Ireland; the unaccountable suddenness with which a change is made, from passages of apparently unappeasable woe, to passages of irresistible

mirth, the depth of allusion, and of sentiment, the fierce and withering denunciation, the sweet angelic benison breathed in strains of heavenly tenderness, the stormy anger of revenge, the delicious, and melting calm of peaceful serenity, all, all must have been seen, felt, and thoroughly understood by those to whom we have referred.

It is hardly possible to conceive that these poets cannot have had the penetration to observe, that genius allied to such scenes, and such a history as ours must have been wonderfully heightened in appearance, and displayed to much more considerable advantage, than that which is associated with commoner and less interesting subjects. He must, indeed, possess much less than the ordinary power of observation, who cannot see at a glance what an inexhaustible fund of poetical materials are supplied in, for instance, such districts as the Killarney Lakes, with their numberless legends, and old castles, and dreamy solitudes; or Glengariff, with its historic character, and the matchless grandeur of its scenery; the Northern Coast, with its gigantic boldness, and its tales of Goethe-like character; the mountain fastnesses of Connemara, with their Fays and Banshees; or the magnificent scenery of Clew Bay, with its numerous islands, and monarch mountain of Croagh Patrick. It is not possible, we say, that there are any to be found who having heard and read from their earliest youth, of the glories of our ancestors both at home and abroad, of the magnanimous deeds of heroism for which they have been distinguished, their noble simplicity, princely generosity, and chivalrous intrepidity; having pondered, (and pondered all must at one time or another,) on the enviable state of refined civilization and eminent learning for which Ireland was remarkable in the earlier stages of its history; having dwelt with pride on all *that* learning, and *that* civilization have done, not alone for the glory and the advancement of Ireland, but also for the enlightenment of the world, would not burn with ardor to take a part in illustrating the fame of that country, in whose name so much that is glorious, and holy is enshrined.

Ireland wants a poet; it has given birth to men whose poetic genius will never be forgotten, but it has not, as yet, seen its poet in the true sense of the word. Moore cannot be honoured with the name: his melodies, no doubt, illustrate some of the most beautiful parts of our history; the music is national, and includes the choicest snatches of native song; the words are



charming, pathetic, melting, all true ; but the sentiments, though sometimes purely Irish, are not generally so strong in this peculiarity, as to entitle them to the name of Irish sentiment, for to say that Moore's poetry typifies the heart of our country, would be to say that it elucidates, and reflects the every light and shadow of that sentiment ; this, decidedly, it has not done, and for this excellent reason, that it was not written in the language of Irish expression. However, even if Moore had thus written, it would not have sufficed to render him worthy of such a coronal as that of Ireland's poet. He should have shadowed forth all the peculiarities of Irish character ; its strong buoyant hope, as well as its plaintive sorrow ; the vigor and comprehensiveness of its designs as well as the careless humour which it exhibits ; its manly aspirations, as well as its amatory sighs ; its lusty broad-heartedness, as well as its sensitive delicacy ; each and all of those should be portrayed, and every other attribute which may belong to it, by the bard who would wish to wear such a noble crown. And more than this, Ireland with its varied scenes of sublime and awful grandeur, and its delicious landscapes of heavenly repose, its hills, and vales, and woods, and waters, should all be mirrored in the pages of such a poet, as on a clear sunny day we behold the heavens and the shores reflected in the quiet sea. When this is done, and not until then, Ireland will have a poet, and its people a perennial spring, from which blessed draughts of inspiration, and improving truth, may at all times be taken.

N. J. G.

## ART. II.—THE VALUATION OF IRELAND.

1. 15 and 16 Vic., Cap. 68. *An Act to amend the Laws relating to the Valuation of rateable property in Ireland.*
2. *A Bill, as amended in Committee, for the Valuation of lands and heritages in Scotland.*
3. *Civil Service Gazette.* London: September 29th, 1855.
4. *Instructions to the Valuers and Surveyors appointed under the 15 and 16 Vic., Cap. 68, for the uniform Valuation of lands and tenements in Ireland, by Richard Griffith, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S.E., M.R.I.A., F.G.S.L. & D.*

It would be folly to presume that in the space here allotted to us, we could fully discuss a subject of so momentous a nature and of such public importance, and one so truly worthy of the serious attention of the community, as the "*The General Valuation of Ireland.*" We term it general, for all other systems of Valuation have been superseded by it, and we may term it just, because it is based on such principles of justice and equity that the wealthy nobleman and struggling farmer are treated alike in the administration of the laws laid down for the guidance of those appointed to value their holdings. It is needless for us to state, that up to 1826 when the first Bill was passed for the uniform valuation of property in Ireland, commonly called the "*Townland Valuation,*" the greatest partiality and injustice prevailed in the country as regards the levying of taxes, and in very many cases it is a well known fact, that the poor man paid for the rich. This injustice at length became so glaring that the legislature could no longer look on as passive observers, and so the passing of an act to remedy the existing evil became irresistible. In fact, it was owing to this glaring inequality of taxation that we are indebted for having such admirable ordnance maps of the country; without such no proper and accurately detailed valuation could be effected. The Valuation act was, therefore, passed with a view to have the "*valuation of the lands of Ireland made on a uniform principle which would be proportionate to a scale of prices for agricultural produce, so as to insure that the relative value of the land within any county though ascertained at different periods; and also, that the value of the lands of different and distant counties, though ascertained at different and distant periods, should be the same.*"

To effect this object difficulties of no ordinary character should first be removed, and to remove these difficulties, and establish, as far as practicable, a uniform system, the following scale of prices of agricultural produce has been agreed on by the legislature as a standard, according to which the tenement valuation is at present being made :—

Per Barrel.

s.	d.	
18	9	{ Wheat at the general average price of <i>seven shillings and six pence</i> per hundred weight, of one hundred and twelve pounds.
8	6	{ Oats at the general average price of <i>four shillings and ten pence</i> per hundred weight, of one hundred and twelve pounds.
11	0	{ Barley at the general average price of <i>five shillings and six pence</i> per hundred weight, of one hundred and twelve pounds.

Per Stone.

6	2	{ Flax at the general average price of <i>forty-nine shillings</i> per hundred weight, of one hundred and twelve pounds.
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Per Arklin of 67lbs. nett.

39	1	{ Butter at the general average price of <i>sixty-five shillings and four pence</i> per hundred weight, of one hundred and twelve pounds.
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Price for 112s weight.\*

23	8	{ Beef at the general average price of <i>thirty-five shillings and six pence</i> per hundred weight, of one hundred and twelve pounds.
27	4	{ Mutton at the general average price of <i>forty-one shillings</i> per hundred weight, of one hundred and twelve pounds.
25	7	{ Pork at the general average price of <i>thirty-two shillings</i> per hundred weight, of one hundred and twelve pounds.

Those of our readers who are acquainted with the Irish markets, cannot fail to perceive the justice and fair play shewn to the agriculturist in basing the valuation of lands on the standard here given which we copy from the "*Book of Instructions*" for valuers and surveyors employed on the General

\* The current Market prices usually quoted are understood to relate to the meat alone; butchers' profits consist in the value of the offal.

Valuation of the country ; as this work is not to be purchased we shall occasionally submit for the information of our readers some valuable extracts from it, which must be of the utmost importance to those possessing property in Ireland. The valuation of house property is based on a principle equally just as that of the lands, a principle productive of gratifying results, and the very signal success which, up to the present, has attended the efforts of the gentleman selected by the legislature for the accomplishment of so onerous, and so arduous a task as the valuation of a country, whose people are ever ready to cry out against the acts of any public man who cannot satisfy them as to the justice and impartiality of his conduct, and at the same time convince them that his only object is to promote the welfare of all classes of the community. How far Dr. Griffith has succeeded in this will appear by what we shall now proceed to submit to the reader. The value of every house or building must be first estimated by an experienced and competent valuator before any valuation can become the base of taxation, and to do this the valuator must be guided by the following circumstances, viz. :—"The rent for which one year with another the same might in its actual state be reasonably expected to let from year to year; the probable average annual cost of repairs, insurance and other expenses (if any) necessary to maintain the hereditament in its actual state, and all rates, taxes, and public charges, if any, (except tithe rent-charge) being paid by the tenant.

The equity of such principles must be acknowledged by all, and that such has been fully and impartially carried out, the owners of house property in the various parts of Ireland have, we may say, unanimously borne testimony, from time to time, by the comparatively few appeals made against the valuation of tenements or holdings completed up to the present time.

It must be observed that we are not now speaking of the valuation of property made under the old Act passed in 1826, which must be admitted to have been defective, and while it was carried out at a greater expense to the country than the present or Tenement Act, it failed in affording to the rate-payers of the country or to the State, that amount of satisfaction which was so anxiously expected. Until the Tenement Act was passed the country had to bear the expenses of two valuations, viz. The Townland and Poor Law; the one, so far as it went was good, but the other was

carried on in a manner most discreditable, partial and unjust. And we have not the slightest fear of this assertion being contradicted. Poor Law Guardians were vested with the power of appointing Valuers and Applotters, in the different Unions, and the result was that when their own properties and those of their friends came to be valued under the present Act it was found to be in many instances from 30 to 40 per cent below its real and relative value; so instead of a relative valuation existing in many Unions, the contrary was the case, and as it happens in all cases when the poor man's rights remain undefended, he comes off second best, and in this case he was *obliged* to submit to excessive valuation, that his richer and more influential neighbours might be favoured with what *they* considered a *fair valuation*. The instances of this nature that have come under our observation are too numerous for insertion even if space or time permitted, but let it be sufficient to inform our readers that the injustice which was heretofore shewn to the poor and struggling man, is now remedied and should a shadow of doubt exist on his part that he has not been fairly dealt with, his appeal is entertained and considered with the same degree of justice and impartiality, as that of the most wealthy and opulent lord in the land.

The valuation of houses and lands, as our readers are aware, only form a portion of the great undertaking now engaging our attention, for we have yet to speak of the system adopted in valuing Canals, Railroads, Mines, Mills, and Fisheries, and which present perhaps still greater difficulties to the valuator, than the other kinds of property already mentioned, and on which we shall in a future part of our paper make some observations.

Before entering further upon the subject, we would have our readers to remember that the whole weight and responsibility of the valuation of Ireland, has devolved from its commencement, upon one gentleman, a task that all must admit who give the subject any thing like a serious consideration, is replete with many complex and aggravating circumstances, which require more than ordinary experience, forethought and prudence to deal with them, so as to give even a tolerable amount of satisfaction to the public, and and it is only awarding to Dr. Griffith the praise and credit that are due to him, to say, that never was an undertaking in this country carried

on with a greater amount of ability, energy, and zeal, than he has evinced in conducting the valuation of Ireland. The difficulties that naturally presented themselves were manifold, but have been overcome with almost incredible success. 20,158,217 acres of land were to be valued, and a relative valuation maintained throughout every townland and tenement in Ireland, and in such a manner that the interest of all parties might be fairly consulted and general satisfaction given. To do this, he should be first acquainted with the chemical composition of the soil, the climate that influenced it, the proximity of the lands to the sea and Market Towns, the annual produce it yielded, and the price that that produce brought on an average for a certain number of years. In fine, he had to become acquainted with every circumstance by which property was affected before he could submit to the public a valuation that was to become the basis of taxation. That he made himself acquainted with all here stated, is manifested in the little work got up by him for the instruction of those employed as valuers under him, who in determining the value of land, must show that its geological and geographical positions have been duly considered by them, at least so far as may be necessary, to develop the natural and relative powers of the soil. To enable them the better to do this, each is provided with a geological map, and for the character of this map it is only necessary for us to say that it is got up by the "*Patriarch of Geological Science*," an appellation recently, and we need not say deservedly applied to the Commissioner. His standing as a geologist needs no comment from us, his fame as such has long since been acknowledged wherever the science of geology formed the subject of debate. Speaking of the Map in question he says—

"By reference to the annexed Geological Map of Ireland, it will be seen, that the mountain soils are referable generally, to the granite, schistose rocks, and sandstone.

The fertility of soil is to some extent dependent on the proportions which exist between the component minerals of the rock from which it may have been formed, thus, granite in which felspar is in excess, when disintegrated, usually forms a deep and easily improved soil, whilst that in which it is deficient will be comparatively unproductive. The detritus of mica slate, and the schistose rocks, usually form moderately friable soils; applicable to tillage and pasture. Soils derived from sandstone are generally poor.

The most productive lands in Ireland, are situate in the carboniferous limestone plain, which, as shown on the Geological Map, occupies nearly two-thirds of this country, but, when to the natur-

ally fertile calcareous soils of this great district, foreign matters are added, derived from the disintegration of granitic and trappean igneous rocks, as well as from mica slate, clay slate, and other sedimentary rocks, soils of an unusually fertile character are produced. Thus, the proverbially rich soil of the Golden Vale, situate in the limestone district extending between Limerick and Tipperary, is the result of the intermixture of disintegrated trap, derived from the numerous igneous protrusions which are dispersed through that district with the calcareous soil of the valley. The site of these trappean hills is represented on the Geological Map, by a dark red tint.

Lands of superior fertility frequently occur near the contacts of the upper series of the carboniferous limestone, and the shales of the millstone, grit or lower coal series; important examples of this kind will be found in the valley of the rivers Barrow and Nore, extending from Stradbally in the Queen's County, by Carlow, to Kilkenny, &c., also under similar circumstances, along the north-eastern boundary of the millstone grit district of the County of Clare, extending from the sea coast at Doolin, by Kilsenora, towards Corrofin.

The stratification of the third, or calp series, consists of alternations of dark gray shale and dark gray impure argillo siliceous limestone. The soil arising from the disintegration of these rocks, is usually cold, sour, and unsuited to cereal crops, but in many districts in which the soil is naturally dry, or which have been drained and laid down for pasture, this soil produces naturally, superior feeding grasses, particularly the cocksfoot grass.

These pastures are found annually to improve in quality, and in consequence, are rarely broken up; such lands are esteemed to be the best for fattening heavy beasts.

Extensive tracts, consisting chiefly of these valuable pastures, occur in the district which extends westward from the east of the County Dublin, by Trim and Athboy, in the County of Meath, and Castletowndelvin and Mullingar, in the County of Westmeath, to Edgeworthstown, &c., in the County of Longford, (see Geological Map.)

Fertile pasture lands, of similar quality, occur likewise in the calp district of the County of Galway, extending westward from Eyrecourt by Ballydonnellan, towards Athenry.

The fourth series, or the upper limestone, distinguished by the dark blue color on the Map, also produces admirable sheep pasture, and in some localities, superior feeding grounds for heavy cattle; like the lower limestone, the soil of the upper series when well tilled, is capable of producing every variety of cereal and green crop.

It is of the utmost importance, that the valuator should carefully attend to the mineral composition of the soil in each case, and a reference to the Geological Map will frequently assist his judgment in this respect, the relative positions of the subjacent rocks having been determined upon sectional and fossiliferous evidences. He should also carefully observe the changes in the quality and fertility of the soil, near to the boundaries of different rock formations, and

he should expect and look for sudden transitions from cold, sterile clayey soils, as in the millstone grit districts, into the rich unctuous loams of the adjoining limestone districts, which usually commence close to the line of boundary, and similar rapid changes will be observed from barrenness to fertility along the boundaries of our granite, trap, and schistose districts, and likewise on the border of our schistose and limestone districts, the principle being that every change in the composition of the subjacent rock tends to an alteration, beneficial or otherwise in the quality of the subsoil and also of the active soil."

We should consider ourselves as intruding upon the attention of our readers by giving those extracts, did we not bear in mind the great interest that must necessarily be taken in anything bordering upon the nature of soil in a country like Ireland, where Agriculture forms the staple support of her inhabitants. This being the case, the following may be found to be of some advantage to those employed in Agricultural pursuits, especially as they are the results of the experience of agriculturists of the highest character.

*The nature of Indigenous plants* should be observed, as they may sometimes assist to indicate particular circumstances of soil and subsoil.

Thus, the grasses require a comparatively large proportion of alumina, and therefore indicate a tendency to clay soil.

Thistle,	has been considered to indicate	Strong good soil,
Dockweed and nettle	„	Rich dairy land,
Sheep sorrell,	„	Gravelly soil,
Trefoil and vetch,	„	Good dry vegetable soil,
Wild thyme,	„	Thinness of soil,
Rag weed,	„	Depth of soil,
Mouse ear, hawk weed,	„	Dryness of soil,
The iris, rush, & lady's smock,	„	Moisture of soil,
Purple dead nettle and naked horse tail,	„	The Subsoil to be retentive.
Great ox eye,	„	Poverty of soil.

Under the head Plantations and Woods we find the following important information, namely :—

The condition of trees is worthy of attention, as indicating the nature of the soil, thus :—

*The oak* requires a strong clayey loam, but it should not be wet.

*The alder, poplar, and willow* thrive best in wet places.

*The birch, pine, and larch* require dry, sandy, rocky, or gravelly thin soil, and grow at a great elevation.

*The spruce fir* requires a deep moist soil, in low situation, and will not thrive well on thin sands or exposed soils.

*The beech* requires a calcareous soil, and does not thrive well in stiff clay.



*The ash* requires a dry subsoil, and also dislikes stiff clay.

*The elm* thrives in moist soils, but especially near the banks of rivers.

*The soil for sycamore* must not be too stiff, it thrives in moist deep soils.

*The horse chestnut* requires deep loam, but not in exposed situation.

From these extracts, fraught as they are with useful and important information to the agriculturalist, our readers can judge of the practical experience of the man entrusted with the valuation of the country. And this experience has not been achieved by casual observations made in a few counties, nor are those extracts composed of mere opinions—no—they are the results of long experience, and careful observation made in each and every townland in Ireland. The following extract affords another instance of the experience of Dr. Griffith in agriculture.

"It has been ascertained with sufficient accuracy that the weight of fat in an ox fit for the butcher, is about one-eighth of that of the lean. In good herbage also this proportion has been found very nearly to hold between its fatty matter and the sum of the saccharine and protein compounds. The value of good pasture will therefore vary with the quantity of herbage per acre, and this, for the most part, is dependent on the nature and circumstances of the soil—the method of grazing too, has some influence. The best lands will produce about ten tons of grass per acre in the year, of which one beast will eat from seven to nine stone per day, according to its age and condition. Cattle under similar circumstances, consume food nearly in proportion to their weight. Thus ten sheep weighing together sixty stone, ought to consume as much as an ox of the same weight; on pasture, however, it is found that six sheep, on an average, are equivalent to one ox.

Prime pastures will finish for sale, two sets of oxen per Irish acre, between April and September, after which sheep may be put on till the December following."

The extracts we have given will, no doubt, be read with much interest by the agriculturist, who alone can justly appreciate the ability of their author, who is himself a practical agriculturist. We need not wonder, then, at the wisdom displayed in overcoming the many obstacles he had to contend with in conciliating the landed proprietors of the country, and, at the same time, discharge his duties with fidelity to the Government, and with the greatest credit to himself. Dr. Griffith has done all this, and what is more, he has done it at an expense to the country, as we shall hereafter show, so small as seems to many financial economists almost incredible.

As a public officer we should be wanting in our duty were we to omit bearing testimony to some of the many exemplary features of the character of this able and learned gentleman. All acquainted with him must admit, and give him credit for, the upright and straightforward manner in which he has ever conducted the public business entrusted to him. In the political affairs of the country he has never been known to take a part. In his employment Protestant and Catholic share alike of his patronage.

Interest with him had no undue influence. *Ability*, was the watchword to the public service over which he presided; and if at any time charges have been preferred against the ability or integrity of an officer under him, investigations were made carefully, and with justice to both parties, and his decisions were always in accordance with the merits of the case. But there is another circumstance which contributes still more to the character of the Commissioner, and one we feel bound to mention here, since it may serve as an example to the heads of other Public Departments. It is this—that no man is permitted to remain in his service who refuses to pay his debts, provided that those debts can be proved to have been lawfully incurred. He does not, of course, coerce the debtor to pay those debts *at once*, but he enforces their payment by instalments proportional to the debtor's means. In dealing with the public in this manner Dr. Griffith has attained the well deserved and justly earned reputation, among all classes to whom he is known, of an honest, straightforward and upright man. If we had such men presiding over all our Public Institutions, we should not have many of the most important situations in the country filled by men whose only recommendations are favoritism and aristocratic interest, as the events of the last few years have but too clearly proved. Dr. Griffith is an Irishman, we are glad to say, and one of whom Ireland may be justly proud. Not alone in Ireland have his merits been appreciated, but throughout the British Kingdom, as was testified by a late Premier in the House of Lords, when he said that "The Valuation of Ireland was conducted by a gentleman in whom the government and the country had the greatest confidence." In fact, throughout his long and arduous career, Dr. Griffith has given such proofs of ability, justice and earnest solicitude in the faithful discharge of the duties devolved upon him, that he could not fail to

enjoy the approbation of all parties, no matter what their creed or political feelings may be; and we only express this feeling when we say, that a more faithful public officer never presided over any branch of the Civil Service.

In the first department of the house no. 108 Lower Baggot-street is to be found, in daily attendance from 9 to 4 o'clock, a gentleman on whom devolves the whole details of the Valuation Service, and the responsibility of keeping the working power of the establishment in motion. Mr. Greene, for such we understand this gentleman's name to be, was appointed by the Commissioner to the situation of General Superintendent, an appointment which, while it confers honor on Mr. Greene, reflects the greatest credit on the Commissioner, denoting, as it does, the latter's anxiety to have "the right man in the right place." Mr. Greene, assisted by his courteous and efficient principal clerk, Mr. Shaw, has adopted plans in organizing the office in question, that have been, and continue to be, productive of most important results to the public good. Our readers are not to understand that the business of this public office is carried on by clerks alone. The duties of this department of the Service afford but very limited employment for men of that stamp. The assistants are composed of four classes, namely, Valuators, Surveyors, Draftsmen, and Clerks, and every man in those classes is provided with what is termed a "Progress Sheet," in which must be inserted the quantity of work done on each day, which, with the accuracy of such work, is examined at stated intervals by the General Superintendent, or those appointed by him for that purpose. We give a copy of the Valuator's, Surveyor's and Office Assistant's "Progress Sheets,"\* which, we have no doubt, will interest those of our readers connected with the Civil Service of Great Britain, as well as those anxious to know how the public funds allotted for the General Valuation of Ireland have been disbursed. The Sheets of themselves are sufficient to show how minutely the organization of the office is carried out, and the fact that a scale of payment for each class of work, denoted at the heading of each Sheet, has been laid down, after a due consideration been paid to a fair average day's work, manifests at once that no waste of the public money is sanctioned or allowed by the Commissioner. By this means each man knows the quantity of work expected from him; and he knows, also,

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\* See Appendix I for copies of those sheets.

that on the accuracy of his work depends his promotion ; thus it is we find that the Valuation of Ireland has been carried on with greater economy than, perhaps, any branch of the public service in the country. The following statistics, which we take from the Return ordered by the House of Commons, 15th June, 1855, support us in this assertion, to which we beg to direct the attention of our readers.

Names of Counties	Acreable Contents.			Annual Valuation.			Whole cost of Valuation to each County.			Cost per Acre of Valuation.			Cost per £100 of Valuation.			Date when Tenement Valuation first came into operation in each County for the levy of County Assessment.	
Queen's County	424,853	3	12	214,516	18	0	4,774	17	10	0	0	2½	1	19	0½	June,	1853
Kilkenny, (County of City)	—			19,630	17	0	686	16	10	—			8	9	11½	July,	1853
Drogheda (County of Town)	—			20,126	7	0	229	3	8	—			1	2	9½	July,	1854
Carlow	221,392	3	18	163,514	17	0	1,320	6	0	0	0	1½	0	16	1½	June,	1853
Kildare	418,415	0	20	313,494	0	0	2,958	12	0	0	0	1½	0	18	10½	July,	1854
Wexford	573,199	3	18	377,833	0	0	5,014	3	8	0	0	2	1	6	6½	July,	1854
Wicklow	499,394	1	7	248,591	4	0	2,848	9	0	0	0	1½	1	2	11	July,	1854
Dublin, (County of City*)	—			594,886	0	0	1,632	6	6	—			0	6	2	January,	1855
King's County	493,984	3	19	242,168	18	0	4,739	12	4	0	0	2½	1	19	1½	June,	1855
Louth	261,394	1	27	203,004	10	0	2,967	0	8	0	0	4½	1	18	8½	June,	1855
Meath	579,888	2	29	540,101	3	0	5,924	16	6	0	0	2½	1	11	1½	June,	1855
Westmeath	443,408	0	33	305,509	0	0	5,349	19	0	0	0	2½	1	4	4½	June,	1855
Longford	269,409	1	33	152,188	0	0	3,050	13	11	0	0	2½	2	0	1	June,	1855

\* The number of Tenements in the North and South City Electoral Divisions is estimated at 26,000, and we find that this number was valued for the sum quoted above; but this is not all, there is something still that even more redounds to the credit of the Commissioner and that of his General Superintendent, Mr. Greene, which is, that the appeals made against the Valuation of these tenements amounted only to nine, and seven of those were subsequently withdrawn, leaving but two to be tried before the Recorder, whose decision thereon was given in favor of the valuation. Thus we find the City of Dublin valued so economically and so accurately and satisfactorily, that in itself is sufficient testimony of the qualifications of its director. Let us hope that the citizens of Edinburgh will have the same satisfaction given them. Counsel for Valuation, Mr. Martley; for appellants, Mr. Fitzgibbon.

It is unnecessary to dilate upon the economy of the system adopted by the Commissioner beyond what is stated here, for we consider these statistics in themselves afford sufficient testimony to the just and careful manner in which the public funds are disbursed by him. As a great public officer, the country we consider is indebted to him for the way in which he has conducted the valuation from the commencement. We need not inform our readers that a man filling the position of sole commissioner of any branch of the public service has in his power, if inclined, to lavish and waste the public money advanced for that particular department, and this, be it remem-

bered, he can do, as events have often proved, with more or less impunity, for great officials are, we regret to say, too often supported by their colleagues in acts of public injustice, and protected from public censure because those honest enough to give publicity to, and declaim against the injustice done, are tardy in doing so for reasons unnecessary to mention. We have no other instance, we believe, in the civil service of the state where so responsible an undertaking as the valuation of a nation has been committed to one man, and certainly the state must have long since appreciated the services done it by Dr. Griffith. That it has, the many appointments he holds under it afford conclusive proof. And it must be gratifying and consoling to him, now merging into a period of existence when nature must soon call for retirement from the busy and bustling scenes of life, to know that he has upheld a character unsullied and unstained through a long official career, and by his studious toil and untiring application to scientific pursuits, he has raised the veil from off the surface of his native land, and pointed out to future geologists the avenues that may lead to sources of wealth as yet unknown, but which the development of those sciences as yet in their infancy will reveal. A few years hence and the tenement valuation of Ireland shall have been completed, and we feel warranted that the Government cannot suffer the merits of such a man as Dr. Griffith to pass unrewarded. His efforts to satisfy the Government and the country have been signalized with the greatest success; and doubtless the system adopted by him in effecting what may justly be termed a relative valuation, will be found replete with many valuable and practical suggestions to those who may hereafter be engaged in a similar undertaking. The grand feature in the Irish valuation system was, and is, to effect a relative valuation throughout, and to do this the wisest plans were devised, for everything that could in any way affect property, either to diminish or enhance its value, was duly and attentively considered by men conversant with the locality in which the property was situate, and whose long and practical experience enabled them to advance opinions that in many instances proved of the utmost importance, and it must be said that in conducting the valuation of Ireland due deference has always been paid to public opinion. It is quite unnecessary for us to make this observation, as all parties have at all times we might say unanimously admitted such to be the case. To

give universal satisfaction so far as it was consistent with the impartial discharge of his duties, has ever been an object of the greatest solicitude to the Commissioner of Valuation. In effecting this object it is but just to say, that he has been ably assisted by those acting under him, many of whom we would wish to mention did the space at our disposal just now permit. However, as we purpose in a future number of the IRISH QUARTERLY to review the workings of many public offices, and to place before our readers undeniable facts that occur from day to day therein, we shall recur to the Office of the General Valuation of Ireland, and give greater publicity and detail of the system as at present carried on in the administration of its affairs. For the present we may be permitted to state, that in this office at all events few indeed are to be found incompetent to fill the positions assigned to them, nor could this be otherwise, since all candidates must undergo a strict examination as to their qualifications before they can obtain employment in this branch of the Civil Service in Ireland. Hence it is that the per centage of *time-killers* and official dodgers is so unusually small.

We have said that each candidate has to undergo an examination previous to his obtaining employment in the valuation service. Now it may be well to inform our readers, that by this examination is meant the testing of the candidate's competency to discharge the duties of that department into which he desires to enter, and it is due to Mr. Griffith and the General Superintendent to say, that the examination embraces no irrelevant matter whatever, but such as bear upon the particular and essential subjects with which the nature of the employment requires them to be acquainted.

It is indispensably necessary we admit that all candidates for appointments in any branch of the public service should give proofs of their competency before being appointed, and indeed so necessary do we hold this to be, that we would urge its being done not only in all offices connected with the state, but would suggest its being carried out as far as practicable by the proprietors of all mercantile establishments, for the great aim of all parties should be to have "the right man in the right place;" but at the same time we hold that the subjects for examination, or at least the questions in those subjects should bear more directly upon the duties that candidates are or may hereafter be called upon to discharge. We are now

adverting to the question put by those gentlemen constituting the Board of examiners for the Civil Service. We regret very much that the Government did not select men to examine candidates for appointments in the Civil Service, of a more practical turn of mind. We shall not enter into a discussion on the course pursued by the Board of examiners at present, but certainly we shall consider it our duty on a future occasion to advert to it, for we hold that the method adopted by them in testing a candidate's ability or competency is most unfair and inexpedient, and in some instances borders on the ridiculous. Judging from the information we have received from time to time regarding the nature of the questions put to candidates at those examinations, we feel convinced that the appointment of the examiners does not afford a very striking proof that the right man is in the right place; we hope some steps will be taken by the legislature with a view to have the examinations of a more practical nature; if not, we anticipate no great results from the labors of those able and learned gentlemen at present conducting them. We shall now proceed with the subject before us.

When speaking of the systems adopted in valuing land and House property in Ireland, our readers will remember that we intimated referring to the valuation of Mills, Mines, Canals, and Railroads, on each of which we shall now make a few observations.

In estimating the value of Mills there are many conditions requiring due and careful consideration, among which we class the following:—

1. Horse power and circumstances affecting it.
2. The quality of the Machinery.
3. The nature and quantity of the work done by the mill.
4. Distance from Town or Market.

To determine the horse power, the following data must be obtained. 1st. The mean velocity of stream. 2ndly. The section of water; and 3rdly. the fall. In the "Book of Instructions," the manner by which this data can be ascertained is clearly and simply shown.\* The water power of course is

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\* A horse can draw a load at the rate of three miles per hour, the resistance of which is equal to 125lbs. which for eight hours would be equal to 3,000lbs drawn one mile in a day; this multiplied by 5,280 feet, gives 1,584,000lbs units of work, which divided by 480, the number of minutes in 8 hours, gives 33,000lbs.

only to be valued according to the time it is actually used, and to arrive at its proper value, we find that the time of working, as well as the nature of the water supply, and description of wheel, is taken into consideration. The following extracts may be found interesting to many of our readers.

*"A horse power employed for twenty-two hours \*per day, throughout the year is valued at £1 15s. This amount is to be multiplied by the number of horses' power ascertained for the mill under consideration. If the mill be employed but half the year, or a fewer number of hours per day, a suitable deduction must be made.*

In the foregoing table, it is to be observed that the highest proportionate value is placed upon fourteen hours work, inasmuch as it is conceived that a mill can be worked for that number of hours at a less proportionate expense than any other, as one set of men can work for the whole time.

In those periods of the year when water becomes scarce, and even, with the assistance of ponding, not more than eight or ten hours work per day can be performed; the cost of labor is increased in proportion to the produce, and for this reason, the value of the water power is proportionately diminished. Thus, it frequently happens, that a mill has abundance of water during six months of the year, has fourteen hours, water, per day, for three months, and eight hours for the remaining three months. In determining the value of water power of such a mill from the tables, each period should be calculated in itself, and the whole being added will give the annual value of the water power of the mill.

It is evident that when the mill works for different periods of the year, any system of averaging would be inaccurate, as the ratio of increase in proportion to the number of working hours is not equable, but has been regulated in proportion to the produce, as compared to the expense.

The valuator will examine particularly into the state of the interior of each mill, with a view to determine the class of the water power; thus, in corn and flour mills, it should be observed, whether the mill stones in point of wear should be classed as new, medium or old, and whether this classification corresponds with that of the exterior. If it do, as will generally be the case, the same quality letter will answer for the building and the water power; but if it should happen that one or more pairs of new mill stones, or new, or partially new machinery have been introduced into an old mill, a higher quality letter may be inserted for the water power, taking care not to letter the mill stones too high, for though they may be new or nearly so, the machinery will probably be old, or at least a part of it, and consequently the new mill stones will not produce the same effect as if the water wheel and the whole of the machinery were new.

The above mentioned circumstances having been ascertained, the

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\* Two hours are allowed for change of men and other contingencies. See Book of Instructions for tables referred to, pp. 66—7.



valuator will letter the water power of the mill, and at the same time, as a check on such lettering, he will note his opinion of the annual value of the mill, including the building and the water power, in the state in which he finds it, and under all the local circumstances in which is placed.

When mills are worked during a part of the year by water power, and a part by steam, care should be taken to ascertain the proportion during which water is employed, as that only is to be taken in account."

We conclude our observations on the valuation of mills with the following table, which shews the per centages that are applied to the value of water power in proportion to the distance from towns or markets.

Add to water power	{	10s. 0d.	Per pound within the town lot,
		8 0	When distant from 0 to 1 mile,
		6 0	" 1 to 3 "
		4 0	" 3 to 5 "
		2 0	" 5 to 8 "
		1 0	" 8 to 10 "
		0 0	" 10 & upwards.

In estimating the value of mines, which no doubt requires most careful consideration and lengthened experience in the valuator, we find that Dr. Griffith has issued instructions which evidently denote how well acquainted he must be with the subject. All expenses of working and the proceeds of sales for the past three or four years, are first ascertained previous to any valuation being made, and mines that have not been worked for seven years previous, are subject to no rate whatever. In every instance the valuator must state the time when the works commenced.

Speaking of the valuation of Railways, Canals, &c., Dr. Griffith remarks that

" 'The rateable hereditament' in the case of railways, is the land which is to be valued in its existing state, as part of a railway, &c., at the rent it would fetch under the conditions stated in the act. The profits are not directly rateable themselves, but they enter most materially into the question of the amount of the rate upon the land, by affecting the rent which it would fetch, or which a tenant would give for the railway &c., not simply as land, but as a railway, &c. with its peculiar adaptation to the production of profit, and that rent must be ascertained by reference to the use of it (with engines, carriages, &c., the trading stock) in the same way as the rent of a farm would be calculated, by reference to uses of it with cattle, crops, &c., (likewise trading stock.) In neither cases would the rent be calculated on the dry possession of the land, without reference to the power of using it, and in both cases the profits are derived not only from the stock, but from the land so used and occupied.

It will be necessary therefore, to ascertain the gross receipts for a

year or two, taken at each station along the line, also the amount of receipts arising from the intermediate traffic between the several stations; from the total amount of such receipts the following deductions are to be made, viz.—

Interest on capital,  
Tenants' profits,  
Depreciation of stock,  
Working expenses,  
Value of stations.\*

It is to be observed that the valuation of Railway station-houses, &c. should be returned separately."

In estimating the value of fisheries, the following form is laid down for the guidance of valuers, which together with the preceding extracts, we have no doubt will be found of some importance just now to those entrusted with the carrying out of the valuation of Scotland.

"In estimating the value of a fishery, the following form for one year's proceeds of a salmon fishery may be found useful, as the principle according to which the estimated value is to be deduced.

	net weight.						
	lbs.	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
1852. February, March, and April,	180 at 1	1	.....		9	15	0
May,	280 at 0	9	.....		10	10	0
June,	450 at 0	6	.....		11	5	0
July,	950 at 0	4	.....		15	16	8
					<hr/>		
					£47	6	8
					<hr/>		
Four Fishermen at 1s. per day, for 136 days	27	12	0				
Boat, seine ropes &c.	5	0	0				
Pay to clerk to watch and weigh fish	4	0	0				
					<hr/>		
					36	12	0
					<hr/>		
					Nett proceeds £10 14 8		

From what we have now stated, it will appear manifest that not only has the valuation of Ireland been carried on with the greatest ability, justice and prudence, but also with unparalleled economy, and has given more general satisfaction to the public than any undertaking ever attempted in Ireland, save and except the education of her people on the National System.

The valuation of Scotland we understand is now about to commence, and sincerely do we hope to find at its head such men as Dr. Griffith. Doubtless his opinion on many points will be eagerly sought for by the Legislature, who by this

\* See appendix, for the system pursued in valuing Railways.

time must have learned to appreciate it. Those selected by the State may well feel of what valuable assistance to them this gentleman's experience will be found, and though we are aware that objections may be started to parts of the system adopted in carrying out the Irish Valuation from their inapplicability to such a country as Scotland, yet taking the system generally, it must be acknowledged as one of the most judicious that has ever been adopted. There were many difficulties no doubt attending the arrangements made by the Commissioner at first, but all these difficulties have been overcome by steady perseverance and prudence, and especially by the co-operation of his principal officers, with whom scarcely a day passes without a conference being held. This is as it should be, and bespeaks a man anxious for the faithful discharge not only of his own but the duties of those under him. The opinions of the practical and the experienced members of his staff, were always listened to with that attention which they deserved, and thus it was, that day after day, he was hoarding up that information on all points that bore on the undertaking in which he was engaged, and which enabled him to give as he has, ample demonstration of his extreme usefulness as a public officer.

The advantages that have resulted to Ireland by the system of Valuation adopted by Dr. Griffith are now generally admitted. Some parties, no doubt, from time to time, have been heard to allege partiality to the Commissioner in carrying out his plans, but so justly and ably have those accusations been refuted, it would serve no purpose were we to comment upon them here. The Valuation of the County of the City of Dublin affords sufficient proof of the justice observed in the carrying out of the present system.

The Commissioners of Valuation in Scotland have an example before them in the Valuation of Ireland, of which they will, no doubt, avail themselves; for, to give our Scotch neighbours their merit, we must say that a good example, or a sound practical suggestion, has always its due influence with them. Like John Bull, they are a matter-of-fact people, and, consequently, can appreciate the facts given throughout our paper, among which the least important are not that the *Valuation of the Irish Metropolis has been effected at 32 per cent. and, out of 26,000 tenements, the valuation of but two were appealed against, and the appellants defeated.\**

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\*And this, be it remembered, in the face of an increase of £70,000 over the former Poor Law Valuation.

These are facts that must carry with them their own importance, and therefore require no comments from us to give them weight or effect. The moderate amount of expense incurred in carrying on the Valuation of the Counties, given by us in the extract from the Parliamentary Return, is equally worthy of notice, and which, no doubt, has before now called forth the approbation of the Legislature. These are things that afford the best illustration of the effects of having the "right man in the right place," and how far Scotland will follow the example set her is yet to be seen.

We have now before us a copy of the Act passed to regulate the Valuation of Scotland; and though it embodies much that may be desired, yet to us it appears as merely provisional. Many clauses of the Act must appear to the experienced Valuator and a thinking public more or less objectionable. Of course we do not pretend to assume so competent a knowledge of the state of affairs between landlord and tenant in Scotland as those gentlemen who have introduced the Bill, or the government who have proclaimed it law. Nevertheless, our experience of the state of things in Ireland enables us to offer an opinion on the subject of Valuation. We therefore hold that the grand and fundamental principle that should pervade every system of Valuation purporting to be fair and impartial, should be to effect in every district of a country what has been effected in Ireland, namely, a relative scale based upon the letting value of property from year to year, and not upon the rent that a tenant may be obligated to pay. How far the act before us provides for the former we shall now examine.

The Preamble set forth in the Act is unquestionably sound, and if acted upon is well calculated to effect the object in view, namely a *uniform valuation*. But the details to be observed by valuers in attaining this object we fear, when brought to practice, will be found defective. For instance, on perusing the act we find that "the Commissioners of Supply of each county, and the magistrates of each Burgh, shall, as occasion requires, appoint one or more fit and proper persons to be assessors or assessor for the purposes of the act." Is it not reasonable to infer from this that the valuation, or rather the "Rent Roll," of each district will be quite independent in themselves, and conducted on quite different principles, for those appointed must be more or less influenced by those

parties in carrying out their plans of valuation? So far, therefore, it appears to us that a uniform valuation under such circumstances is untenable. Again, we find that the Court of Appeal is to consist of those very persons who have appointed the assessors or assessor of property in each district. Now we consider this rather an unwise provision, for we hold that such a tribunal must, under the very nature of things, be somewhat inclined to favor those they have employed, and therefore not sufficiently impartial to fairly test the ability and disinterestedness of those men delegated by them to act as valuers. In the 5th Clause the following passage occurs: "In estimating the yearly value of Land and Heritages under this act, the same shall be taken to be the rent at which one year with another such Lands and Heritages might in their actual state be reasonably expected to let from year to year, and where such Lands and Heritages are bona fide let for a yearly rent conditioned as the fair annual value thereof without Grassum or consideration other than the rent, shall be deemed and taken to be the yearly rent or value of such Lands and Heritages in terms of this Act." Now if the Rent Roll is to be taken for the actual valuation as here stated, we would ask, where is the necessity for another valuation to be made? Lands of the same quality and yielding the same amount of produce when similarly husbanded, may be let from year to year in adjoining estates or townlands on very different terms, as the valuers in such cases are to be guided only by terms agreed on by the landlord and tenant in returning the valuation of those lands, a valuation, be it remembered, that is to form the basis of future taxation. Such a system we hold to be defective, since it has been considered by those fully competent to judge of such matters, that no valuation should be affected by any private contract made between landlord and tenant.

There are many other clauses in the "Act" which we fear, when they come to be acted upon, will be found objectionable. Among them we notice Clause E. which says—

"In order to the making up of Valuations and Valuation Rolls of Lands and Heritages in Scotland, belonging to or leased by Railway or Canal Companies, and forming part of the undertakings of such Companies, it shall be lawful for Her Majesty to appoint, as occasion requires, a fit and proper person to be Assessor of Railways and Canals for the purposes of this Act; and the remuneration or salary to be paid to such Assessor of Railways or Canals, in respect

of his own time and trouble, and in respect of any Clerks or other Officers whom he may be allowed by the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury to employ in the execution of his duties under this Act, shall be fixed from time to time by the said Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury; and such Assessor of Railways and Canals shall, before entering on the duties of his Office, be sworn faithfully and honestly to perform the duties thereof, and shall be removeable by her Majesty at pleasure."

Now why a separate valuator should be selected to value this kind of property seems to us strange, and stranger still that he should be paid from the funds of the Companies, and his salary fixed, not by them nor by the Commissioners of Valuation, but by the Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury. We forbear offering our opinion on this point for the present, but we fear that such a proceeding will be found calculated to give rise to many disputes between those who fix the salaries of the valutors and those who are to pay them.

We shall proceed no further with our comments upon the details of the act before us, but only trust that the people of Scotland will meet at the hands of those appointed by the Legislature to conduct the valuation of their country, the same amount of justice and general satisfaction that have been given to the Irish public by Dr. Griffith, who if guilty of a fault in carrying out the valuation of Ireland, it was his overearnestness in saving the state and the country expense. We say overearnestness; for those whom he himself acknowledges entitled to higher remuneration than that which they receive, but whom he feels himself not empowered to compensate as he would wish, officers who have faithfully discharged their duties for upwards of twenty years, now see no provision made for them in their declining days. This Dr. Griffith himself regrets, but the nature of the valuation service is such as renders it inevitable, and so it must remain unless the state interferes, and it is but just to say, that in no department of the Civil Service are the officers more entitled to the favor. In all other public offices, when it pleased Providence to afflict their officers with illness, their pay still ran on, and thus enabled them to meet the expenses incurred by indisposition; but here it was not the case. If a man were thus afflicted he was deprived of this privilege, and from the low salary he received when able to discharge his duties, many long months passed over him before the sick-bed expenses were defrayed. Let not our readers consider for a moment

that Dr. Griffith was to blame for this state of things. No, he was not nor is not; for frequently has he admitted the hardship that such arrangements entail. On what grounds the Commissioner can be accused of causing this arrangement, or being accessory to it, we are at a loss to know. The evil exists no doubt, and one disheartening in the utmost to those who have spent the prime of their life in the valuation service, and who are acknowledged by the Commissioner himself to be faithful and efficient public servants. What the Legislature will do in the cases that must in a few years be brought under their notice, is anxiously looked forward to by those whose claims to superannuation are most urgent and undeniable. We cannot for a moment entertain the opinion that their appeals for means to support them in their short passage to the grave will be allowed to be made in vain. This unquestionably would be unsound policy, a policy that would reflect the greatest discredit on a government less liberal and civilized than that of the British Empire. The result of such a proceeding on the part of the Government would prove detrimental in the extreme to the public service. Who, let us ask, under such circumstances, would take an interest beyond the passing hour in duties they might be engaged upon? And even such an interest would be but mercenary, for the employee would say, so long as I am able to work so long shall I be retained, but when sickness and old age come on, God help me and those depending on me for support. It may be said by economists and philanthropists, if you will, that something should be put by for the rainy day; but in reply to this we regret to say, that from what have come under our notice since the starting of the *IRISH QUARTERLY*, the rainy days have proved but too many to those engaged upon the General Valuation of Ireland. Some twenty years and upwards have found many of them devoting their sole time and attention to the duties and service of their country, and if indisposed for one single day, the country was not disposed to allow them that single day's pay. This is a fact that no person dare contradict, and can it be possible that after submitting to this treatment, and bearing with it patiently, men shall not receive in their advanced and helpless age some compensation from that state and country they have so faithfully served!

We shall not engage the attention of our readers further upon this, no doubt important subject, but we shall from time

to time advert to the subject, for we deem it one entitled to the consideration and attention of every contemporary, and one, the propriety of which will no doubt in some short time to come, be urged with much greater zeal and earnestness by the advocates of justice and fair play. If some provision be not made voluntarily by the state for such men as we allude to, the country will be forced to provide for them through the medium of work-houses, a provision which while it degrades the recipient of charity, calls forth public censure and condemnation upon the state. In concluding our observations at present upon the subject of superannuation, let us hope that steps will be taken by the present government to alleviate the grievances under which many old and long tried public servants are suffering. This indeed would be adding fresh laurels to that government, under which it has pleased providence to ordain the fall of despotism and the extension of freedom and religious liberty. It is the imperative duty devolving upon every government to provide for their public officers in their declining years, provided that their conduct and faithful discharge of their duties entitled them to such a privilege, and we hold it to be most creditable to those governments that do this. The Officers who have served on the valuation of Ireland were subject to greater hardships and disadvantages, than those serving in any other department of the public service, as has been already proved. It is therefore we feel ourselves bound through a sense of justice to urge the claims of many of those men on the special attention of the legislature. Truly and justly may they say, "here we are, after spending from twenty to thirty years in the service of the state, and during that period enjoyed nor received aught beyond the small and hard earned wages of each day that we have worked. In a few short years we shall be incapacitated for labour, and our families may look in vain to us for support; we could not save, for we never had the means to do so, our wages were small, and our demands and labour great. There can be no doubt whatever, that with such a government as that now administering the laws of England, the appeals of such men in their declining years will not be permitted to be made in vain; no, the government must feel bound to do justice to those men, and especially if testimony to the rights of their claims be borne by Dr. Griffith, who, in such a case, no apprehension may be entertained of his acting with that justice which has



at all times characterised his acts as a public officer of the British government.

It is with much reluctance indeed that we ask the attention of our readers to an article that appeared in the number of *The Civil Service Gazette*, of the 29th of September last, which, indeed, we may say, actuated us in a great degree to take up the subject of the General Valuation of Ireland. The article we allude to, is a most wanton, false, and dastardly attack, not only on the system adopted in carrying on the Valuation Service; but what is still worse, upon the character of the Commissioner himself. In order to show our readers how groundless and unjust the paper alluded to is, we shall take it by piece-meal, and reply to every accusation therein contained, and then wait the verdict of an unprejudiced public. Before entering upon the task, not only devolving upon us, but also upon every high-minded and impartial contemporary, we beg to impress upon the minds of our readers, among whom, no doubt, will be the editor of the paper whose columns we sincerely regret have been disgraced and degraded by the insertion of the false and calumnious article in question, that we have, and do appreciate the object, for which *The Civil Service Gazette* was started, namely, to defend the officers of the Civil Service from the contumely of those under whom circumstances may have placed them, and to effect this, it must justly be said, this journal has aided most materially, for in its pages, week after week we peruse, with the greatest interest indeed, statements and facts that every lover of justice must feel indebted to those who have been instrumental in giving them publicity. The following is the first extract from the article which appeared in *The Civil Service Gazette* of the 29th September last, to which we would direct the attention of our readers: "To Doomsday," writes the annoyed and perplexed author, "would that farce of looking for Ireland's Valuation have been carried, had not the public, disgusted with the tediousness and complexity of the operation, and mindful of its giant expenditure, turned it aside, and by the Irish Valuation Amendment Act of 15 and 16 Vic., Cap. 68, substituted therefor a Tenement Valuation." Now by this statement it is obvious that the writer complains of, to use his own words, "the giant expenditure of the operation." And by and by, as will be found, he declaims against the economy by which the "operation" has been carried on. Again, he states,

that the public were *disgusted* with the tediousness and complexity of the "operation." Now the *public* is a big word, and let us hope that the writer does not imagine himself *the public*, and doing so, allow himself to be carried away by feelings that never existed in the minds of the *real public* against what to him appears a "*tedious and complex operation*," and with which the public that he constitutes in *himself* was disgusted. Well Dr. Griffith must regret the day, nay the hour, that such a *public* became disgusted with the "*tediousness and complexity*" of an "operation," which the leading journals of Ireland seem to admire repeatedly, and for which committees of appeal were foolishly pleased to pass a vote of thanks so frequently to its director.

We are ready to pay the greatest deference to public opinion at all times, but really in the present instance we feel bound to express our regret at the ignorance, we shall not say the unprecedented falsehood of the writer, or rather the party who furnished the writer, with the unwarrantable and futile information contained in the extract here given. "Mr. Richard Griffith," continues the writer, "the present recipient of some three thousand pounds a year from the public coffers, was the parent of this job, and he will forgive us for saying, that ten years ago it was fully expected that the job, such as it was, might, could, and would have been completed." To the first statement we have only to say, that it is untrue, and manifests on the part of the writer, a total ignorance of the income that Dr. Griffith derives from the "public coffers;" the writer grossly exaggerates the sum, and we feel bound to say, that there is no public officer in the service of Great Britain more inadequately remunerated for his services; as we could prove, did we deem it necessary, or called for, but we consider it sufficient to deny the statement made by the writer, in the journal alluded to. As to the other statement, we beg to inform the writer, that had Dr. Griffith considered it expedient to proceed with the Townland system of Valuation, the "job," as he terms it, would be completed long before the expiration of the time stated above. But the Commissioner seeing that a more detailed Valuation was requisite, and that by it all other Valuations might be superseded, and thereby saving the country from "giant expenditure," he deemed it advisable, and in fact his duty, to urge upon the legislature the passing of the Tenement Act, which they did,

and of which they and the country have just reason to be satisfied. As to its beneficial result to both, the Commissioners of the Encumbered Estates Court will be ever ready to bear testimony.\*

Speaking of Dr. Griffith himself, the writer of the article states.—“His patrons, however, were noodles of the highest quality, and he ear-wiggled them admirably, and through them he is still doing the valuation of Ireland's tenements, without energy, capacity, or judgment for the work: this Dr. Griffith, by one of those freaks of favoritism, observable especially in Ireland, has thus continued in his comfortable post of commissioner of all the valuations and of all the emoluments.” We scarcely know whether to pity this writer for the unsound state of his mind, or marvel at his impertinence when he pronounces the patrons of Dr. Griffith noodles, and noodles of the first quality. The most learned statesmen of the age, and men of the greatest scientific research, and every Lord-lieutenant of Ireland for the last thirty years and upwards, have patronized, appreciated, and admired the gentleman whom the writer, in *The Civil Service Gazette*, is pleased to assail. Of course every man in a free country like

“The valuations under the Act 6 and 7 Wm. IV. c. 84, are now all superseded by the subsequent Act of 15 and 16 Vic. c. 68 (with the supplemental Act of 17 Vic. c. 9), in order to make one uniform valuation of lands and tenements in Ireland, which may be used for all public and local assessments, and other rating, the tenement being still constituted the unit, and a new reference standard of prices given, more accordant with the changed condition of our productive industry, flax being included, but potatoes omitted, in the new schedule, and the valuations previously made remaining fixed until revised under this Act, in such manner as to present one uniform scale of value based on the altered table of prices.

This Valuation is now in force for poor-rate and all other assessments throughout the provinces of Leinster and Munster, with the exception of the counties of Longford and Clare. The other counties of Ireland are still under the Downland Valuation, which will be gradually superseded for taxation purposes, according as the Tenement Valuation is completed.

Then the Valuation of each Poor Law Union, County or Barony, when finally ratified, is to continue in force for fourteen years, at the termination of which period any of these divisions may undergo revision, upon suitable representations made to that effect by the County Grand Jurors, and approved by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The execution of this Valuation has been intrusted to the same efficient agency, Dr. Griffith and his staff, who conducted the former Valuations, thus securing a certain uniformity in principle and practice, by employing of the same instrumentality.”

England, is at liberty to give expression to his opinions on any point, and why not our contemporary do the same? He makes a sweeping assertion, and ventures a very rash opinion, when he states that "all Dr. Griffith's patrons were noodles." We think the learned? writer would find it rather difficult to satisfy the public, as to the truthfulness of his bold assertion, nor indeed would we advise him to attempt it, at least not till he acquires a more polite style of composition; we need not say a more finished style, for in its way, there exists no room for improvement.

To the attack made upon the energy, judgment, and capacity of Dr. Griffith, we forbear to make any reply beyond advising the author of the foolish, dishonorable and fruitless attack, never again to subject himself to such public ridicule or hazard the reputation of a journal that, if prudently conducted, will be found productive of most valuable results: and now as regards the streaks of favouritism, especially observable in Ireland, we should say, that the man who makes such an assertion, knows very little of what he speaks about, and we do not hesitate to say, that ignorance of the administration of affairs in Ireland only could have caused our learned contemporary to make this and other assertions throughout the attack on Commissioner Griffith—surely it cannot be envy? "The Irish Tenement Valuation," proceeds the writer, "in almost every locality where it has been received, has been found full of errors, and in consequence of the nefarious systems of very insufficient payments to the men who do Dr. Griffith's work in Dublin, it is, and must be imperfectly performed."

The malicious aspersions contained in this portion of our contemporary's statement, call forth the censure of every right-minded individual. Instead of the tenement valuation being found full of errors in almost every locality where it has been received, the very opposite is the case; of course there may have been some few discrepancies as to the names of "occupiers," who change so frequently in the present age of emigration, but save those, we hold it to be an incontrovertible fact, that never was there an undertaking more accurately and efficiently accomplished, than that of the general valuation of Ireland, under Dr. Griffith.\* What, let us

\* Indeed, the importance of this Valuation to purchasers and proprietors, either in calculating marketable price or letting value, does not appear to be duly estimated. At the head of the work was an indefati-

ask our readers, is more natural to expect, than that a gentleman like Dr. Griffith, or his representative Mr. Greene, should have from time to time to encounter a few envious and discontented individuals: well might it be said in the present case what was written of the celebrated Sir William Petty by Dr. Griffith's late able and learned colleague, the present Under Secretary for Ireland: \* "Rumour," writes the learned gentleman, "is always more active than friendship, and the few who feel or fancy themselves injured, are far more clamorous and more heard, than the many who are honestly served and satisfied. The true appeal is to the great force of public opinion, as time moves on and anger gradually subsides, and from that tribunal the award has long been favorable to the work of Dr. Petty."†

Now, we confess we are at a loss to ascertain by what motives the author of the attack was influenced to make such false and malicious statements as pervade it from beginning to end. He certainly must have thought that the taste of the Irish readers of his journal has degenerated, and that their high appreciation of truth was degenerating also. "Mr. Griffith's a final valuation, forsooth!" continues the writer in the *Gazette*; "nothing of the kind; it is simply an extensive fraud upon the rate-payers"! Let the British Legislature be dissolved and its members be forthwith placed at the tribunal of public justice, and visited with that punishment which their gross censurable conduct entitles them to, for remaining unheeding of the "extensive fraud" made upon the rate-payers of Ireland for so many years. This, and only this, can appease the anger and heal the wounds that the mismanaged and

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gable man of business, whose extensive practical knowledge of the geological state of Ireland afforded the soundest data for ascertaining the productive capabilities of its soils. Mr. Griffith's private instructions to his valuers form perhaps the most lucid and instructive guide to the practice of Valuation that has yet appeared, and the correctness and assiduity with which these were carried out under the guarantee of sundry appeals and revisions are unquestionable.—*From an able, most useful and peculiarly interesting essay on "Emigration and Valuation and purchase of Land in Ireland, by John Locke, Esq., A.B."*

\* Colonel Larcom is of course included in the list of "noodles," mentioned by the writer in the *Civil Service Gazette*, and he also "ear-wigged" the other "noodles" admirably, while preparing together with Dr. Griffith, the present unrivalled ordnance maps of Ireland.

† For the Review of this work, see the Sixth number of the *IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW*, (Vol. II.)

inaccurate valuation of Ireland has inflicted upon the patriotic heart of the able writer in the *Anglo-Irish Philanthropist*, for such he would have us suppose it to be, through the interest he takes in our affairs on this side of the Channel.

Here come other statements equal in amount of *truth* to those gone before. "Responsible officers, such as Clerks of Unions, are committed, through the defects of this valuation, to excessive delays and excessive difficulties,convincingly sustaining the opinion we express. Different results can hardly be expected. They are traceable in a great degree, if not wholly, to the bad management of the Dublin offices at Fitzwilliam-place and in Baggot-street. Men are here found crowded into apartments on starvation pay, and deprived of the stimulus of reward, and condemned to a hopeless task work. Unwilling labor is thus obtained whose defective results are beyond revision." In the statement here made there is manifest a great disrespect for the truth, or utter ignorance of the facts which he takes on himself to adduce for the information of the public. Now, instead of crowded apartments, many regard them as being almost vacant, for were they so numerously occupied as the writer would have us to believe, we feel little hesitation in saying, that it is more than probable that from his pen would never have emanated so unkind and so untrue an allegation as we are now noticing. He speaks of starvation pay, starvation pay indeed might it be considered if what he states were the case—which is as follows:—"There are about sixty clerks supposed to do good work both in quality and quantity, and many of them to sustain families, at a rate of 2s. 6d. per day salary for every full day worked at the forge." Never was a statement more false, never were the public more misled by any writer, and we hold, never more disgusted at any fabrication fraught with futility and enmity. From an able letter, and one setting forth things as they really are in the office of the General Valuation of Ireland, and which was written by Mr. Frederick Shaw, in reply to the article which appeared in *The Civil Service Gazette* of the 29th ult., we give the following extract; how the Editor of that journal must have felt on receipt of the letter alluded to, can, no doubt, be better conceived, than expressed by us:—

"I have now to refer to the statement which is made of the rates of pay to the Clerks, Draughtsmen, Surveyors, Valuers, &c., in the service; a statement which displays more ingenuity than candour, and which presents no resemblance to the system in actual operation.

From it the public would be led to suppose that the maximum for the payment of professional Surveyors is 6s. per day, and that 60 of the clerks are employed at 2s. 6d. I subjoin a table which, while it is compiled from the same document from which your informant extracted his information, differs from his, inasmuch as he, for the furtherance of his own views, suppressed altogether the amount paid to those who perform the important duties of service, and merely furnished the public with a list of the salaries of the subalterns and supernumeraries set forth as the average maximum of all. The following will be found more correct:—

7	Revising Valuators	...	...	20s. a day
16	Ordinary Valuators	...	...	12s. 0d. to 16s. 8d.
7	Office Superintendents	...	...	9s. 0d.
26	Surveyors	...	...	6s. 0d. to 8s. 4d.
16	do.	...	...	5s. 0d. to 5s. 6d.
3	Draughtsmen	...	...	7s. 0d.
14	do. from	...	...	5s. 0d. to 6s. 0d.
16	Clerks from	...	...	6s. 0d. to 7s. 0d.
34	do. from	...	...	4s. 6d. to 6s. 0d.
	Supernumerary Clerks	...	...	2s. 6d. to 4s. 6d.

Of the last named clerks there are, but 7 young lads at 2s. 6d.\*

Thus we see what credence to place in the statements made by the writer in *The Civil Service Gazette*. Dr. Griffith has been wantonly assailed by an ignorant and unreflecting writer, ignorant, inasmuch as he knows nothing whatever of the subject he has been fool-hardy enough to handle; and unreflecting, since he seems to forget how tenacious the grand juries of Ireland are on the point of expenditure, and many of them on more than one occasion, have grumbled at the high "starvation pay" (as the writer terms the salary of those gentlemen employed on the Valuation of Ireland) given by Dr. Griffith to his officers.

A few words more, and we shall have done with our unpleasant task, and one that we have most reluctantly undertaken; but when the rights and character of useful, honest public servants are unjustly assailed, we shall never be found silent. It is needless to inform our readers, and especially those acquainted with the character that *THE IRISH QUARTERLY* has maintained throughout its career, that nothing could influence us to defend the gentleman in question, but a sense of justice and utter detestation of perfidious and calumnious attacks, of which the one in question was a correct type.

The concluding words of the author of the attack on the Valuation of Ireland and its Commissioner, run thus:—

"We hold it that county surveyors and properly approved valuers, selected by the grand jurors of the county and the Board of Guardians under local control, and possessing local knowledge, are the most suitable officers for the execution of a work, which in Ireland must ever be a periodical one, from the diversity of soils and the improved state or mismanagement of cultivation."

Ireland must feel thankful to any friend for any suggestion that would contribute even in the smallest degree to the amelioration of her people. But we fear the one given by the *friend* in question is not altogether judicious, and in many points most objectionable, as events have long since proved, but with which no doubt the author of the suggestion is unacquainted. Well, for his information, and for that of our readers whom the subject may interest, we give the following extract from the Seventh Report of the Poor Law Commissioners, which cannot fail to show how cautious the country should be in vesting in any Board of Guardians, the power of appointing Valuers or Appotters.

"There are certainly cases in which undue favouritism or prejudice, or party feeling has influenced a Board of Guardians to select incompetent or improper Valuers." They (the Board of Guardians,) have in some instances been led to form erroneous notions of what the law in strictness requires; and perhaps, in a majority of cases been influenced by a kindly feeling, or by other motives, to promote an under Valuation of the properties."

Our paper is now coming to a close, and may be considered by our readers as already too long; if so, our only apology is, that the subject was to us one of no ordinary interest, and feeling that it might be so to our readers, we ventured to engage their attention so far.

In concluding our paper let us hope from what we have stated, regarding the character of Dr. Griffith, as a public officer, that our readers have arrived at a proper appreciation of the great debt due to him by the country. And in parting with the journal in which he has been assailed, we reiterate what we have already stated, namely that we admire and respect the principles upon which it is conducted; but to correct inaccurate statements, and especially when they are calculated to prejudice the public mind against men such as the gentleman whom we have endeavoured to defend, should be the imperative duty of every impartial and independent contemporary.





## ABSTRACT OF BARONIES.

**Average rate per Day,—**

**331. FORM OF THE PROGRESS RETURN TO BE MADE BY VALUATOR OR SURVEYOR.**  
***Counties of Carlow, Cork, and Kerry.***  
**RETURN OF PROGRESS made in the Month of January, by JOHN BOYAN, Valuator.**

Day of Month.		Time Worked.		County.	Barony.	Parishes and Townlands	Perambulated.		Houses Valued.			No. of Tenements Surveyed under one acre.		No. of Acres Plotted.	No. of Lots Transferred.	Farms Appointed.	Check Valued.		Observations.		
							No. of Farms or detached portions of Farms.	No. of Acres.	No. under £5.	Over £5.	No. of Houses.	No. of Items.				No. of Sub-Divisions.	No. of Farms or detached portions of Farms.	Arable.	Mountain or Bog.		
1	7 30	Carlow.	Rathfrililly.	Fennagh, Travelling from Carlow to Tullow.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Also preparing field work.	
2	7 10			Fennagh, Commonsquarter & Castlemore.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	17	312	120		
3	7 10			" Castlemore.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	12	389			
4	7 10			" " "	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	23	316			
5	7 10			" " "	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	23	318			
6	7 10			" " "	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	23	318			
7	7 10			" " "	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	208			
8	7 0			" " "	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
9	7 20			" " "	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
10	7 20	Forth.	Breragh.	Ballinvalley.	15	437	14	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	15	33			Boundaries altered.	
11	6 50			" Carrickduff.	11	361	14	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11	30			Writing out field notes, &c.
12	7 0			" Ballykeenan &c.	4	420	6	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	15			
13	7 0			" Carrickduff.	20	257	11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	15			
14	7 0			" " "	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	32	20			
15	7 0			" " "	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	30 and settled Value of the Village on Map and in book, &c.	40	46		
16	7 0	Cork.	Fermoy.	Travelling from Carlow to Dublin and writing out field notes in office.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	of Carrickduff.	
17	7 20			" " "	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
18	7 0			" " "	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
19	7 0			" " "	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
20	7 0			" " "	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
21	6 0			" " "	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
22	7 10	Kerry.	Magsnessy.	Calculating divided Lots, settling values and revising and correcting Poor Law sheets in office.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	do.	
23	7 10			Travelling from Mallow to Killarney.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
24	6 40			Aghadoe, Ards and Ballydowney.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Day showery.
25	7 15			" Grobane.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
26	7 0			" Drundobignmore.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
27	7 10			" Gortree.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
28	6 30	Kerry.	Magsnessy.	" Killeen.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
29	8 0			" Nunstown and Pallas.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
30	8 0			" " "	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
31	—	Absent.		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	On leave of absence.	

## FINANCE.\*

332. The following regulations are to be observed by the valuator or surveyor, relative to his monthly expenditure for the General Valuation service.

333. The valuator or surveyor should continually bear in mind the necessity of observing the strictest economy in the expenditure of money for the purposes of the General Valuation, and he is not in any case to incur expense unless previously authorized by the Commissioner of Valuation to do so, except when it is manifestly for the interests of the service, and there is reasonable ground to presume on the subsequent acquiescence of the Commissioner, as in the case of trifling disbursements for stationery, &c.

334. All the monthly accounts, vouchers, or financial documents of the valuator or surveyor are to embrace only the period in any given month during which such valuator, surveyor, or their assistant labourers may have been actually employed, as no allowance can be authorized except for services which have been performed.

335. Every valuator or surveyor will be furnished with a supply of printed forms of receipts, bills, &c., which are to be filled up at the end of each month or less period, as here directed, viz:—

## PAY RECEIPT.

1st. The valuator or surveyor's monthly pay receipt should bear his signature and contain the name or names of the county or counties credited, the whole amount of pay charged, capacity and dates during which engaged, as follows:—

## GENERAL VALUATION OF IRELAND.

*Counties of Carlow, Cork, and Kerry.*

Received from RICHARD GRIFFITH, Esq., Commissioner of Valuation, the sum of twenty-five Pounds sterling, being the amount of my pay as——Valuator, from the first to the thirty-first day of January, 185

£25 Os. 0d.

Dated this

day of

18

(Signed) JOHN BOYAN.

\* We think it right here to observe, that in inserting these tables and extracts from "The Book of Instructions," and in devoting so considerable a portion of our space to this peculiar description of matter, we are exposing ourselves to the charge of tediousness and unnecessary prolixity. However, we write upon a subject new to most readers, and one also around which a mirage of misconception, abuse and positive falsehood, has been raised by writers who seek revenge for disappointed expectations, or by clamorous politicians endeavouring to gain popular applause by trading upon the ignorance of the public or upon their prejudices. We have endeavoured, through the medium of these extracts and examples taken from "The Book of Instructions," to show the excellence of Dr. Griffith's System, and the plain, simple rules laid down for the guidance of those employed by him. And thus we enable the reader to judge for himself, rendering his opinion independent of the sentiments expressed by those who have every interest in misrepresenting the facts bearing upon the valuation of Ireland. The charges made against Dr. Griffith, reminds us of a passage in Sir William Petty's account of the false charges made against himself, in which he informs us "He became to be esteemed the ——, or evil angel of the nation; and although God enabled him to clear himself before the Council and all other authorities, as also to any other particular persons who was but curious enough to understand the reason of his actings, yet all he did, it was still said to be but delusion, and casting a mist before the eyes of men he dealt with."

## TRAVELLING EXPENSES.

2nd. The following is the form in which the bill of travelling expenses is to be kept :—

GENERAL VALUATION OF IRELAND.		
Counties of Carlow, Cork, and Kerry.		
Richard Griffiths, Esq.		To JOHN BOYAN, Dr.
1853.	<i>Carlow.</i>	£ s. d.
January, 1st,	To Car-hire from Carlow to Tullow; 9 miles, at 6d. per mile,	0 4 6
	To Driver's Fee,	0 1 0
	Total, <i>Co. Carlow,</i>	£0 5 6
	<i>Cork.</i>	
17th,	To Railway Fare from Carlow to Dublin, 2nd Class, 7s.; Car to Valuation Office, 6d.	0 7 6
18th,	To Railway Fare, Dublin to Mallow, 2nd Class, 18s. 8d.; and Car from Valuation Office to Terminus, 6d.,	0 19 0
	Total, <i>Co. Cork,</i>	£1 6 6
	<i>Kerry.</i>	
22nd,	To Railway Fare from Mallow to Killarney, 2nd Class,	0 7 0
	TOTAL,	£1 19 0
I have received from RICHARD GRIFFITH, Esq., Commissioner of Valuation, by the hands of Mr. FRANCIS ELAND, the amount of the above account.		
Dated this            day of            , 185		
(Signed)            JOHN BOYAN.		

## HOTEL EXPENSES.

3rd. An account of allowance for hotel expenses of so much per day, in cases of special duty, should be kept as follows :—

GENERAL VALUATION OF IRELAND.		
Counties of Carlow and Cork.		
Richard Griffiths, Esq.		To JOHN BOYAN, Dr.
1853.	<i>Carlow.</i>	£ s. d.
January,	To allowance in lieu of Hotel expenses, from 1st to 16th, being sixteen days, at 3s. 4d. per day,	2 18 4
	<i>Cork.</i>	
	To allowance in lieu of Hotel Expenses, from 17th to 21st, being five days at 3s. 4d. per day,	0 16 8
	TOTAL,	£3 10 0
I have received from RICHARD GRIFFITH, Esq., Commissioner of Valuation, by the hands of Mr. Francis Eland, the amount of the above account.		
Dated this            day of            , 185		
(Signed)            JOHN BOYAN.		

## LABOURERS' RETURN.

4th. The valuator or surveyor should invariably procure the signatures or marks of all persons in the capacity of labourers to whom he shall pay any sum for their services; and in the case of a party attaching his mark, it will be also necessary to procure the signature in full of some person (*not being such valuator or surveyor*), who shall have witnessed such before-mentioned payment. The form of return is as follows:—

GENERAL VALUATION OF IRELAND.					
<i>Counties of Carlow, Cork, and Kerry.</i>					
RETURN of LABOURERS employed by JOHN BOYAN, Valuator, in the Month of January, 1853.					
NAME	No. of Days	Date of Days employed	Rate per Day.	Amount.	We, the undersigned have received the Sums placed opposite our Names.
<i>Carlow.</i>			<i>s. d.</i>	<i>£. s. d.</i>	
Peter Hughes,	16	1st to 16th, . . .	1 3	1 0 0	Peter Hughes.
Wm. Hughes,	—	Messenger to Tul- low, . . .	—	0 1 0	Wm. Hughes.
		Total, <i>Co. Carlow</i> ,	—	1 1 0	
<i>Cork.</i>					
Peter Hughes,	5	17th to 21st, . . .	1 3	0 6 3	Peter Hughes.
Andw. Hyland,	—	Mess. from Monks- town to Cork, . .	—	0 1 0	And. <sup>his</sup> X Hyland.
		Total, <i>Co. Cork</i> ,	—	0 7 3	( <i>Witness</i> ), Thos. Bourke.
<i>Kerry.</i>					
Peter Hughes,	10	22nd to 31st, . . .	1 3	0 12 6	Peter Hughes.
John Williams,	—	Messenger to Ard- fert, . . .	—	0 1 0	John Williams.
		Total, <i>Co. Kerry</i> ,	—	0 13 6	
		TOTAL,	—	2 1 9	
<p>I have received from RICHARD GRAFFITH, Esq., Commissioner of Valuation, by the hands of Mr. FRANCIS ELAND, the amount of the above account, and paid to the persons therein mentioned the sums severally annexed to their names.</p> <p>Dated this            day of            , 185 .</p> <p>(Signed)            JOHN BOYAN, Valuator.</p>					

## PARCEL AND POSTAGE ACCOUNT.

5th. The following are the forms for parcel and postage accounts:

GENERAL VALUATION OF IRELAND.						
<i>County of Carlow.</i>						
VALUATOR'S ACCOUNT of CARRIAGE of PARCELS for the month of January, 1853.						
Receipt of Parcels.	Date of Parcels.	From whom received.	To whom directed.	Post Towns.		Amount.
				From	To	
—	2nd,	John Boyan,	J. B. Green, Esq.	Carlow,	Dublin,	£ s. d. 0 2 6
—	5th,	"	"	"	"	0 1 0
—	7th,	"	"	Tullow,	"	0 1 6
						0 5 0
I have received from RICHARD GRIFFITH, Esq., Commissioner of Valuation, by the hands of Mr. FRANCIS ELAND, the amount of the above account.						
Dated this      day of      , 185 .						
(Signed)      JOHN BOYAN.						

GENERAL VALUATION OF IRELAND.							
<i>Counties of Carlow and Cork.</i>							
VALUATOR'S ACCOUNT of POSTAGE for the Month of January, 1853.							
Receipt of Letters.	Date of Letters.	From whom received.	Post-paid Letters. To whom directed.	Post Towns.		Amount of Postage.	
				From	To		
<i>Carlow.</i> 2nd,	1st, 6th,	John B. Green, Esq.	John Boyan,	Dublin,	Carlow,	£ s. d. 0 0 2	
		John Boyan,	John B. Green, Esq.	Carlow,	Dublin,	0 0 1	
						Total, Co. Carlow	0 0 3
<i>Cork.</i> " " " " " "	18th, 19th, 20th, 21st,	John Boyan,	John B. Green, Esq.	Cork,	Dublin,	0 0 1	
		"	Richd. Griffith, Esq.	Cork,	Dublin,	0 0 6	
		"	"	"	"	0 0 4	
		"	Francis Eland, Esq.	"	"	0 0 6	
						Total Co. Cork,	0 1 5
						TOTAL,	0 1 8
I have received from RICHARD GRIFFITH, Esq., Commissioner of Valuation, by the hands of Mr. FRANCIS ELAND, the amount of the above account.							
Dated this      day of      , 185 .							
(Signed)      JOHN BOYAN, Valuator.							

## GENERAL PAY RETURN.

6th. The general pay return is an abstract of all the foregoing and is to be carefully kept; the several descriptions of payments being divided and arranged in counties, counties of cities, or counties of towns (when there are more than one), having each its respective total—the whole being brought out in one sum at foot of said return, as follows:—

GENERAL VALUATION OF IRELAND.				
Counties of Carlow, Cork, and Kerry.				
Return of the several Payments to be made for the Month of January, 1858.				
Names of the persons Employed.	Nature of Employment.	No. of Days.	Rate per Week.	Amount.
<i>Carlow.</i>				
John Boyan,	Valuator,	13	£ 6 0 0	£ 13 0 0
"	Travelling expenses,	—	—	0 5 6
"	Hotel allowance,	—	—	2 13 4
"	Labourers and messengers,	—	—	1 1 0
"	Postage account,	—	—	0 0 3
"	Carriage of parcels,	—	—	0 5 0
Total, Co. Carlow,				17 5 1
<i>Cork.</i>				
John Boyan,	Valuator,	5	£ 6 0 0	£ 5 0 0
"	Travelling expenses,	—	—	1 6 6
"	Hotel allowance,	—	—	0 16 8
"	Labourers and messengers,	—	—	0 7 3
"	Postage account,	—	—	0 1 5
Total, Co. Cork,				7 11 10
<i>Kerry.</i>				
John Boyan,	Valuator,	7	£ 6 0 0	£ 7 0 0
"	Travelling expenses,	—	—	0 7 0
"	Labourer and messenger,	—	—	0 18 6
Total, Co. Kerry,				8 0 6
Total,		25		32 17 5
Remittance to be forwarded to Tralee.				
			(Signature)	JOHN BOYAN.
To RICHARD GRIFFITH, Esq.				

336. In order to avoid inconvenience, expense, and delay, it is particularly desired that the following general directions be strictly



attended to, namely:—No document is to be transmitted at the end of the month without the valuator or surveyor's signature being attached. A stamped form of receipt is to be used when the sum credited shall amount to £5 or upwards. The address and post-town to which to remit money is to be written plainly in the place allotted for that purpose in the General Pay Return. A stamped receipt is to be furnished whenever hotel or travelling expenses for the month shall amount to £2 or upwards. Special care should be taken to avoid the omission of transmitting any voucher at the end of the month. In filling the several returns the writing and figures should be made as large and plain as possible. All errors should be cancelled, and not erased. Every financial document, including the Progress Return, should be transmitted to the General Valuation Office, 2, Fitzwilliam-place, addressed to the Accountant, on or before the 3rd of the ensuing month. The Progress Return should be filled in reference to the facility of analyzing the accounts by it, so that the number of days engaged in any county or counties, days of travelling, &c., may be speedily ascertained.

337. It is to be observed, that though the forms of example are all applicable to the capacity of valuator, it is intended that the word surveyor be substituted as the case may require.

338. Great care should be taken to avoid confusion arising from mixing the transactions of one head of service with another; such as inserting other expenses besides pay in the receipt, including hotel and travelling expenses in one document, confounding charges for parcels with postage, &c. It is to be observed that boatmen's hire is to be considered as a travelling charge.

339. In furnishing accounts for the county of Tipperary, it will be necessary in all cases to separate the expenses of the north and south ridings of same, specifying both or either, as it may be, in places allotted for the names of counties, such ridings being in a financial point of view considered as if they were two independent counties; and counties of cities, or counties of towns, are to be kept separately as if the same were ordinary counties, thus, the county of the city of Dublin, or the county of the town of Carrickfergus, are financially considered independent of the counties in which they are respectively situate.

340. Every charge in any account transmitted to the General Valuation Office must be supported, when practicable, by vouchers, properly signed, &c., as otherwise such charge must be disallowed.

341. The Commissioner of Valuation will exercise his discretion in disallowing any charge that may appear unnecessary or exorbitant.

342. No payment is to be made by deputy, but is to be an actual transaction between the valuator or surveyor, and the party to which any sum is paid.

343. The wages of labourers employed by the surveyors and valutors is not to exceed 1s. 6d. per day each. The valuator or surveyor is not authorized to increase his attendant labourer's wages beyond the amount above stated, without the sanction of the Commissioner.

344. It is to be observed, that all messengers, whether post or otherwise, are to be considered in the light of ordinary labourers, and post messengers are to be paid at a rate which shall never exceed 5s. per month, when such is necessary, on account of distance from post towns.

345. Every valuator or surveyor is expected to select his place of residence in reference to convenience to his work, to obviate the necessity of frequent removals; but when removal becomes necessary the shortest possible routes are to be chosen, and all excessive luggage will be disallowed. Charges for hotel expenses can in no case be paid, except by the express approbation of the Commissioner.

**RICHARD GRIFFITH,**

*Commissioner of Valuation.*

*Dublin, June, 1853.*

**GENERAL VALUATION OF RATEABLE PROPERTY IN  
IRELAND.**

**Acts, 15 and 16 Vic., Cap. 63, and 17 Vic., Cap. 8.**

*The ——— Railway,*

**For the year ending 30th June, 1855.**

	£	£
Amount of Traffic Receipts,		316,654
<i>Expenditure and allowances.</i>		
Working Expenses,	122,652	
Allowance on £377,720, capital invested in move- able carrying stock,		
Interest, at 5 per cent = 18,886		
Tenants' profits, at 15 per cent = 56,658	122,759	
Depreciation of Stock, at 12½ per cent = 47,215		
Amount, 32½ per cent		
Renewing Rails and Sleepers on 190½ miles, at £116 a mile,	22,098	
Amount,		267,509
Rateable Valuation,		43,145
Deduct the portion of this sum which is charged separately under the head, Buildings at Stations		2,568
Balance,		40,577

ART. III.—JUVENILE DELINQUENTS AND THEIR  
MANAGEMENT.

1. *First Annual Report of the Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty.* Dublin, 1854.
2. *Crime; its Amount, Causes and Remedies. By Frederick Hill, Barrister-at-Law, late Inspector of Prisons.* 1 Vol., London: John Murray, 1853.
3. *Prison Discipline, and the advantages of the separate system of imprisonment, with a detailed account of the discipline now pursued in the new County Gaol at Reading. By the Rev. J. Field, M.A., Chaplain.* 2 Vols., London: Longman and Co., 1848.
4. *Chapters on Prisons and Prisoners. By Joseph Kingsmill, M.A., Chaplain of Pentonville Prison.* London, Third Edition, 1 Vol., London: Longman and Co., 1854.
5. *Reformatory Schools. A Letter to C. B. Adderley, Esq., M.P. By the Rev. Sydney Turner, Resident Chaplain of the Philanthropic Farm School, Red Hill.* London: Thos. Hatchard, 1855.
6. *Hints on the Discipline appropriate to Schools. By Arthur Hill.* London: Longman and Co., 1855.

All admit the principle, that "prevention is better than cure," but many lose sight of it in practice. Endeavouring only to reform criminals, is "working at the pump and leaving the leak open." Why not commence at the source and cut off the supply? This is the most simple and natural way to prevent. The "cure" is necessary for those who have already fallen. We shall see how far prevention and cure can go hand in hand.

Mr. Hill, with whom we fully concur, in his able work on Crime gives the following as the chief causes of crime:—Bad training and ignorance, drunkenness and other kinds of profligacy, poverty, habits of violating the laws engendered by the creation of artificial offences, other measures of legislation interfering unnecessarily in private actions or presenting examples of in-

justice, temptations to crime, caused by the probability either of entire escape or of subjection to an insufficient punishment. Mr. Hill writes:—

“The enumeration of the causes of crime suggests the remedies. These consist chiefly, in my opinion, of good education and the general spread of knowledge; the cultivation of habits of forethought, sobriety, and frugality, with the control of the passions; the promotion of habits of industry and self-reliance, and the adoption of all other practicable means for raising every class of society beyond the sphere of destitution, and into that of comfort and moderate wealth; such a remodelling of our laws as shall bring the statute-book as nearly as possible into coincidence with the eternal principles of justice, so that while it is a code of municipal law, it may also serve as a manual of morality; and lastly, the adoption of such means for the apprehension, trial, and punishment of offenders as shall secure, as far as practicable, that every offence be followed by immediate detection and certain conviction, and that the criminal shall be placed in such a position as shall make him sincerely and deeply regret the wrong he has committed, and bring him to labour earnestly in the work of his reformation, and in obtaining the means for making restitution to the person whom he has injured.”

Lieut.-Col. Jebb, in his Report on the Discipline and Management of the Convict Prisons, and disposal of convicts 1851, gives the following as the main causes of crime:—Drunkenness—the total inadequacy of accommodation to secure the most ordinary decencies of life in the houses of the lower classes—the demoralizing and vitiating effects of penny theatres, balls, concerts, and low places of amusement—facilities for disposing of stolen goods—the want of any recognised means of education and industrial training for the lower classes.

We forbear quoting any more, but content ourselves with remarking, that in all the works before us, enumerating the chief causes of crime, all agree, that ignorance, drunkenness, and destitution, are the grand causes of crime in Ireland. Others there are, but they are partly consequences of these—“Many more co-operating causes might be designated,” writes Lieut.-Col. Jebb, “but the foregoing are each and all susceptible of abatement. They only require to be grappled with in a vigorous manner, by the combined action of the legislative and local authority, and the effects of benevolence; and more good would soon be effected than any one, unacquainted with the magnitude of the evils, would deem to be possible.” If we set about the work earnestly, and with a conviction that we shall succeed, we must succeed. And what work, may we

ask, could be more becoming a christian nation and a christian people? Our people are as intellectual, as enterprising, as charitable as any other people under heaven. Why then, it may be asked, have they not kept pace with the other nations of Europe in this respect? Our answer is, the question has not been sufficiently brought under their notice. The following very forcible remarks on "prevention" and "cure" are made by Mr. Thompson of Banchory House, near Aberdeen, in a most admirable little work, entitled "Social Evils, their Causes and their Cure."

"It is not enough for society to reform criminals after they have led lives of crime for years; it has another and a greater, and happily, it is also an easier work to accomplish, and that is, to prevent the growth of a population of juvenile offenders, ready and willing, year after year, to fill up the places of those who may have been reformed, or removed from the country. The work is not to cleanse the polluted stream after it has long flowed on in its pestilential course, but to purify the fountain whence it draws its unfailing supply.

In order to get a right view both of our state as a nation, and of our duty in regard to our neglected juveniles, it is necessary to take a brief survey of the principal causes of crime amongst us, and likewise of the principal agencies at work to counteract them. Until we know something of both the one and the other, and the various circumstances which foster the evil and repress the good, we are not prepared to form a just judgment of what we truly have to do: we cannot appreciate either the nature or extent of our work.

The work we have to accomplish may, in general terms, be defined as the solution of the problem, 'How are we effectually and permanently to diminish for the future the numbers of our juvenile criminal population?' and it will be found to be twofold—some things to be *undone*, and others to be *done*.

What we have to *undo* is whatever has a tendency to create or encourage offences; and unhappily not a few of our social arrangements and habits are of such a character that they may be fairly and justly described as most efficacious means of producing and fostering dangerous classes in the community. While such laws or habits are maintained and cherished we must expect to reap more or less of their natural fruit, whatever counteracting agencies may be kept in operation; and the work can never, while they exist, be satisfactorily accomplished, because, just as the curative or preventive measures take effect on the one hand, so will the producing causes go on to supply a fresh population of juvenile offenders on the other.

What we have to *do* is to devise and carry out such measures as shall take possession of all juveniles who may be placed in such circumstances as to be evidently preparing for a life of crime, or who may already have entered upon it, and keep hold of them until they have been trained up in the knowledge of the right way, and fairly started in a course of well doing.

That this is practicable, not even very difficult, is the great object of these pages to demonstrate, and the proof will not proceed upon the mere assertion of abstract principles, but upon *practical experience*, acquired first in one town, and gradually confirmed in others, and so simple as to be applicable to every place where neglected juveniles exist."

In order to *prevent* crime we must *remove* the *causes*. If we remove only some of the causes, or partially remove them, in the same proportion, evidently crime will be prevented. And should we find on trial, which appears to us a little improbable, that the *total* removal of *all* the causes of crime is *impossible*, we must not be discouraged because we cannot do all that we would wish, bearing in mind the good old saying, "half a loaf is better than no bread."

With regard to drunkenness, it is not hard to say whether it be the effect or cause of ignorance; it is not, however, of much consequence when there is an imperative demand for the removal of both. We are inclined to take the same view as the Rev. Mr. Clay does of the connexion of these vices. Mr. Clay writes:—

"There is another cause of crime on which, as I have adverted to it annually for twenty-two years, I must not now be silent, lest it should be imagined, that it is less active than formerly, as the origin of an incomputable amount of misery. No one requires to be told that drunkenness is *THE VICE* of the uneducated labourer, but many have to learn that it is his vice *because* he is uneducated. I have framed a table, which shews that of all the offenders committed to this prison during the last year for offences attributable to acts of drunkenness, 187 were unable to read, 161 were unable to name the months, and 116 were unable to repeat a prayer. Can we wonder, then, that our hospitals, workhouses, and prisons are filled with the disease, the poverty and the crime fostered by drink! The Divine Law gives the intelligible and emphatic warning that the drunkard 'shall not inherit the kingdom of God;' but human law deals gently with his sin, and with all the encouragements to it.—beer-houses, ale-houses, gin-palaces, concert rooms—and only begins to look sternly on the wretch when he turns to begging, poaching, or pilfering—I speak not of graver crimes. My journal is filled with tales of wickedness and misery told by drunkards. Some of these I give in the Appendix, as examples from the different classes of criminals disgraced or ruined by intoxication."

It is scarcely conceivable the numberless evils which follow in the train of that monstrous vice, drunkenness. It lowers a man to the level of the brute creation, by depriving him of sense and reason; it madly inflames his passions, while it extinguishes every spark of virtue. In this state of wild in-

toxication the man is nothing less than demon, capable of perpetrating any crime, and were it not for the temporary physical weakness entailed by drunkenness, we should shudder at even the idea of a drunken man. What an example to a wife, is a man in such a state, and particularly to a young family, *who learn less from precept than example!* Rev. Mr. Joseph, enumerating the chief causes of crime, in his *Memoirs of Convicted Prisoners*, writes:—

“The next, and one of the greatest causes of crime, which I shall notice, is drunkenness. This is a monstrous cause, this is the besetting sin of our labouring population. It has brought thousands to infamy and shame. Were it not for the *gin shop and public house* thousands of our fellow creatures might be saved from prison and transportation. Strange, indeed, that man, the highest and noblest of beings, should so forget himself as to sink to a level with the vilest.

There is a Rabbinical tradition, ‘that when Noah planted the vine, Satan attended and sacrificed a *sheep*, a *lion*, an *ape*, and a *sow*. These animals were to symbolize the gradations of ebriety. When a man begins to drink intoxicating liquors he is meek and ignorant as the *lamb*, then becomes bold like the *lion*; his courage is soon transformed into the foolishness of the *ape*, and at last wallows in the mire like a *sow*.’ Surely there is some truth in these *symbols*; as to the *tradition* we make no observation. When men are determined to have these intoxicating drinks, even at the sacrifice of all principles and at the expense of imprisonment and transportation, it is high time that something should be done by the legislature, some law enacted to put a stop to this besetting evil.”

The sight of a drunken man is doubtless disgusting, but when a woman is in a state of intoxication, the spectacle is hideous and revolting in the extreme. What an example for our virtuous mothers, wives, and daughters! How many prostitutes, who walk our streets after night-fall, have been brought to misery and shame by men, worse than demons, whose efforts to seduce them would have been fruitless had the unfortunate females not previously tasted the worse than poisoned cup.—In a state of intoxication, woman becomes an easy prey to her wily seducer. The Editor of *The Refuge Magazine* writes—“Disciples of the Redeemer! friends of your species! do all you can to banish from your country that most powerful instrument of evil, ardent spirits. Let the rising generation be taught to shun it, and associate with it the miseries it entails and the pangs it inflicts. Reflect that but for these liquid fires, nine out of ten perhaps of the cases of seduction could not be effected.”

Mr. Beggs in his admirable work on juvenile depravity writes:—"Mothers of England, the outcast of the street is your sister. The babe you nurse with so much tenderness *may* become a blighted wreck like her. While the drinking system lasts, it will furnish snares for the young, and no hearth will be safe. This is a chivalry worthy a woman's prowess. Dash down the cup, and declare that its contents, which turns men into fiends, and beguiles women into wantons, shall never be sanctioned in your presence.

We read in an excellent paper on "Drinking," in *Eliza Cook's Journal*:—

"From the year 1801 to the year 1846, the people of the United Kingdom spent nearly fifteen hundred millions of pounds sterling (£1,500,000,000) in intoxicating drinks, about £800,000,000, on spirits, £176,445,000 on wines, and £595,904,000 on malt; or equal to about double the amount of the present National Debt.\*

"Our army costs us about ten millions a year, which we think a great deal too much; but then we voluntarily spend about fifteen millions a year on whiskey, gin, brandy, and their villainous compounds. Our navy costs about eight millions, but our beer, ale, and porter cost from thirteen to fourteen millions. We pay less than a million for our admirable post-office, and more than four millions for our wines. The taxes we pay for our courts of law and justice amount to a little above a million; the taxes we pay on tobacco and snuff are above four millions. Financial reform is surely needed, both at home, and in the public house, as much as any where else. Under two millions a year are spent on life and health assurance, and about forty millions on drink of all kinds. Are not these facts most discreditable to us as a nation?"

"It is not, however, merely because of the money which is worse than wasted on all this drink that these facts are to be lamented, but because of the many broken hearts, ruined characters, blasted homes, diseased frames, crowded prisons, vice, infamy, and moral ruin, which have everywhere followed in the track of drink. The money consideration is the very least, though that is not to be overlooked; for the money saved from drink might have made hundreds of thousands of families happy and independent; but it is the moral wreckage, the brutish degradation, the frightful social suffering that have been produced by our drinking practices, that form the most prominent considerations in our minds."

We shall first consider how far the means, hitherto employed

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\* For further authentic details see "*Statistics on the consumption, &c., of ardent spirits, wines, and malt, in England, Scotland and Ireland, from 1801 to 1846, inclusive.*" By Dawson Burns, one of the late secretaries of the National Temperance Society. Houlston and Stoneman."



for the diminution of drunkenness, have been attended with success or failure. Some few years ago the system of the total abstinence pledge taking was introduced by a few well meaning persons, and carried to a great extent in the British Islands and America, through the exertions of that truly excellent man, the Rev. Theobald Mathew. Every person was of opinion, that it was a grand discovery, and doubtless it did a great deal of good *for the time*. But the change was *too sudden* to be lasting. A drunkard like a child must be weaned—the change must steal on him gradually, till by degrees he forgets the bottle:—We thought we were original, in the idea of “weaning,” but we find in another part of the paper on “Drinking,” in “*Eliza Cook’s Journal*” which we have already quoted, that—“Those who would take part in this great movement must aim at *the habit* and begin at the beginning.” How many, we would ask our readers, of those who became teetotalers, are still “abstaining from every species of intoxicating drinks?” It is our belief, and we know the working people well, that not one per cent. has remained a total abstainer. And those who broke the pledge, from a reaction, of course, setting in, have given themselves up to intoxication more than ever.

Neither are we advocates for a Maine liquor law, at the present, for the same simple reason—the cup is not to be snatched abruptly from the unfortunate drunkard—such a measure not being calculated to *permanently* reform him. We would have our reader bear in mind that the principle of *weaning* is the one we hold. Mr. Kingsmill, the excellent Chaplain of Pentonville Prison, in his work entitled *Chapters on Prisons and Prisoners*, writes:—

“Of the 28,752 prisoners, tried at the assizes and sessions in England, in the year referred to, 10,000 may be put down, without fear of exaggeration, as having been brought to their deplorable condition, directly or indirectly, by the public-house; whilst of the 90,963 summary convictions, 50,000, I fear not to state, were the result of the drinking habits of the individuals themselves or their parents. Yet, as I am led to think, the evil results of drunkenness are to be looked for elsewhere, *even more abundantly* than in prison, especially among women. Drunkenness is in truth a monster evil in the land—a drain upon the national resources—a stain upon the character of England—a plague in the midst of us, more fatal than any malady which ever visited our shores. Not one single vice contributes more towards filling, with wretched inhabitants, the poorhouse, the hospital, the asylum, and the gaol.”

How the principle of weaning the drunkard may be reduced to practice, we shall next enquire. Mr. Thompson, whom we have already quoted, makes the following remarks on the immediate results consequent on the diminution of the duty on whiskey in Scotland—"In 1825, the duty on whiskey was greatly reduced; intemperance began to increase, and, in the 27 years, which have since elapsed, the consumption has become nearly *five-fold* greater; crime, disease and death have increased in similar proportion, and the sober, religious Scotland of other days is now *proved*, by its consumption of spirits, to be without exception the most drunken nation in Europe." Another fact along with this, and then we shall draw a conclusion. Only a few months ago, the duty on whiskey was increased 2s. 6d. a gallon, which left the "glass" a halfpenny dearer. The consumption of whiskey in Dublin, since the *increase* of duty, has *decreased* nearly one-half, while the consumption of ale and porter has increased almost in the same proportion. Now it appears to us, that a gradual increase in the consumption of ale and porter, and a proportionate decrease, in the consumption of whiskey, would inevitably result from increasing, from time to time, the duty on the latter, and allowing the prices of the former to remain as they are at present. Our drunkards, we mean whiskey drinkers, would, in a short time, become ale and porter drinkers—let us leave them indulging for one or two years, and then commence the increase of duty on ale and porter. But it is our opinion, that the latter step would be quite unnecessary, as we have no doubt, that drunkenness would then be a dead letter. We fully agree with Mr. Kingsmill, "that just in proportion as you increase the facilities for the sale of spirituous liquors, so do you increase crime and the necessity for more police to repress it." The following is part of the evidence given before the Parliamentary Committee on Public Houses by Mr. Dawson:—

"Mr. Barrow: Are you aware at all, of the comparative amount of drunkenness between Liverpool and Manchester?—We have got the number of population where cases of drunkenness are reported for Dublin, Glasgow, Liverpool, London, Birmingham, and Manchester, and in those cases we find that in Dublin there is 1 out of 21 of the population.

Chairman: Convicted of drunkenness?—Yes; in Glasgow, 1 in 22; in Edinburgh, 1 in 59; in Liverpool, 1 in 91; in London, 1 in 106; in Birmingham, 1 in 113; and in Manchester, 1 in 600. In the three first places, Dublin, Glasgow, and Edinburgh, there is the

largest amount of drunkenness, and in those places there is the free licensing system, where it is sold from grocers' shops or any other place. Manchester is the largest population of the kingdom, with the smallest number of licenses, and consequently the smallest number of drunken persons; and I believe, for the amount of population, the smallest amount of police are employed. In Liverpool there are 1470 public-houses, as you will see by this return, and in Manchester there are 578. In Liverpool, with a population of 25,000 less than Manchester, we have 900 police. In Manchester there are only 448 police.

Chairman: Is the return, which you have made of the proportion of convictions for drunkenness in different towns, for the purpose of showing, that the greater the facility afforded for selling spirits the more is the drunkenness?—Yes."

For the removal of ignorance in this country the Commissioners of Education are doing their share. We shall confine our remarks to the quality of education which prevents crime. Many people fancy that education consists in the ability to read and write. We do not deny, that mere reading and writing is a part of education, but we do not admit, that this part of education has anything to do with the prevention of crime, no more than a knowledge of any other *arts*, such as tailoring, shoemaking, or carpentry. Mr. Netterville, Governor of the Mountjoy Government Prison, writes:—

"I regard the notion that a knowledge of mechanical arts will eradicate criminal tendency as a very apparent fallacy, no amount of industrial acquirements necessarily involving improved powers of self-government. It is to the mainspring of criminal actions, it appears to me, that prison discipline should, in the first place, be directed; to the curbing of unrestrained passions, and the acquirement of those first moral principles, on which the knowledge of crafts, and habits of industry, may afterwards be ingrafted."

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\* Probably some of our readers are not aware that Mountjoy prison is the only prison in Ireland established on the Separate System. It is capable of accommodating 530 prisoners. It was built at an expense of about £36,000.

This prison has one great fault—its defective ventilation. The air is offensively close in cells in which the doors are closed for any length of time. There are contrivances, to be sure, as helps to ventilation, but they are like other very admirable designs that have been condemned, which were indeed very ingenious in theory, but not quite so useful in practice, not being able to stand the test of experiment. The medical attendant is not dissatisfied with the ventilation of the cells, as he has not seen any case of ill health traceable to the want of ventilation. But he does not deny, that the odour which issues from a cell, when the door opens, is so offensive as to be intolerable. Would the medical attendant have any objection to remain half an hour or an hour in a cell, where a prisoner had been locked up for 16 or 18

The education which prevents crime is that which has for its object the full development of the intellectual faculties; that education which draws off the thick veil from the mental vision, and allows the mind to see things as they really are; makes man reflect and anticipate—in a word, makes him “find books in the running brooks, sermons in stones, and good in every thing.” Such an intellectual education, having for its *foundation* a knowledge of the Gospel of Christ, is the one which will prevent crime. On the subject of education Mr. Clay writes :—

“ ‘Public education,’ then, ‘is lamentably imperfect,’ even if it were measured by the ability to read and write. *Without* that ability there *can* be no education; but (which is less considered) *with* it there *may* be none, or worse than none. The acquisition of reading and writing is only the acquisition of instruments by which education may be shaped out;—tools with a keen edge, of the greatest value to those instructed in their use, but calculated to do enormous mischief in perverse or wanton hands. ‘Instruction in reading and writing, may be carried, to a high point, without anything worthy the name of education being imparted. There may be no exercise of the perceptive faculties, no cultivation of the judgment, no discipline of the will, no training of the moral sense, no awakening of religious feelings, no instilling of religious principles.’ No—very often have I found boys and young men, able to read fluently the printed characters, in the New Testament, though quite unable to comprehend the sense of what they read. That Book, desecrated by the system which makes it a lesson-book, is associated in the mind of the Sunday school child, and of many another child, with uninteresting, mechanical, and difficult labour; with confinement, weariness, and—blows. Children are ‘put into the Testament’ as into a hard and barren field, in which they are to perform a piece of useless drudgery, instead of being led into it, as into a garden of the choicest flowers and fruit which they have been prepared to admire, and are now privileged to

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hours, as the Chaplain must do, if he conscientiously discharges his duty? The physical health of the prisoner is not impaired—granted. But is not the moral health of the unfortunate prisoner to be attended to. We positively assert, with all due deference to Dr. Rynd’s professional standing, that he is not the only person to be consulted in this matter, because he is not the only person interested.

Mr. Robert Netterville, the Governor, has designed an excellent plan of window, which can be open and shut by the prisoner when he pleases, affording when open sufficient ventilation, and so constructed that communication through the windows (now extensively carried on through the broken panes) is impossible. This gentleman engages to get these windows put up, at the trifling expense of 6s. 6d. per window—the total expense being a little more than £160. Let us hope, that the Government will not allow a defect so great, in a prison erected at an enormous expense to the public, to continue any longer.

cultivate and enjoy. The tendency to regard the Holy Scriptures, as a depot of taskwork, and the reading or committing to memory a certain number of verses, as a meritorious labour, is evident even in prison. I have too often been disappointed when, on visiting the prisoner in his cell, instead of discovering some intimations of an awakened understanding or conscience, I have been met with a self-satisfied announcement, that so many chapters have been read, or so many verses learned by rote. With regard to this mechanical reading, I have met with many boys and young men who, when the *signs* *there was a marriage in Cana of Galilee,* were presented to them—uttered the corresponding *sounds* readily and clearly, but who, on being questioned as to the meaning of the word ‘marriage’ could give no answer. To one of these young men I expressed my surprise that though he could *read* so well he should be so ignorant of what he read. He replied, in a tone of indignation,—whether at what he considered injustice or imposition, I know not,—‘Why! they never learned me the *understanding* of the words!’ But this same young man, so uninstructed in the great and vital *meanings* of the Testament, could apply the mechanical faculty he had acquired, the instrument so dangerous when misapplied, to unlock the meanings of other books: he easily comprehended, assisted by coarse but intelligible engravings, the exciting stories of ‘*The Newgate Calendar Improved,*’ and of *Dick Turpin and his black mare!* And so while the *Book of Life* has never been opened, to his understanding and affections, other books, fraught with ruin and death, are made level to his capacity and enticing to his imagination.”

We would say with Mr. Arthur Hill—

“Let it never, in addition, be forgotten, that the first object of education is not so much to impart knowledge, as to inculcate sound principles, form good habits, and to develop all human faculties, physical, moral, and intellectual. Better that a boy should leave school, with but scanty acquirements, than that his learning should have been obtained at the sacrifice, or even the risk of that bodily health, and of those intellectual powers and moral habits, on which his future welfare must mainly depend.”

What teachers, may we ask, keep this, the first object of education, constantly in view, while discharging their duties as teachers, in their respective schools. We have no doubt, that this first object of education is never lost sight of, in those schools over which the Education Board have control. In the National Schools, the teachers are kept under wholesome restrictions, in the quality of the instructions imparted, and in the general management of the schools, through the frequent visits of their inspectors. But are there not schools into which an inspector of the Board of Education has no authority to enter officially. Why is this so? Has not the government a right to see, that the education imparted by *private* indivi-

duals: does not tend to create or foster crime, from inculcating unsound and mischievous principles? The government wisely takes every available means, in time of epidemin, to prevent physical disease. The government wisely prohibits a medical man to practise, lest he should injure the part he endeavoured to cure, until he had been duly examined, and had received his diploma. Now we do not see why our wise government should not take the same precautions to prevent moral diseases.

"It is through the neglect of society," writes Captain Maconochie, "in not educating the children of the lower classes, that many of our prisoners are first made criminal, and it is by a further apathy and neglect, that they are allowed to continue such. And surely, there is more than reproach—there is even grave national delinquency in the double fact."

A school-master is a moral physician, and he should not be allowed to practise until he had been duly examined, and had received a certificate, from competent parties, appointed for that special purpose. This is no new or speculative theory—it has been in *practice* for years in Prussia and Germany. Let any man of common sense only read the reports of those gentlemen, who have made educational tours through Great Britain, and he will scarcely question the necessity for an examination of the school-masters in the great majority of private schools.

"Having thus," writes Mr. Kay, "described the character and social position of the great profession of Prussian teachers, I shall now show, what education the law requires each of them to have received, before it allows him to engage in the work of instruction; for it must be remembered, that no person, whether he be a foreigner or a native, is allowed to act as a teacher of any public or private school, in the kingdom of Prussia, until he has passed a very rigid examination, in all the subjects of school instruction, and has obtained a diploma from his examiners, stating that he is fit to be a teacher."

We have been credibly informed, that in our own city there are private schools, which are attended by tradesmen's children, and which are taught and managed by men who smoke, drink spirituous liquors, and curse and swear in the presence of their pupils. These men, in order to cloak their villany, become members of religious societies—have prayers and catechism during the greater portion of the day, and spend their Sundays

\* 124th page, *The Social Condition and Education of the People*, by J. Kay, M.A., Vol. II. London. Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, Paternoster-row.

collecting for charitable purposes.—In this way they are able to impose upon the people, by taking advantage of their natural reverence for religion.

"A few years ago," writes Mr. "Kay, any one used to be thought clever enough to be a teacher. Even now, in many parts of our country, any poor fellow who can read and write decently, is thought fit to teach in a village school, so low is the idea of ~~many~~ of the education which should be given to the children of the poor, and of the character of the men who ought to train our citizens !"

Two classes of children receive education, those at school and those in the streets. If our views are carried out, we have no doubt that the first class—those receiving education at school, will be judiciously attended to. We shall next turn our attention to the second class, those receiving an education in the streets. Thanks to our charitable countrymen, and particularly to our fair countrywomen, who largely subscribe to those admirable institutions, which have for their object, the feeding, clothing, and education of our unfortunate little ragged children—who in most cases are the offspring of *drunken* parents, our streets have been largely thinned. Be it remembered that it is in the streets the art of thieving is practised, which latterly is assuming, more and more every day, the dignity of a professional science. Our ragged schools, and kindred institutions, invaluable as they are, can never reach the child who remains outside their doors, preferring the street and his "chances" to the discipline, and, in his mind, the comparative few advantages held out to their inmates. Here we see the necessity for *compelling* such children to attend.

We earnestly beg the reader's most serious attention to the following extract, which we have taken from a published letter to C. B. Adderley, Esq. M.P. by that practically experienced gentleman, the Rev. Sydney Turner, Resident Chaplain of the Philanthropic School, Red Hill, Surrey :—

"I cannot conclude these remarks, without expressing my fervent hope, that our educational agencies will ere long be so extended and improved, as to make the demand for reformatory schools less general and pressing. However necessary and satisfactory it is to have first-rate hospitals, free dispensaries, and able surgeons and apothecaries, for the cure of disease, it is far better, far more rational, and in the end, far cheaper to take such measures, as may maintain and protect the general health, and keep sickness at a distance. So as regards juvenile crime, certainly more than half of the youthful delinquency, that we now have to punish, and are here and there trying to remedy,

is the growth of circumstances, the result, in fact, of our own social neglect and indolence. One single measure alone, at once compelling the attendance at school of the thousands of idle children, now left to ruin and depravation, in our low streets and alleys, and making the instruction and training of such schools really useful and efficient, would do more to thin our prison ranks than a hundred reformatories put together. So long as we allow the depraving agencies that are so busy in our large towns and cities such immunity, nay almost encouragement, as they now have, so long we may be sure, that juvenile vice and crime will be far ahead of all our efforts to rescue and reform. Of course it is much easier to subscribe to a reformatory, than to grapple with the real difficulties of the *preventive* system. But as to the real suppression or effectual diminution of crime, we but spend our strength for nought, and our labour for that which profiteth not, so long as we are content to let thousands be infected, while we cure hundreds. We cannot slay the monster while we are continually feeding and supporting him. Make it compulsory that the child attends school, and is not found idling in the streets. Make the parents, when there are any, responsible for the proper training of the child, and to some extent for his maintenance, in a good school, if they cannot keep him out of vice and crime at home. Make the parish be belongs to responsible for this, if he be an orphan and destitute. Make your schools really effective, teaching in them the science of life, the common daily business of well-being and well-doing, social and personal economy. Make them, therefore, not merely intellectual but industrial, and bring your laws home to the abettors and receivers of crime, the lodging-house keeper, and the penny theatre and saloon owner, and we shall soon, I believe, see our calendars shortened, the juvenile wards of our prisons more thinly peopled, and reformatory efforts made thoroughly effectual to the great end for which they are directed. When shall these things be? When, I believe, statesmen will give our great *social* questions their true importance, and feel that the moral and religious training of the coming generation is more really urgent than all the more political or commercial questions, that now divide parties or agitate constituencies."

It has been said, "that the government which governs least governs best;" but let it not be forgotten, that this refers only to the interference of government with private enterprise. A government has for its grand object, the protection of life and property; and no government is worth supporting which does not do this, or at least endeavour by every available means to do it. We shall conclude our remarks on education by giving the following extract from a paper in *Meliora*, entitled "Immortal Sewerage," and written by the Hon. and Rev. Sidney Godolphin Osborne, Rector of Durweston.

"There have been, and may yet be, seasons when popular commotion shall disturb the very depths of our population. Then were



seen, and would be seen again; streets crowded with women almost unsexed, men almost unhumanized; children, such in form, but with the worst vices of the adult stamped upon them. These are the creatures, that in the days of revolution, work out barbarisms and cruelties, with the language and demeanour of fiends. The horrors they commit become the marvels of history. We are much deceived if we argue, England knows no such element of evil. We may not choose to know it, we may choose to say that this race has perished before 'progress'—before 'the schoolmaster,'—'improved police,'—'improved wide-spread religious teaching.' Alas! I know better. I know there are tens of thousands who have known nothing of any progress but that of an extension of resource for vicious inclination. Of the school-master they have known nothing—the improvement of the police has only developed further ingenuity in crime; as to religious teaching, they have a philosophy of their own, not over-flattering to our idea of national deference to religious truth; they with some shrewdness argue, if souls are worth all the bricks and stones, preachers and teachers, which they connect with worship, how is it *their* souls are left so utterly uncared for—for where is the place of worship in which their dirt and appearance would not create a panic."

Although destitution is, we admit, one of the principal causes of crime in this country, yet we do not consider it of sufficient importance to enter into any length on the subject, feeling convinced, that it will gradually vanish, as drunkenness diminishes, and as education advances.

So far we have confined our remarks to the *prevention* of crime, which all will admit is better than *cure*, but we believe that both are necessary, and hence we shall bring our reader to consider what means—the most simple and natural the better—by which those who lead a life of crime are to be (reformed) cured. Mr. Recorder Hill says, that "Reformatories ought to be considered *moral* dispensaries, and Prisons *moral* hospitals for the *cure* of moral diseases"—and what man of sense can consider them anything else? In every prison—those supported by the grand juries, and those immediately under the government, there should be a reformatory agency at work, commensurate with the large wants of these institutions. This reformatory agency consists in an industrial training, and a moral, intellectual and religious education. How far this agency may be brought to work upon our criminals, we shall next enquire, but before we do so, it is right to separate them into two classes, juveniles, and adults, and consider each class individually, as they must be treated differently, and in separate institutions. Captain Williams,

inspector of Prisons, in his report on the treatment of Juvenile Offenders, writes—

"The satisfactory treatment of children, when sentenced to imprisonment, is replete with difficulty, it being necessary for the sake of public example to carry out the ends of justice with a certain degree of penal rigour, and at the same time combine with it a course of moral training, which can only be inculcated through the agency of mildness, persuasion, and confidence. I am of opinion that, whenever the number of delinquent boys will admit of it, they should be kept wholly and entirely separate from the adults. So long as old and young remain together, they must be treated alike; and I know nothing more likely to confirm children in bad habits, than to attach the same gravity and consequences to their unconfirmed errors, as to the vices of those of maturer years. The boy charged with a felony is frequently thrust into a class with, perhaps, 15 or 20 adults, whose offences bear the same legal distinction as his own. His self-love is flattered in being treated the same as a man, and he is excited to a closer imitation by this his miserable elevation. I have never failed to observe in such cases a degree of boldness, effrontery, and assumption, which I have not met with in any prison where men and boys are separated."

People who are not practically acquainted with the character of criminals, can scarcely conceive the precocious depravity of those poor neglected creatures. Reader, those children suffering in a prison the penalty imposed by law, appear to be quite a different race of beings, to that class of children with whom it is your privilege to be acquainted. We need not apologise for the length of the following extract—its appropriateness and its merits require no comments from us—except that the truthfulness of the picture is, we regret to write, unquestionable.

#### COMMON CAREER OF A YOUNG CRIMINAL.

(From Mr. Barclay's pamphlet entitled "*Juvenile Delinquency*.")

"Born in a cold garret or damp cellar, alike remarkable for the careful exclusion of light and air, his early days receive scantily of a mother's fostering care. In a few short weeks, he is carried out into the streets, with some slender filthy covering of rags, exposed to the cold and damp blast of our shifting temperature, that his shrill cry of agony may the better wring the pittance from the passer-by—a cry, it has been more than once established, made the more agonizing by the application of human agency. At night, when the absence of warmth and comfort, so essential to its normal state, compels its cry of complaint, quietness is sometimes secured by administering the same foul draught which is praying on the vitals of both body and mind of the wretched parents. Thus are combined in one unhappy union, the most powerful ingredients which can poison the cup of human enjoyment, and engendering the seeds of

moral and physical debility, in this child of misfortune. So soon as the little urchin can lisp the cry of 'puir wean,' or its tiny limbs carry its stunted body, it is thrown out of its dirty den into the street; to beset the doors of the more blessed, or interrupt the passengers on the busy thoroughfares, with importunate appeals for charity, in a tone of whining from which he never afterwards can completely divest himself. If he returns to his collarage without the expected amount of prey, a sound beating, interspersed with curses, may be his welcome. He never hears of God except as a name of imprecation. He seldom has heard mention made of heaven, but often of its opposite, as the place to which every outbreak of parental ire summarily consigns him. A Bible he never saw in the house; and, though it were put into his hands, he could not spell its simplest texts. The Sabbath he knows only as a day when the shops are shut, and all business arrested, except that of the whisky shop. The church bells are rung with solemn peal, and he observes a portion of people better dressed than on other days; but in his sphere, it is a day noted only as one of greater idleness and sensuality than other days. He never was taught to pray, but, by example, his instruction in curses has been most abundant. He never was taught the commandments of his God, but by precept and practice was indoctrinated in their contrarieties. A Redeemer's love was never discoursed to him, and the solemnity of a judgment seat was never disclosed. For continual absence from church and school, his parents have ever the ready excuse of want of suitable clothing;—an apology which does not prevent regular attendance on the exhibitions of Jack Sheppard, and other such displays of youthful blackguardism. Perchance some kind Samaritan, seeks to remove the real or fancied obstacle, by supplying suitable, sometimes superior, apparel, which is found unfit for plying the avocation of begging, but comes opportunely for the supply of a parent's sinful cravings; and speedily the well-intentioned gift adorns the stall of the old clothesman, and the little boy revels in his hereditary rags. Some zealous Sabbath-school teacher, fearless of filth and fever, plunges into the sink of infamy, and seizing the little immortal as a waif on the social stream, he bears him to his school. A few Sabbath nights he sits listless and restless, but the whole subject of instruction to him is in an unknown tongue: the lessons of an hour are counteracted by the precepts and practice of a week. Attendance becomes irksome and occasional, and all sorts of lying apologies are told for absence, and tasks unlearned. The misappropriation of some book—very probably the volume of life—the gift of the generous teacher, bars return; and he answers no longer to his name, though he may beset the door to disturb others in the enjoyment of that which he has been taught to despise. He falls back to his former haunts and habits, and 'no man careth for his soul.' What can be expected from such a childhood—from such a culture in the spring-day of life? Do men gather figs off thistles? As we sow we reap. There is truth as well as poetry in the saying, 'the boy is father of the man.' To expect that the boy we have described should become an honest and useful member of society is little else than to expect a miracle. The poor boy

grows up a delinquent—a moral plague and pest to all around, but assuredly more sinned against than sinning.

“Let us proceed with our dismal biography. The boy discovers no great distinction between begging and stealing. The penny wrung from the hand—not as charity, but as the price of freedom from annoyance—seems to him no more unwillingly given than when secretly fished from the pocket. At the age of eight or nine, he makes his first appearance in judicial life, at the bar of the police court. He neither understands, nor cares for the majesty of the law. The buttons and the batons of the policeman excite much more of his awe and admiration than the magistrate on the bench. He is not yet learned in judicial phraseology and procedure. To the question of Guilty or not? he lispeth out ‘I dinna ken;’ or the ready lie—his earliest precept—‘I didna do it;’ or, with the natural disposition to shift blame on others, the reply not unfrequently is, ‘It was him that did it,’ pointing to some tatterdemalion, who on this occasion occupies the place of the witness,—the next time to take that of the prisoner. If the mother were present, might not the little boy in very truth exclaim, ‘The woman did give me and I did eat?’ The charge is found proved. The magistrate has no alternative. To dismiss him would be to set him loose on society, with an impression of indemnity from punishment, and an encouragement to neglect in parents. He is therefore sent to prison for a brief period—too brief to accomplish the least practical good—but long enough to break the spell of the prison-house, and strip it of its terrors. He has found there the comforts of genial heat, pure air, wholesome food, and cleanly clothing, to all of which he was a stranger. Far are we from joining in the cry against the reformed system of prison discipline. We never could perceive how congregated masses of criminals of every age and grade of guilt, associated in filth and idleness, could be productive of aught but unmingled evil—the demonstration of moral and physical penitence. We hail the name of Howard, as the pioneer of all that is beneficial in this walk of philanthropy and justice; but it cannot be denied that, with the exception of liberty (which is worthless if not duly valued), he is, in every respect, more comfortable than was ever his previous lot.

“The brief term of his noviciate has run its course. He returns to society with the additional brand of prison infamy, barring him all chance of employment. He returns to his wonted haunts and habits with a keener appetite for vice. Being now under the immediate surveillance of the police, it is not long before he is again detected in crime, and again arraigned before the magistrate. This ordeal is repeated the due number of times. The required number of minor convictions is completed, and then our youth takes an important step in the ranks of criminal jurisprudence. He takes a degree in the art of stealing—a diploma in crime. He is transferred from the police-court to the jurisdiction of the sheriff, and is now favoured with the benefit of the great palladium of British liberty, trial by jury. The greatest scrupulosity is observed that retributive and penal justice be fairly administered to the diminutive prisoner, who never had justice done to him in its fairest form—protective

and remedial. For his trial forty-five citizens are called from their various active duties, at great private inconvenience and public loss. Many a juror would pay the value of the stolen article ten times told, rather than sacrifice his time in attendance at the trial. From the greater number, fifteen are drawn by ballot; that the youthful beggar should enjoy the greatest security for impartiality, and the absence of prejudice amongst a class who never knew, and it is much feared, never cared whether such a being was or was not in existence amongst them. The charge is frequently of the most trivial pecuniary value,—a pair of old shoes, a loaf of bread; when under the strong temptation of hunger, or a few pence filched from the fob of the passenger or the till of the whisky-shop, from which he has been in the long practice of fetching the poisoned ingredients for his parent's daily fare. The offence is raised into an aggravated form, by reason of the previous convictions, of offences, it may be, even of less value, and because, in the eyes of the officials of the police, he is considered to be, habit and repute, a thief, at a period of life when habit of character is yet unformed, and repute can scarcely exist beyond the police themselves. These aggravations are of most doubtful principle and expediency, and are no ornaments to our criminal code. Not many years bygone, many a lad has suffered on the scaffold for some very trivial theft, made capital, solely because committed when he was under the evil eye of a couple of policemen, who swore they considered him, habit and repute, a thief, for at least twelve months before the offence charged. In England the practice is more humane, in refusing this aggravation, founded on mere police opinion, and even refusing to allow previous convictions to go before the jury, to operate, as they must of necessity do, to the prisoner's prejudice, and to eke out an insufficient proof. The accused party is sometimes so juvenile, that not unfrequently he requires to be elevated at the bar, so that the jury may perceive that it is a fragment of humanity, on which they are gravely called on, by solemn but most unmeaning oath, 'the truth to say and no truth to conceal.' The proceedings are conducted with a solemnity and a parade of the formula of justice, the same as if the charge had been one of homicide, and the criminal one grown gray in crime. It is to break a fly on the wheel. Jupiter Tonans hurls his bolt at the moth. The parents of the child would be the more fitting occupants of the bar, and the child the more suitable tenant of the school. The ferula of the schoolmaster would be more influential of good than the mace of justice; and the Primer and Shorter Catechism, better authorities than even Hume and Alison, whose metaphysical distinctions of crime are quoted with gravity against the boy, who could not decipher the title-pages of their ponderous volumes on '*Principles and Practice*.' The trial, as might be expected, results in a conviction; and now a lengthened period of imprisonment ensues, which, had it occurred at the first, might indeed have been, with the Divine blessing, attended with beneficial results. Whilst under this more extended discipline of the prison, the conduct of the youth is faultless, and the progress in education encouraging; mental powers, hitherto dormant, are developed under cultivation; dispositions and affections break forth, at the voice of

kindness, and the tendencies to evil hide themselves at the firm and calm voice of censure. All these moral appliances come too late; the habits are formed and indurated; the bow is only bent, not broken. The monotonous months roll on their wearied course, and the day of liberty approaches, marked often with a degree of restlessness on the part of the prisoner, ominous that no permanent good has been accomplished. The prison gate is thrown open, and with it the floodgate of temptation. The youthful spirits are elated at the fresh air of heaven, and the accustomed sights of well-known and frequented scenes. No provision is made for the refuge of the liberated prisoner, or to secure him honest employment. Not unfrequently old companions in guilt reckon the day of release, and watch the prison gate to hail the relieved prisoner, and to welcome him, often by a display of dissipation and riot, where all good resolutions are ridiculed, and mockery made of all serious and solemn impressions. At this point our modern system of prison discipline and criminal reformation halts, and leaves unfinished the begun good. The wonder is, that any are able to escape the entanglements that beset them on release, and not that so many return to criminal pursuits. In a state of society where honest men, with characters untainted, can scarcely find bread by labour, it is not to be expected that those whose characters are bankrupt can find employment. It may be he has been taught a useful trade in prison, and has shown superior skill in its prosecution; but out of prison, no opportunity is afforded him of applying that industry in an honest way. If he asks charity, he is told to go and work. If he asks work, he is told there is none for such as he. He begins to think that society and he have a quarrel. He finds himself shunned as a moral leper. He stalks about in idleness, shunning the daylight—owl-like, he courts the night. He soon affords another illustration of the truth of the lines in the infant hymn, that ‘Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do.’ A spirit of recklessness, discontent, and revenge takes possession of his heart. It is this class in large towns, who are ready, on any opportune occasion, to make an outbreak on the peace of society, so that they may obtain bread or booty in the confusion. They can sink no lower, and entertain some hope of an undescribed and indefinite advantage in change.

“The criminal, the outline of whose mournful history we thus have attempted to sketch, now commits a more aggravated offence. Formerly it was an offence committed individually, and marked for cunning rather than audacity; now it is done in concert with others of equal age and advance in crime, and frequently with some of the other sex,—the best helps of man in a virtuous course—the heaviest and surest drag in the downward course of profligacy. The offence, too, is no longer the simple act of theft, but the bolder one of house-breaking, or street robbery. A trial now follows at the judiciary; and the lad of sixteen, having already run the curriculum of the criminal courts, receives the sentence of transportation from a land which has little of attraction for him, and removal from which is the first happy event of his sad career.

“This is no fanciful sketch, but what every one conversant with

the administration of criminal justice cannot fail to recognise as true, and of common occurrence."

We shall now consider the discipline appropriate to "Juvenile Reformatory Institutions," and offer some suggestions upon the judicious—let us say scientific—management of such Establishments. Before we do so, we would wish our readers to bear in mind, that we have given the question a consideration worthy its weighty importance; examined it in all its bearings; and made ourselves acquainted, not only with the opinions and experiences of men, grown gray in the cause, but we have also made ourselves acquainted with the practical working of the different systems, adopted in the Prisons and Reformatory Institutions of Great Britain, in which we were likely to gain information. We have, besides, a fair knowledge of what has been written on the subject, since the days of Howard, together with a little experience of our own, gained from actual practice in the field. This may appear egotistic, but our reasons are the same as those of Mr. Frederick Hill, who, commencing the introduction to his invaluable work on Crime, writes:—

"When any one demands audience, in the great court of public discussion, it is reasonable to expect him to show, that he has just claims to be heard; that he has had opportunities of studying the subject on which he proffers information and counsel; that he has diligently availed himself of these opportunities; and that, before attempting to induce others to adopt his opinions, he has cautiously surveyed the ground on which they have been formed, fully convinced his own mind of their soundness, and taken every means, within his power, for testing their accuracy."

"If the fountain be impure, the streams that flow from it must also be impure," hence the indispensable necessity for having a pure fountain, when we want pure streams to flow from it. "As is the schoolmaster so will be the school," and we may add, "As is the gaoler so will be the gaol." No pains should be spared in selecting a man for so responsible a situation. He should be naturally fond of children, sympathizing with their wants and infirmities, and more disposed to pity than condemn them; or, as it has been said by an able writer, "while detesting their crimes, he must pity the offenders." He must possess a "gentleness of manner, with a firmness of mind." The following remarks are from the pen of Lord Chesterfield:—

"The *suaviter in modo* alone would degenerate and sink into a mean, timid complaisance and passiveness, if not supported and dignified by the *fortiter in re*; which would also run into impetuosity and brutality, if not tempered and softened by the *suaviter in modo*; however, they are seldom united. The warm choleric man, with strong animal spirits, despises the *suaviter in modo*, and thinks to carry all before him by the *fortiter in re*. He may possibly, by great accident, now and then succeed, when he has only weak and timid people to deal with; but his general fate will be, to shock, offend, be hated, and fail. On the other hand, the cunning crafty man thinks to gain all his ends by the *suaviter in modo* only; he becomes all things to all men; he seems to have no opinion of his own, and servilely adopts the present opinion of the present person; he insinuates himself only into the esteem of fools, but is soon detected, and surely despised by everybody else. The wise man (who differs as much from the cunning as from the choleric man) alone joins the *suaviter in modo* with the *fortiter in re*."

"A person who may have every qualification for the Governor of a prison," writes Mr. Bengough, "where men are to be dealt with, would be very often little fitted for dealing with boys. The manager of a reformatory institution *must* seek far more than the other *need* do to win the *affections* and confidence of the children." How are the affections to be won? We give the following beautiful lines as an answer—

"The poor man's heart vibrates no less,  
To all the winds of fate,  
Than his, whom fortune's gifts doth bless  
With proud and high estate.  
The harsh word pierces keenly there,  
And scorn a tender chord will sear,  
While kindness wins his love,  
And sheds a halo round his home;  
Makes want and care less wearisome.  
And bitter thoughts remove."

We read in one of the lesson books of the Irish Commissioners of Education, that there have been instances of wolves having been tamed, to an uncommon degree, by kindness and humanity. Surely if the same powerful agency is brought to bear upon human beings, we may confidently expect much greater results. We do not wish to be misunderstood. *Kindness alone will, we admit, in some rare cases, fail in gaining the affections.* But how are we to know these cases?—of course the answer simply is, by being kind to all. We are not to be too hasty, however, in concluding that kindness takes no effect on some. All are not alike—some are easily wrought upon—others are



made of tougher material ; the effect is almost instantaneous on the former, it comes slowly and hardly perceptibly on the latter. Hence the necessity for patiently awaiting the results, before other measures are adopted. And here we see the priceless value of a competent person to act as judge. What a nicety of judgment is required in a case of this sort ! Should there be no doubt whatever of the inefficiency of kindness—after a patient trial of every available means—we do not hesitate to recommend punishment, not as a substitute for, but in conjunction with it. In its own proper place, we shall consider the propriety of inflicting punishment, as a means of reformation.

The following qualities in a person holding the office of governor or manager of a Reformatory for Juveniles, are absolutely essential to the success of the Institution :—Benevolence, forbearance, sincerity, and tact ; a knowledge of human nature, and a power of penetration, without an appearance of suspicion ; patient in investigations, and a disposition to lean always on the merciful side ; in a word, all the qualities of a judge.

Mr. Frederick Hill, in a letter to the Right Honorable Viscount Melville, K. T., writing upon the qualifications of prison officers, observes :—

“ It is in vain that the plan of a prison be skilfully devised, that liberal funds be furnished for building the prison, and that rules be laid down for carrying into operation a good system of discipline, unless the instruments by which the machine is to be worked are competent to their task. \* \* The first requisite for obtaining a good appointment of prison officers is, of course, to have a clear conception of the necessary qualifications. \* \* The governor of a large prison should be a person of strong native talent, of great decision of character, yet of kind and affable manners ; he should possess great insight into human character, and into the various causes of crime and the springs of action ; and he should be influenced by a strong desire to promote the permanent welfare of the prisoners committed to his charge. He should be possessed of powers of command and of holding others to responsibility ; and, in order to maintain these effectually, it is necessary that he should be able to determine what every one under his authority can reasonably be expected to perform, and to judge of the manner in which every duty is discharged.”

Are there such men to be found, and if so—where ? “ Ay, that is the question.” We answer, there are,—but, like other valuable articles, they are scarce. A man possessing a deep

sense of justice and impartiality, with an enlightened *mind* and a Christian *heart*, would scarcely fail in acquiring all the other qualifications necessary, after a little experience gained from actual practice. Mr. Bengough, a *practically* experienced gentleman, whom we have already quoted, and whose opinions upon the present question are deserving the most attentive consideration of all those in authority, writes—"ON THE MANAGER, BE HE CLERGYMAN OR LAYMAN, BE HE CALLED MASTER, OR CHAPLAIN, OR GOVERNOR, OR WHAT NOT, THE WHOLE SUCCESS INDEED OF THE INSTITUTION WILL, UNDER GOD, DEPEND. IT IS NOT THE RULES—THEY MAY HINDER OR HELP HIM—BUT IT IS ONLY THE MAN, BY HIS PERSONAL ACTION, THAT CAN REFORM." Such was our conviction, long before we had the satisfaction of ascertaining Mr. Bengough's invaluable opinion. We shall next enquire, with what amount of authority, the governor or manager should be entrusted.

He should have the power of discharging such prisoners, as he considered fit, and of retaining those, whom he thought not fit, until the full period of their respective sentences had expired. It would perhaps be well, if this power was indirect, and that the nominal power should be still left in the hands of the Lord Lieutenant, but that no prisoner should be discharged, without first having the recommendation of the governor or manager, and that the recommendation of the governor or manager should always be acted upon—unless indeed in a case where his *general* management should be questioned—and then, that his authority should be merely *suspended* until the question had been finally settled. We cannot attach too much importance to this arrangement. The Rev. Sydney Turner writes :—

"As the Act now stands, the offender must remain in the school, for the full period for which the magistrate has sentenced him, unless discharged by the order of the secretary of state ; that is in effect, if incorrigible and corrupting others, in a far greater degree than he is receiving any benefit himself, he cannot be dismissed ; if greatly improving and reformed, he cannot be sent out and rewarded, by an earlier re-entrance into life. No reformatory school I believe, can work effectually unless its managers have, and are known to have, the power of discharge fully and entirely confided to them. They being at the same time responsible to the Government, for this and every other power and privilege they are entrusted with."

He should have the same authority, with respect to the

appointment and dismissal of the subordinate officers. His recommendations should be acted upon, and no one should be appointed or dismissed without *his* recommendation. We must quote Mr. Bengough again—" \* \* \* allowing the person who is charged with it the very great liberty of action and freedom from interference, without which he could hardly hope for success. The particulars in which this liberty would be most essential, I should consider to be these :—The absolute power of appointing and dismissing every person, employed in any capacity about the institution." Mr. Frederick Hill writes :—

" An essential regulation, in my opinion, for securing the selection of good subordinate officers, is to leave their appointment and dismissal entirely to the governor. He it is who has the best opportunity of judging of their qualifications, and who has the strongest interest in seeking the best men ; for, without good subordinates, it will be in vain for him to expect, that the state of his prison will redound to his credit, or give him any prospect of promotion. Indeed, unless the governor have this power, it is difficult to say, in case of success or failure, to whom the credit or disgrace is due ; without it, the important principle of responsibility cannot exist, and endless trouble may be created in determining, in every case of mismanagement, with whom the fault really rests.

I am aware that, in many prisons, where the power of appointing the subordinate officers, is nominally confined to the magistrates, much influence in the matter is, nevertheless, exercised by the governor ; and, in such cases, the evil in question is *protanto* diminished ; but, for complete efficiency, it is essential, that the governor's authority, on this point, should be direct and uncontrolled."

" In the best conducted prisons that have fallen under my observation, the general course of proceeding has been, first to take great care in the choice of the governor, and then to place large powers in his hands ; to abstain from interfering in his proceedings, but to hold him responsible for results."

There is no speculative theory in the last paragraph just quoted—it is a *fact* that cannot be controverted. We come now to the consideration of the most important part of his authority, the power to inflict corporal punishment.

Witnessing the many failures of kindness, upon some characters, we have been often reminded of the fable of the little boy who climbed the tree to steal the old man's apples. The urchin only laughed, at the simplicity of the kind old man in expecting him to come down, for coaxing or pelting him with grass ; but,

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\* Mr. Hill had been sixteen years an Inspector of Prisons. See his most admirable work on "Crime." London : John Murray, Albemarle-street.

as soon as the old man "tried what virtue there was in stones," the foolish little boy came down and begged the old man's pardon. This little fable, at which many would scornfully laugh, because it looks so simple, contains the whole philosophy of treating our criminals.\*

In the best regulated prison, we must expect to meet with refractory characters, from time to time, for whom, it is evident, punishment is indispensable. *To be effective, however, for good or to reform, a punishment must be appropriate in quality, and suitable in quantity, and its justice shewn to the delinquent, in the most earnest and affectionate manner.* An infliction of pain, if these points are not attended to is, as our good friend Mr. Recorder Hill expresses it, "*a waste of human suffering.*" In our minds, it is even worse than "*a waste of human suffering.*" It always has a bad moral effect upon the person punished—an effect opposed to the curative or reformatory. To have its *full* effect, punishment should, in many cases, be prompt and immediate. In other cases, it will lose nothing from delay. We forbear particularizing instances, as many of them are not to be described, while on the other hand those, whose description would not be offensive, must be witnessed to get a clear idea of their enormity. We, therefore, most strongly and earnestly recommend that the governor or manager of a Juvenile Reformatory—whether Prison or School, should have authority to administer a sound whipping, and that no person should be allowed to question or make any remarks whatever upon the propriety or expediency of his so doing—unless, as we have already observed, his general competency or fitness for his post was questioned. The following able and judicious remarks are taken from an admirable little pamphlet on School Discipline, by Mr. Arthur Hill.

"When, in spite of precaution and admonition, and good example, moral offences occur, as unhappily in our weak and erring nature they are sure to do, and when remonstrance, however affectionate and earnest, fails to check them, so that stronger means of repression

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\* "There are a set of men whose visages  
Do cream and mantle like a standing pond,  
And do a wilful stillness entertain,  
With purpose to be dress'd in an opinion  
Of wisdom, gravity, profound conceit,  
As who should say, I am Sir Oracle,  
And when I ope my lips let no dog bark!"

become necessary, it is of great importance, that the punishment should be not only suitable in degree, but appropriate in kind. To secure this adaptation, involves much trouble, but it is trouble well incurred. A punishment, really appropriate, is in itself curative, not merely deterrent,—a fact the more important, since the value of human punishments, as deterrents, is every day falling, and I believe with good reason, in general estimation.

Let not remonstrance, however, be lightly discarded as ineffectual, particularly if it have been used only in the presence of others. Its full weight, as I have already observed, is felt only in privacy; and, in all serious cases, the admonition involves a calm and unexaggerated consideration of the real consequences of the fault; into which consideration, the penitent may easily be led, by judicious questions. Again and again, have I seen the bold brow quail, the compressed lips quiver, and the eyes fill with tears, at the very commencement of such interrogations,—the fault in fine, candidly acknowledged, amendment promised, and the promise fulfilled. What need here of punishment?

They being penitent,  
The sole drift of our purpose does extend  
Not a frown further.

When penal consequences must ensue, let them, so far as practicable, be such as have a natural connection with the fault."

It is scarcely conceivable, the powerful effect a whipping will have for good, when administered in the proper spirit—and *vice versa*. The Rev. Sydney Turner inflicts the punishment with his own hand—why? because Mr. Turner could hardly get a person, employed in the Institution, impressed with a deeper sense of the importance of such an undertaking, or who could administer it, with more feeling or greater solemnity. Mr. Turner very justly observes, that the *manner* is often of more consequence than the *amount* of punishment inflicted. Mr. Turner writes:—

"There are, however, tempers and dispositions that are slow to be influenced by such motives, or that at times are hurried away by sudden impulses to forget or to defy them. It will be advisable for each house to have one or two cells, well separated from the school-room and dormitories, in which any that are guilty of serious faults may be secluded. Confinement in a cell, with a bread and water diet, for periods varying from a few hours to a few days, will be found in general a sufficient punishment, provided always that the cell is not warmed and fitted up as comfortably as a fashionable boudoir, but gives the inmate just as much cold, and privation, and discomfort, as proper regard to health, cleanliness, and the making a kindly impression on the offender, will allow of. Cases may arise when the cell fails or is inappropriate, and in which a whipping will do the culprit far more good; faults of indecency and cruelty come

under this head, so does anything like insolence or defiance of the master. I would only recommend—1st, that when corporal punishment is inflicted, it be so in the ordinary school fashion of a common birch rod. 2nd, that it be inflicted with as much solemnity and form as possible, the manner being often of more consequence than the amount of punishment. 3rd, that the boy's companions be allowed, but not invited to witness it. 4th, that the chief superintendent, whether *governor or chaplain*, administer it *himself*. I laid down this rule six years ago to myself, and disagreeable as is the duty it occasionally imposes, I have found its utility in the *rareness* and the moral *effect* of the infliction."

We could not dwell too long on this all important topic. If we cannot reform, surely we ought not to make worse, and this is inevitable should punishment be injudiciously inflicted. "I have seen myself," writes Mr. Bengough, "that inflicted solemnly (a flogging) as a punishment, under the eye at least of the manager of the institution, and with everything to impress it upon the boy's moral feelings, it would have its effect, even where he had been flogged in prison repeatedly without effect, because, in a mere formal and often I know in an openly vindictive spirit, on the part of those who inflicted the punishment, where a boy had been frequently in prison or troublesome while there." Educationists are of opinion, that children can be taught and made to learn those branches, which they have to study, without their parents or teachers ever having recourse to corporal punishment. We do not differ in opinion from educationists who have this conviction. If we had our juvenile criminals, under our own tuition, from the time they were able to speak, we have no doubt we could have made them learn, without punishment of any kind. But, as our young criminals have been neglected—"one year's seeding being nine years' weeding"—the case is widely different. It is like a limb that must be amputated, for the want of being brought in time under the surgeon's treatment "When, however, gaols become considered as hospitals," writes Mr. Recorder Hill, "and when consequently they and all persons connected with them, are relieved from the degrading associations which have ever connected themselves with the mere indicators of pain, any amount of suffering, which is felt to be essential to the reformatory process, will no more excite jealousy of the law, or dislike towards those who administer it, than is now felt towards the surgeon who amputates a limb, or performs any other painful operation."

The number of days on bread and water, with or without

solitary confinement, or the number of strokes to a flogging, should be left to the discretion of the governor or manager; but, in all cases requiring severe punishment, the surgeon ought to be consulted—not as to the expediency of the punishment—but as to its probable effect upon the prisoner's health or constitution. We need not have the least fear, that the governor would abuse his authority, in this respect, no more than in any other. The more discretionary power a man in such a situation has the better, and hence it is of paramount importance to have a man to whom so much discretionary power can be *safely* confided. We have frequently heard refractory characters say, "sure all he (the governor) can do is, give me three days in the dark cell—can he do any more?" There is every reason to believe, that such a person, in his own mind, must have previously compared the amount of pain, which the governor had power to inflict, with the pleasure that would be felt in the satisfaction of committing the crime, and that he considered he was making a very good bargain; but, had the Governor's power not been limited, the crime would not have been committed in several of these cases, and in others, we are quite sure, at least, the offence would not have been so aggravated. How is it, we would ask our readers, that a prisoner, who had been grossly insolent and violent in his conduct, in the presence of the governor, is as meek as a lamb before a director? The one can inflict only three days solitary confinement, with bread and water diet; *the other has power to flog*. Let us not be told, that flogging is inhuman. Flogging is inhuman when administered *when it might not*; but, when every available means have been tried—kindness, remonstrance, private admonitions, punishment diet, solitary confinement and irons; when these all fail, is it inhuman to flog? Will we not, in extreme cases, administer severe chastisement to our own dear little ones, though our hearts should bleed at the infliction. But love and duty should overmaster our feelings. "By a reformatory system," writes Mr. Recorder Hill, "we understand one in which all the pain endured strictly arises from the means, found necessary to effect a moral cure."

A system is made up of a number of parts, many of which are mutually depending upon each other, and any one of which being wanted, renders the system incomplete; hence the necessity of having all the parts, composing a system, in

perfect order, so that full force may, at any time, be brought to bear or concentrated upon a certain part, to be worked out through its influence.

Timid people—many of the warmest supporters of the reformatory principle—may not consider it wise to allow the governor so much authority, fearing lest he should *ever* abuse it—a feeling which arises from the highest and holiest motive Christianity could suggest—protection of the rights of our fellow creatures from the tyranny of those placed in authority over them—but let us assure our dear friends, brothers and sisters in the big field of philanthropy, that this fear is wholly groundless, and we call upon these ladies and gentlemen, who have had practical experience of the working of prisons and other Reformatory Institutions, to bear witness to the justice of our assertion. *When the right man is in the right place, under the blessing of God, we have nothing to fear.* It is only in the choice of a man, for the all important work, we have reason to be apprehensive; but we have no doubt the right man is to be found—we must spare no pains in searching for him. Beware of the “new-hatched unfledged” candidate. The tried man—the man who “was tried and not found wanting,” is the man. A person not thoroughly acquainted with this subject, might imagine that cases, requiring extreme punishment, will be a very frequent occurrence in a Juvenile Reformatory Institution. Extreme cases will occur, but under proper management, of which we will say something more, such cases will scarcely ever occur. We were merely providing for the worst, for which it is right to be always prepared. We promise our readers, that the *birch* will be very seldom called into requisition.

In dealing with children, as well as with grown-up people, particularly children upon whom we have to effect a change for good, reproof and remonstrance will be frequently necessary, in fact, it will be nearly the whole work. For our experience we cannot too highly recommend *privacy*, when admonishing or remonstrating—its effect is most powerful for good, but in *public* it frequently produces an effect directly opposite. A public reproof always wounds the vanity of the person to whom it is directed; it is unkind in the first place, and in the next place, it tends to weaken the power of shame, *the loss of which has brought thousands to lead an infamous life.* These natural feelings have been given to us, by the Almighty for an excellent



purpose, but, like our other passions and desires, they require the delicate hand of the cultivator to prune them and guide their growth. We would particularly caution those, entrusted with the care of youth, to abstain as much as possible, from the language of sarcasm, or any other calculated to hurt the feelings of children. Such a course, instead of winning their affections, creates a downright dislike—in fact, a hatred. The idea of a person reforming children whom they dislike, is out of the question, or even a person whom they cannot *love*. Always aim at gaining the affections, and be just as attentive to their wants and as respectful of their feelings as a polite—not a ridiculous—person would be to ladies in a drawing-room; in fact, anticipating their wants and evincing the highest respect for their feelings. Mr. Arthur Hill, with whom we fully concur, writes:—

“To gain the respect of his pupils, he must be rigidly careful to respect them; to maintain a strict regard for their rights; to remember that their feelings are easily excited; to abstain, therefore, at all times, from the language of contempt, sarcasm, and invective; to remember that dulness and ignorance are objects of pity, not of ridicule. When reproof or remonstrance is really necessary, let it be given, so far as practicable, in private; both that public shame may be avoided, and because private admonitions almost always produce a stronger and purer effect. Indeed, so important do I hold this principle of privacy, that I earnestly recommend, as a general rule, that whatever communication is intended for a single pupil, however indifferent may be its nature, should as far as practicable, be directed to his ear alone: this precaution will very often of itself prevent a first letting-out of the waters of life.

Again, if the master be acting on a misconception, privacy better enables him to arrive at the truth, and renders it easier for him to retrieve his error. This latter I would advise him always to do fully and frankly. Under whatever circumstances he may have committed an injustice, under those same circumstances let him make his retraction and express his regret. I can say, from long experience that he will not therefore stand lower in either the esteem or affection of his pupils.

Not satisfied with the mere respect of his pupils, he should seek their love. If he have not a corresponding feeling in his own bosom, let him strive to acquire it, by acting as if he had; listening with patience to their desires and complaints, providing for their comfort, and aiding them in their difficulties. Let him remember, that it will not suffice to seek their good, on the most important points only, and that his efforts, for their improvement, will often fail of awakening affection, unless accompanied with kindness of manner, kindness on those points, where it is most readily understood and felt. All this

involves much effort, much concession, much forbearance,—in a word, much sacrifice; but the reward is great, viz. such a place, in the hearts of his pupils, as will prevent distrust and misconception, bring his mind and theirs into closer contact and more perfect unison, and, in a thousand ways, conduce to his efficiency and their advantage."

These remarks are not merely for the manager, they are intended for those who have the care of children; they are equally applicable to parents as well as to the lowest officer in a Juvenile Reformatory Institution. If the governor or manager feels the pressing necessity for observing these things himself, he must also feel the importance of compelling his officers to be equally cautious, in their intercourse with the children, under their charge. For this purpose, he should be always willing to lend an attentive ear to their complaints against the officers. Even should the complaint be groundless, the greatest pains ought to be taken to satisfy the accuser, by explaining to him the groundlessness of his charge, and impressing upon him the danger of doing an injustice; but in case the complaint was malicious, a private admonition will seldom be found to fail, in producing a healthier tone of mind. The officer accused should never be made aware of the charge against him, unless it was substantiated, nor then if it could possibly—that is, without doing an injustice—be withheld. The reason is obvious. Every care should be taken to prevent a bad feeling from springing up between the inmates of a school or prison, and the officers placed over them.

As it is quite evident, that an officer's *word* must be taken in preference to a prisoner's, it would be well, if reports or complaints against prisoners were given in writing, which ports to be copied into a "Conduct Book" and filed, and which the officer should be liable to be called upon, at any time, to prove upon oath. If this were done, it would be very seldom found necessary to bring the officer and the accused, face to face, one to say one thing, and the other to say another. One or the other must, it is clear, be violating truth—if the prisoner, what will be the officer's feelings towards him for endeavoring to stigmatize him as a liar; and if the officer, the case is infinitely worse—a good feeling never could exist between them afterwards. It may be objected, that the plan of writing out complaints entails a great waste of time. We entertain very little fears on this head, knowing as we do, that the number of charges against prisoners will, under judicious management,

be very few indeed. This plan is partially practised by the able Governor of the Convict Prison for males at Mountjoy, Dublin, with the most excellent results. Indeed it is to this gentleman that we are indebted for the hint. We strongly recommend the governors of the other prisons to give it, at least, a fair trial, and we confidently expect, they will not discontinue the practice when they see, not only the amount of good produced, but the amount of evil prevented by it.

It is with the utmost timidity, that we commence the next part of our paper ; if we say anything displeasing or out of place, we trust it will be ascribed to an over earnestness on our part, rather than to a disposition to meddle with what we ought not ; we mean the Chaplain's duties and qualifications to perform them. Before we go further, we beg the attention of Gaol Chaplains to the following observations, by the Rev. Joseph Kingsmill, A.M., Chaplain of Pentonville Prison, London :—

“ In your chaplains, look for the same qualifications, combined with an ‘aptness to teach,’ and the well-earned reputation of the pains-taking pastor, especially amongst the lower classes and the poor. There are many such in your manufacturing towns and elsewhere. Beware of formalists and ceremonialists. There is acting enough among criminals.”

“ The evil to be apprehended now, is the invasion of the governor's province by the chaplain, from over-earnestness in his profession, or a wrong estimate of his position and duties. Discretion is not always the companion of zeal, nor good common sense of undoubted talent or genuine piety. Some chaplains, conscious of their moral superiority, aim at what does not belong to them in a prison—official pre-eminence ; or, mistaking their vocation, intermeddle with matters of mere discipline ; or, as if they had not responsibility enough in the exercise of their own most onerous duties, seem anxious to take upon them that of governor, and others even in higher authority. These are very great mistakes, and they are too common, producing in many gaols, disputings and bickerings, which turn off attention from weighty matters, and end in mutual distrust and ill-will. By such means, a minister of religion assuredly loses his proper influence. As an order of men, it must be confessed, we are dogmatical and intolerant of others' opinions, above most classes, whether from our occupying the chair of the lecturer and instructor so continually, or from the deference so freely paid to us as clergymen, or from both these causes.”

The following extract from the same admirable author claims special consideration :—\*

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\* Our Irish Gaol Chaplains would do well to purchase those most excellent works on Prisoners and Prison Discipline by their English brethren.

"The highest far of all our duties is, beyond question, the full and faithful exercise of 'the ministry of reconciliation, as ambassadors of Christ,' to the poor people committed to our charge, in the pulpit and the cell. If this be not interfered with, we have the greatest power for good placed in our hands, and may well bear with many hinderances and disagreeables in other things. If this our ministry be thoroughly entered into, a thousand offices of sympathy and kindness towards our flock will follow, and ~~resort~~ again, with God's blessing, upon their spiritual condition.

To discipline and improve the intellectual capacities of the prisoner, by education, books, and every available means, is a high duty of a chaplain, and a most interesting one.

A more difficult task than either to the faithful chaplain—yet one that cannot be dispensed with—is formally to report on all matters coming legitimately before him, to those under whom he is placed, and who have the supreme direction of affairs. In this delicate work, he should keep himself aloof from all party feeling, or prejudice in favour of this or that system, and be above every species of exaggeration. Where other officers are concerned, he should deal frankly with them, as circumstances occur and give opportunity of explanation, and by no means treasure up grievances for some favourable occasion. If important, they should have been noticed at once. He should conceal nothing in his reports in connexion with religion, or morals, or education, in the prison, or with the treatment of the prisoner, which the authorities ought to know, and cannot know otherwise. In no part of his duty, will he find more need of prudence and caution, combined with fearlessness of personal consequences. Having faithfully reported, he transfers the burden to other shoulders, and may return, with satisfaction, to his blessed and honourable work. An assistant-chaplain has not the responsibility of reporting, unless to his principal, or when in complete charge of the prisoners, or when called upon by the governing body."

As the seven-eighths of our criminals, at least in Ireland, are ignorant of the meanings of the simplest words in the language, it would be useless to address them even in the ordinary conversational style. Not only the simplest words, but the simplest and shortest sentences must be employed, in conveying instruction or advice. And the teacher, whether religious or literary, should not be content with even doing this. Constant questioning is most essential to see if what has been told them be really understood. Familiar illustrations will aid very much the understanding; but care should be taken to make them appropriate, otherwise they may serve rather to embarrass than help the understanding. Intellectual teaching is as essential in religion as in education. Whether we are advising or instructing, we should always appeal to the understanding. We do not mean, that any person can be

made to understand a "mystery of religion," but can he not understand why he is expected to believe it? Neither do we expect that dogmas can be explained so as to be understood; but we do expect, that what they learn they will understand, and what they believe, they will be able to give a reason for, not in parrot style, but becoming an intellectual being; and surely this is not impossible.

The Chaplain of a prison has one great advantage over any other officer—he has the unlimited confidence of the great majority of the prisoners, from the very moment of their reception. On this account, he could do an immense service both to the prison and prisoners, by holding private conversation with each prisoner in turn. One instructive conversation in private being, in our opinion, worth fifty public sermons to the prisoner. Such a process is slow, we admit, but it is the fastest. These conversations may, frequently with advantage, turn to worldly subjects. This is, we presume, what the Directors of Convict Prisons mean by "individualization." We fully concur with the directors in the belief, that this is the secret of success. We are delighted to find the Honorary Governor of the Preventive and Reformatory Institution, 19 New Road, near Gower-street, north, London, has made it a rule to spend half-an-hour daily, in this way instructing the boys of his reformatory.

The following extract is taken from Rev. J. Field's excellent work on Prison Discipline. It clearly proves the necessity for INDIVIDUALIZATION :—

"Under the system of association, which recognised no variety of character, admitted little difference in the penal treatment, and afforded very few opportunities for individual instruction—of course this particular information was of comparatively little value; but its importance can scarcely be overrated now that the isolation of criminals permits the adaptation of punishment to circumstances, and allows discipline to be varied, in its application, as the disposition and conduct may require.

The following observations of the Inspectors of Prisons for the Home district, confirm the above remarks :—'It is plain that, if the reformation or intimidation of the convict ought to be the aim and object of his treatment while in confinement, this purpose can only be rationally and successfully pursued, by discovering, as soon as possible, what is the peculiar cast or frame of mind of the prisoner; what are his capacities, wants, feelings, and inclinations; and by suiting the treatment which he is, to receive, and the behaviour and conduct of those who visit him, to the character which he appears

to bear. Unless this be done, the whole process of penal discipline is a mere game of chance, or rather an absurd and abortive pursuit of an end, without the employment of any likely means. We do not think it possible to overstate the importance of bearing in mind this consideration. The efficacy of a sound system may be safely said to depend upon the accuracy and facility with which it discovers the temper and character of the prisoner, and upon the facility and effect with which it adapts itself to the exigency of the case. The endless diversities of human character require appropriate treatment.

The author of an interesting pamphlet on 'Reformatory Punishments,' just published, observes on this subject, that—'As for every detail in a rule of action, a specific adaptation in the agent is requisite, so no such adaptation is complete, without an equally varied remedy, for every possible interruption. Therefore, no code of remedies is perfect, unless it be capable of particular application to all possible accidents to its subject—that is, unless it has a corresponding reaction on every possible action of the law it applies to. 'A remedy,' says Arnold, 'in itself good for one particular symptom, may do harm rather than good to the whole case, if applied alone; or, if not mischievous, it may be inefficient.' \* \* \* Nor less erroneous must be the idea that punishment, fit for men in one state, must be fit for men in a different state; or that any general rules can be laid down for the proper character of punishment under all circumstances. Burlamaqui has observed, that it is obvious, wherever laws are prescribed, there must be a fitness of agency, or they lose their application; and a power to check resistance, or they lose their obligativeness. He adds—'And the same sort of punishment does not make the same impression on all kinds of people, consequently has not the same force to deter them from vice. We ought, therefore, to consider both in the general penal sanction, and in its application—the person of the criminal, and all those qualities which increase or diminish the sense of particular punishments.'

For the purpose of "individualizing" a knowledge of phrenology would be most valuable, though not indispensable, to those having the education of youth, whether that education be intellectual, moral, or religious. Captain Maconochie's remarks, on Mr. Combe's paper, being so full and perfect, in expressing our own views on this important subject, that we consider it quite unnecessary for us to dwell further upon this matter, but respectfully invite attention to the Captain's own expressive language.

#### REMARKS ON MR. COMBE'S PAPER.

In the following observations on Mr. Combe's article, I waive the question of the truth of phrenology—I believe in this, and in its practical use and value *in its place*; but here it is merely a *means* to an end, that end being the full appreciation of the characters of Prisoners by their Governors and others in charge of them—I doubt, in my own mind, if it would even effect this.—It only shews tenden-

cies; and character may be, and in almost all cases is, so modified by after circumstances, that organism is but an imperfect guide to its correct appreciation.—The best tendencies are frequently overcome by temptation, and the worst get occasionally so fortunately directed as to be compatible not only with the absence of criminality, but even with a high moral standing. Mr. Combe in all his writings, but in none more than this, overlooks or undervalues the full force of this fact.—But assuming even that Phrenology could do all for him that he here claims, I dispute the value that he attaches to the acquisition.—A minute knowledge and appreciation of the character of the individual prisoners would not be a good foundation for their collective management, and on the contrary, would lead to endless mistakes, injustice, and at length confusion, or, it might be, rebellion among them.

The conclusions drawn from it could never be palpable to the mass of lookers-on, and their justice would therefore be constant matter of dispute; complaints of partiality, prejudice, inequality, and so forth, would be thus endless.—They would be so even if the decisions were always correct; but this could not be hoped for; and when they erred, direct injustice would of necessity ensue, sometimes in favour of an individual prisoner, sometimes to his prejudice. And the injury thus done would extend far beyond the individuals.—The very Law would be called in question through it.—It would become unequal, uncertain, often capricious, and never founded on appreciably fixed principles.—I can conceive nothing more vague even in theory than such a system, nor in practice more embarrassing and unsatisfactory.

I am yet, as I have said, a believer in Phrenology, and concede fully, that as a *supplementary agent*, in the hands of an intelligent Governor, and still more Chaplain, guiding and regulating their demeanour and addresses to individual prisoners, encouraging some, checking others, appealing to one sentiment preferably to others with one, to another with another, and so on, it would be found a most excellent and valuable adjunct.—I have used it thus with many myself, and with success.—But a general system should not be so guided.—It should rest on *one or two fixed principles* easily to be understood and appreciated by all, capable of being worked with little chance of error even by coarse hands, conveying a strong impulse to every one, whatever the diversities of the individuals to whom addressed, and by which all may thus reasonably be required to be guided.—And this function is in existing circumstances discharged by caution.—Fear, producing implicit obedience; for which in the mark system I propose to substitute “the desire to better ourselves,” or, as it may be termed “self-interest,”—a principle quite as instinctive as Fear, more powerful, for it habitually overcomes it, which is also a healthy, vigour-inspiring principle, changing its object with every step made in advance under its influence, which thus may raise from the lowest depths of abasement, as in criminals, to the highest principles of social ambition, and which thus in ordinary life, under Divine arrangement, keeps all human nature active and progressive, and cannot therefore be misplaced when we

seek, in humble imitation, to elevate the lowest; whereas Fear is a low, grovelling, depressing principle, enfeebling and deteriorating all *much*, or *long* under its active influence.—And this effect is so palpable in prisoners as at present managed, that it is even a proverb, “Once a prisoner always one,”—the manly heart being so cowed and extinguished, the power of self-guidance so gone, the dependence on direction to regulate conduct so implicit, the moral weakness superinduced so absolute, and possibly the evil passions otherwise so irritated, that the man goes floundering on, poisoned and poisoning, till Transportation, natural death, or the Gallows alone, terminate a career to which this sad bent has been given (possibly despite of an originally average, or even favorable organism) by the consequences of a very slight youthful indiscretion.—I have seen many such examples.

And this philosophy seems to me at once indisputable, and to lie really very much on the surface; and it is extraordinary that in spite of this Self-Interest, is not only neglected as a principle in our ordinary Prison Discipline, but *systematically* excluded from it.—Prisoners are all placed on a level in it. No laziness or indifference to improvement can make their situation materially worse, nor any effort either improve it, or shorten its duration, or in any other way advantage the individual exhibiting it. Some exception to this is now beginning to be made in the Government Gangs, concluding a long course of punishment, and preparing men to return to social life. But these are in existing circumstances, for the most part already hopelessly reduced. They are rendered prudent and plausible under this training, but not virtuous, and may thus be expected often to relapse. But why should not the same principle be brought to act on them while yet young and curable, in the County and Borough, in this point of view, Elementary Prisons which receive offenders in the beginning of their several careers? Why indeed? Because Penal Philosophers and the Public generally are still on the wrong road in regard to Prisoners, seeking present coercion and obedience rather than permanent improvement. They thus still greatly want the Leaders of the Press to guide their way—and both reason on the subject and expatiate on the advantages they may gain by following it,—the lower classes from which prisoners mostly come, improved *generally* by their return among them *reclaimed* instead of having been made worse.

*Carrisbrooke, 15th June, 1855.*

A. MACONOCHE.

The Chaplain could do a great deal, in removing the suspicion, with which criminals generally view any show of kindness, on the part of the officers, or in subduing that inveterate spirit of opposition which is to be found in most prisoners. In this way, the Chaplain would act as pioneer, and his services in this respect would be invaluable. We do not ask it for the sake of the officers, or with a view to their ease; no, we ask it for the sake of the common object of all—the reformation of the



unfortunate criminal. Let us hope, that there will be no splitting of hairs, no petty jealousy, no private animosity, no bickering between one officer and another, but that each will forget every thing but the one grand object—the salvation of those over whom he is placed. Let it never be forgotten, that unless the officers work harmoniously together, the best system loses its efficiency. The effectiveness of a system, like that of an army, does not depend so much upon the individual strength or efficiency of its parts, as upon the compactness or unity of the whole.

We have written at considerable length, in a previous part of our paper, upon the quality of education which prevents crime. We now come to examine how and where the quality of men, to whom the education of our criminals ought to be entrusted, can be found. Our schoolmasters have been neglected, and, consequently, we find a difficulty in securing competent persons for the peculiar duties of prison schools. There has been no demand, and hence there has been no supply. We do not mean that the present teachers of our national and popular schools are incompetent for the situations they hold. The best of these men, although most efficient in an ordinary school, where they have to deal with boys comparatively innocent, would be found, when placed over our "Home Heathens," quite unequal to the task. A teacher who would be efficient in such a situation, must make human character a study for years, besides having a long practical experience of the working of a school attended by this class of children; he must be of a mind so constituted as to become more zealous and energetic from meeting with difficulties,—acquiring more taste for the profession the more laborious it becomes—in fact he must have a mission. Mr. Turner, of the Philanthropic Institution at Redhill, writes, referring to this subject:—

"He who has been used to schools where all are young, where all are assembled for a given time for the specific object of instruction, and from which the disorderly and mischievous are usually, after a trial, expelled, is very apt to be at a nonplus in a school where all are originally, and at first, "*bad subjects*," where many are fifteen, or sixteen, or seventeen years of age, where he has to govern as well as teach, where he has his work always going on, his judgment, his knowledge of character, his skill in management, constantly called out and exercised."

Let our readers not think or suppose, that such men can be had for niggard pay, or that young men of the material which

we require, in teachers of prison or reformatory schools, will, in choosing a profession, embrace one from which neither they, nor their families can expect anything but poverty. Will we allow one of our sons to embark in a business, no matter how much we desire to go according to his taste and inclination, if we see persons, in that business, nothing better off than a groom in a nobleman's stable. "The Prussian government," writes Mr. Kay, "feels that, unless it can render the profession honorable and worthy of men of high characters and attainments, all its attempts to raise the religious and moral tone of the education of the people, will be ever unavailing." The fact is, men who were *born* to be instructors of youth, *naturally* endowed with the qualifications which we *want*, have sacrificed their taste for a beggarly profession, and embarked in some other more remunerative. And this state of things must go on, until the condition of the teacher is ameliorated. Let us pay our teachers, if not with a view to adequately compensating the present staff, at least to hold out an inducement to the young man of right bone and sinew, physically and mentally capacitated, to join the ranks of prison and reformatory school teachers. Well does Dean Dawes observe :—

"The difficulty is in finding qualified teachers, but let them once be properly remunerated, and society made to feel and estimate at its proper value the real worth of a sound practical education, preparing them for the duties of this life as well as for a future existence, this difficulty will cease, and qualified teachers will soon be found: nor is it too much to expect from the most advanced nation in the world as to its political and social constitution, science and wealth, that it should grant a liberal allowance to the education of its youth. Were it to do so, the gain, even in a pecuniary point of view, would, in the end, be great, independent of those moral considerations which ought never to be lost sight of."

We really cannot understand or ascertain why schoolmasters, in the English prisons, are paid double the salaries of schoolmasters in the Irish prisons. Surely we cannot reasonably expect even so great, not to speak of greater, results from the Irish teacher than from him, more fortunately situated, in the sister island. Instead of thinking that the English schoolmaster is too well paid, we believe, in common with many of our contemporaries, that the English teacher's condition is too much neglected. We have been strengthened in this opinion from the fact, that many English patrons of schools—National Schools—have applied to the Commissioners of Education, in

Ireland to recommend them Irish teachers. It is clear that, could these gentlemen have found schoolmasters in England for the money, they would not have given themselves the trouble of sending to Ireland. Can we get efficient men, for *any* situation, without offering good pay? Why then expect schoolmasters,—men solely depending on their own labour? We only say that such an expectation is simply absurd. Mr. Turner, whom we have already quoted, writes:—

“The next question to be answered is, from what class, and by what means, can masters fitted to superintend reformatory schools be found? A question presenting, at present, by far the most numerous, and the most serious difficulties of any that beset the subject; because, on the one hand, reformatory agency is almost a new thing amongst us, and the number of those who have had any experience in it is still very small; and because on the other, the qualifications that make a man a really able workman in the cause, are so different from those that are required to fit the schoolmaster for any other branch of training and instruction.”

It has been remarked, however justly we do not venture to say, that the majority of our teachers of both private and public schools, if not quite insane, are more or less bordering upon insanity. Insane teachers appear to us almost a contradiction in terms. But if there are such at present to be found—or even such men as can only boast of an absence of any gradation of insanity—the farther they are kept away from children, but especially criminal children or adults, the better. A knowledge of human character we hold to be a qualification indispensably necessary, not only for schoolmasters, but for all superior officers, in a Prison or other Reformatory Institution. The vanity of the schoolmaster is proverbial. Now we know full well that no man is without his vanity—

“The love of praise, howe’er conceal’d by art,  
Reigns more or less, and glows, in ev’ry heart.”

We object only to that vanity which shows itself in vaunting, strutting, or bellowing—attempting a pun or joke at another’s expense, particularly at a pupil’s; an affected dignified tone of voice, with a strong inclination to strain a point, for the purpose of pompously lecturing, or admonishing those not pupils. We have seen teachers of the present day indulge now and then in this way; but, in justice to the great bulk of our teachers, it

must be admitted, that these instances have been very infrequent. What schoolmasters are generally deficient in, are a knowledge of the world and a knowledge of men: their qualifications are in general limited to a knowledge of books, and the method of teaching or imparting what is contained in these books. We wish to address ourselves now particularly to schoolmasters. Do you wish to be respected? The more you know the greater respect will you command—and *vice versa*. "Nothing," observes Dr. Johnson, "has so much exposed men of learning to contempt and ridicule, as their ignorance of things which are known to all but themselves. Those who have been taught to consider the institutions of the schools, as giving the last perfection to human abilities, are surprised to see men wrinkled with study, yet wanting to be instructed in the minute circumstances of propriety, or the necessary forms of daily transactions; and quickly shake off their reverence for modes of education which they find to produce no ability above the rest of mankind." Would you wish to be called a pedant? "Pedantry, in the common sense of the word, means an absurd ostentation of learning, and stiffness of phraseology, proceeding from a misguided knowledge of books, and a total ignorance of men." "Books," says Bacon, "can never teach the use of books. The student must learn by commerce with mankind to reduce his speculations to practice, and accommodate his knowledge to the purposes of life."

Unless the schoolmaster has received a sound English education, and has his heart in the work, we fear very much for his success in a Prison or Reformatory school. He will have tough material to work out—material that will every day test his patience, his energy, and his tact. Above all, he must take the greatest pains to impress upon his pupils a correct sense of "right" and "wrong." It is really inconceivable what a perverted sense criminals have of right and wrong. In fact, their whole career of crime is traceable to this. Conversational lectures, if carried on with judgment, would be most effectual in sifting the criminal's ideas of things, and would render it easy to steal away the chaff, while the wheat could be quietly stored up in its stead. "He should endeavour," writes Dean Dawes, "to make them open and straightforward in their conduct, and on all occasions to speak the truth—to get rid of all those feelings of low cunning which are too pre-

valent in the labouring classes—to be an example himself of open, manly, and straightforward conduct.” The Dean is speaking here of the English, but what is the English to the Irish in point of low cunning?—not the one-twentieth part. The teacher of criminals, whether juveniles or adults, must not forget, that his business does not consist in *moulding* the minds of his pupils, but in *re-casting* them. It has been very justly observed, that it is easy to *teach* but difficult to *unteach*. The teacher of criminals, before he commences to teach, must *unteach*.

Miss Carpenter, writing of the class of instructors who should be selected to carry out the principles of Reformatory treatment, in Schools for Juvenile Delinquents, states :

“ To do so effectually, a very high character, very peculiar powers of teaching, and patient persevering endurance are necessary. Too low a standard at present exists of the requisites for this office, which we deem a very high and honorable one. The salaries too often offered to such an instructor, would be rejected with scorn by a skilful mechanic ; and yet the one is to mould into beauty and utility material nature only, the other to fashion the spirit of man, God’s noblest work. The master of a school for these children is not only to communicate that mental culture which is needed in all schools, but to aim particularly at the eradication of those spiritual evils which have already made frightful progress. ‘ They that are whole need not a physician, but they that are sick ;’ in proportion to the danger and inveteracy of the disease, we seek out the most skilful medical aid ; so to heal the deep-seated mental malady of these poor children, we must seek the most excellent master. To find such as are suited to these schools is difficult, partly from the smallness of the remuneration generally offered, and the low estimation in which this office is held ;—partly because there are really few who are qualified to fill it. There are many who are admirable masters of the ordinary public schools, who could not, even if they would, efficiently conduct these.”

We have written thus far upon the qualifications of Prison Schoolmasters, because we feel that they and the chaplains are invaluable agents, in effecting a reformation amongst our criminals.

It is hard to procure a governor—hard to get a chaplain—hard to get a schoolmaster, but the greatest difficulty which has presented itself, is the procuring of properly qualified trades’ instructors. Tradesmen are, in general, almost without exception, the lowest men in creation—lower than servants, lower than labourers, lower than pot-boys—we mean the operative

class. One bad man, holding authority over, and having intercourse with, juvenile criminals, would do more harm in one day, than the efforts of the governor, chaplain and schoolmaster, would be able to counteract in a week.

The trades' instructors should not be allowed to remain with those placed under them, without having a superior officer present to see that no improper language is spoken. The superior officer to be held responsible for the *morality*, and the trade instructor for the *industrial progress* of the lads. In this way, the officers' duties would not *clash*, and both could work vigorously, each in his own sphere. Mr. Bengough writes:—"In practice it will not be found, that there is very much talking during work, and its permission will be amply repaid, by the greater freedom of intercourse which will grow up between the boys and those who superintend their labours. On them a great deal of the success which may be hoped for will depend, which makes it the more important that their appointment and removal should rest entirely with the responsible manager of the institution. Their manner should be firm but kind. They should seek to encourage those who were doing their best, but felt their lack of skill; and for their own sake, as well as for the example which they should show the boys, they should be actual workers with them."

The boys' own tastes should be consulted before putting them to learn trades—we do not object to two or three trades being taught, but we would wish to see the great bulk of our young criminals working on a farm properly cultivated. It must be borne in mind, that Ireland is an agricultural, not a manufacturing nation. We want intelligent farmers, and strong, sober and hard-working laborers. The more the land is cultivated scientifically, the more the national wealth will be increased. One or two of these young men, trained at the Model Farm of the Education Commissioners, and recommended by that Board, might be employed as bailiffs or agriculturists to superintend the working of the farm. The allotment system, if carried into effect, would produce a spirit of emulation amongst the boys in the working of each plot of ground, which would be highly beneficial to the boys themselves, by giving them habits of industry and self-reliance, without which a lasting reformation is impossible. This system is adopted on the Model Garden, Glasnevin, and has been carried on, with most excel-

lent results, in Mr. Adderley's Reformatory,\* near Birmingham, conducted by Mr. Ellis.

People in general expect a great deal from criminals. They are shocked to hear of their indolence and hypocrisy, but if these persons would suppose themselves criminals, locked up in a prison, suffering the penalty of the law, without any motive to industry, and with a strong motive to hypocrisy, they may get a somewhat clearer notion of what ought to be looked for from persons so situated. Place the most industrious man in a situation where he cannot get or expect the result of his labor—and will he work? He may, in a desultory manner—half idleness and half work—the essential ingredient—earnestness, being wanting. Will the fear or dread of punishment in any form give that? “A willing mind is half the work,” and “where there’s a will there’s a way.” The man who has an *interest* in his work may, probably he will, have an earnestness to do it, but one who has no interest in his work, is sure to have no earnestness whatever, or even the least inclination to perform it. This is quite *natural*, and it is folly to oppose nature. “If we cannot turn the wind, (and who will attempt it?) we must turn the mill sails” (which will amount to just the same thing). The fact is, criminals give us a great deal of annoyance, before they are committed at all to prison, and we very naturally give ourselves very little trouble to examine what is best to be done with them when imprisoned, but content ourselves with saying, it is no great loss what becomes of the ruffians, let the authorities do with them just as they please, it’s no affair of ours. Nothing could be more natural, we admit; but true wisdom does not consist in allowing ourselves to be led by our natural

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\* Certain parties have said, that this Institution has been ruined by Mr. Ellis’ over indulgence, because two or three of the boys belonging to his Reformatory were brought before the Recorder for thefts committed by them, when sent of messages to Birmingham by Mr. Ellis. Now in this case we see the *worst phase*, which we could not, were the boys kept under *strict discipline*—in that case, we should see only the *best phase*. And out of the whole number in the Institution, where *all* had the same opportunity of acting wrong, only *two or three* took it as their *choice* to do *evil*. It seems to us that Mr. Ellis’ plan is to try *all*—trust *all*—out of these, two or three break trust—is there not a moral certainty that a genuine reformation has been effected upon the remainder—and what has De-metz done more? We have seen Mr. Ellis’ Reformatory, we have examined it most minutely, we have seen it in working order, and observed its results, and nothing could have afforded us greater satisfaction. In fact, we saw no institution of the kind in England more admirably conducted.

feelings. The Almighty has given us reason to guide us, and shall we not exercise our noblest faculty in solving this problem, a problem which concerns us so much, in fact *the* problem of the present day.

Give a prisoner an interest in his work, pay him for what he does, deducting of course his expense to the public, and placing the balance of his industry to his credit, to be paid him upon his discharge, and we venture to predict, that in a short time the appearance of the prisoners at work will assume quite a different aspect. Out of this balance sell him even luxuries if he wishes to purchase them, but the amount for this purpose should be limited to a certain per centage on the overplus. Mr. Turner writes :—

“ A system of small earnings, or rewards for labour, varying according to the boy's industrial exertion, from one penny to fourpence or fivepence per week, will allow of a system of small fines or penalties, for all the lighter classes of misconduct, and make the boy his own regulator, giving him a direct interest in his good or bad behaviour. If it be arranged that sundry little luxuries, such as coffee for breakfast, treacle with his pudding for dinner, sweets, fruit, postage stamps, knives, neck handkerchiefs, Sunday caps, the journey home when allowed to go for a holiday to see his friend, &c., be all paid for by the boy himself out of these same earnings, and be diminished or interfered with therefore by the fines which folly, or disobedience, or bad temper involve, the power of the system as an instrument of discipline will soon be felt. It contributes most essentially to the teaching the boy what he most needs to learn, *self-control* and *self regulation*. It has been in full action at Red Hill since we began six years ago, and I believe it has been a matter of no small surprise to those who watch and enquire into the daily working of the school, that our boys keep within our boundaries, and observe our rules as to work and discipline so steadily, and with so little interference, or direct compulsion. The secret is, that each boy is responsible for himself, and feels that he has something at stake; that he is doing his own business in fact, and is a gainer or loser by his own act.”

At Parkhurst Prison the boys are allowed plum pudding on Sundays as a reward for industry and good conduct. This may be considered by some as going to an extreme, but we would suggest to the mere *theoretical* reasoner the propriety of abstaining from venturing an opinion, until he first had watched the *practical* working of it, noted the results and carefully examined them. We say with Mr. Recorder Hill, that there is a *science* in this matter, a science hitherto but little understood. It must make its way like all other sciences, by patient



induction. For this reason the learned Recorder felt great pleasure in noticing the *experimental* character of an Institution in London, known as the Home For Outcast Boys, Hungerford Bridge ; and on this same point Captain Maconochie writes :

“The elementary and indispensable step to be taken, then, as I think, in improving prison management, and making the punishment of imprisonment at once formidable outside and improving within, is to make the accommodation and comforts allowed in prisons *of right* the worst possible, consistently with proper seclusion, decency and support of life,—but to enable good conduct and exertion to acquire better and better, as they are progressively more and more signally and steadily displayed. Thus, in the beginning, I would allow nothing but the coarsest brown bread and water for diet, without artificial heat, or gas-light, or bedding beyond a rope-mat and blanket, or accommodation of any other kind beyond the indispensable, in separate cells, visited from time to time by the clergyman and officers of the prison, but by no other, and with only some means of cellular labour for company or employment. In this stage all should remain till they had undergone a fixed probation, performed so much work, and otherwise complied with every prison requisition ; and the task though graduated according to strength, should in every case be made a hard one, the object being to stimulate exertion by a strong motive. The first removal should then be to another stage, in which a little more comfort should be given, but still with a reserve suited to maintain the impulse thus once imparted ; and thence to a third, a fourth, and so on, always on the same plan. But from each, misconduct should restore again to a lower, or even the lowest position, according to its degree. As exertion and self-command had raised, so must these continue in order to sustain.”

A doctor concludes that his patient has been attacked by a certain disease, from observing certain symptoms, and prescribes accordingly. But if, by some accident, these symptoms were prevented from appearing, he would be quite unable to arrive at any conclusion, and therefore the treatment of the patient must solely be all guess work, left entirely to blind chance, the doctor hopelessly trying this and that, until the poor patient is either killed or cured, but in all probability the former. Hence the necessity, the imperative necessity, that the symptoms should be watched, and instead of sedulously contriving to stifle them, the utmost care should be taken to develop them. The moral physician must be groping in the dark in treating his patients, if full liberty is not allowed for individual action. The existence of a moral disease must with certainty be ascertained, before a moral cure can be applied with success. And as there

are various moral diseases or bad dispositions, so are there various kinds of remedies. But there must in all cases be an appropriateness or adaptation of means to the desired end, and this is *individualisation*. Mr. Field says, that advice and instruction should be suited to the character and circumstances of individual. If so, here again is shown the necessity for allowing full liberty for individual action, as there is no other way of ascertaining every phase of natural disposition. And it should be remarked, that this liberty of action is not at all incompatible with strict but rational discipline, which has for its object reformation, but it is incompatible with that stiff and starched discipline which some fancy is the only discipline which is *strict*, and which has for its object nothing more than an imposing aspect. It looks well to be sure, *but that is all*. "I have already mentioned," writes Mr. Bengough, "full liberty for individual action and the development of individual character, as being almost at the foundation of all which can be truly called reformatory treatment."

A sentence of *reformatory imprisonment* should always be *indefinite*: imprisonment should be contingent upon reformation, just as a lunatic is sent to an asylum, not for any definite period, but *until he is fit to be restored to society*. Mr. Recorder Hall, in a lecture read before the Leeds Mechanics' Institution, goes on to say:—

"What then are we to do with our criminals? *At all events let us hold them fast until we have a reasonable certainty that they will offend no more*: we put our lunatics out of harm's way until they cease to be dangerous, we must put our criminals out of harm's way until they cease to be dangerous."

"But this is a principle which as regards the punishment by imprisonment, seems hitherto to have been entirely lost sight of. All the legislatures, and all the tribunals on the face of the earth, have been endeavouring to apportion different terms of imprisonment by a sort of scale, graduated according to the presumed enormity of the offence, and the guilt of the offender, so that if the offence is a light one, the offender is discharged in a few days, with a moral certainty of his offending again in as many hours, and, if the offence is a grave one, he may be kept in prison for years after a reformation so thorough, that there is a moral certainty of his never offending again. This is retribution; the attempt is to make a man undergo the precise amount of pain which by his misconduct he has deserved, and I freely admit that we must still assert the truth, that sorrow is the inevitable penalty of sin, that for grave offences the punishment must be of sufficient severity, not to shock the public conscience, and

to prevent the retaliations of private vengeance ; but, subject to this qualification, the human tribunal has very little to do with what a man deserves ; human tribunals have not the means of measuring it, and neither judge nor jury dare submit to such an ordeal : the true question seems to be, not ' what amount of punishment does a scoundrel like this deserve ? ' but, ' what amount of punishment will make this scoundrel behave like an honest man ? ' This is the reformatory system."

Truly it is **THE REFORMATORY SYSTEM** in all its wisdom, in its entirety, and in its integrity. Thoroughly and throughly this is **THE REFORMATORY SYSTEM**, and nothing less than this can be considered a fair and just carrying out of the Principle. False friends have sneered at the old and true advocates of the Reformatory System, but in doing so they but raised giants that they might slay them. Mr. Recorder Hill, and Mr. Recorder Power have been the peculiar objects of these covert attacks, but we have the best reason to know, that both these gentlemen agree with Mr. Recorder Hall in his exemplar of **THE REFORMATORY SYSTEM**.

We have already carried our paper to a greater length than at first we contemplated ; we have not, however, exhausted our subject ; it is one which we shall have to refer to again, when our remarks will be directed particularly to the present discipline and management of our Convict Prisons and to the building of new Prisons upon the latest and most improved plans. As the Convict Prisons are the best conducted, and as they are placed immediately under the Government, who are so anxious to carry out every improvement in Prison Discipline, we conceive that our observations will be best directed to those who are able to make further improvements, so that we may ultimately force upon Government the expediency of taking the management of all Prisons into their own hands.\*

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\* We hail with delight a principle on which the Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland are intended to act, knowing as we do the excellent results to the convict service with which its being carried into effect must be attended, as it was to the adoption of the same principle, the Commissioners of Education, in a great measure, owe their success, namely, the PROMOTION OF OFFICERS TO BE CONTINGENT SOLELY ON THEIR OWN GOOD CONDUCT, ABILITY, AND FAITHFUL SERVICE. The Directors write :—

" We hope further, by making the rewards and promotion of the officers contingent solely on their own good conduct, ability, and faithful service, to raise their character and elevate their position generally, and thus to render the situations of warders in the Government prisons more generally sought for by a superior class of the community."

Before closing this paper, we think it right to insert the following table, taken from *The Appendix*, (page 822) of the *Eighteenth Report of Commissioners of National Education in Ireland*. It bears upon our observations regarding the adequate payment of proper Prison School Masters, and shews that in England the Government does not expect to secure the services of worthy masters without suitable remuneration. These masters, referred to in the table, were but the teachers of ordinary school boys; a Prison School Master has to be not alone a literary teacher, but also a moral trainer; his services are two-fold, he has to teach and to *unteach*.

SALARIES, &c., GREENWICH ROYAL HOSPITAL SCHOOLS.

No.	Office.	Fixed Salary.	Minimum Salary.	Annual Advances	Maximum Salary.	Various Allowances.	Apartment, Light and Fuel.
		£ s.	£	£ s.	£	£	
1	Lieutenant . .	100 0	—	—	—	—	—
1	Chaplain, * . .	400 0	—	—	—	29	Yes.
1	Inspector, † . .	100 0	—	—	—	—	—
	NATURAL SCHOOL.						
1	Head Master, . .	—	300	10 0	400	29	Yes.
1	Second " . .	—	120	10 0	220	5	Do.
1	Third " . .	—	110	7 10	170	—	in lieu £40.
1	Assistant, . .	—	80	5 0	120	—	Do.
	UPPER SCHOOL.						
1	Head Master, . .	—	290	10 0	350	29	Yes.
1	Second " . .	—	120	7 10	195	5	Do.
1	Third " . .	—	115	7 10	180	5	Do.
1	Fourth " . .	—	75	5 0	100	—	in lieu £40.
1	Assistant, . .	75 0	—	—	—	—	Do.
	LOWER SCHOOL.						
1	Head Master, § . .	—	250	10 0	300	29	Yes.
1	Second "    . .	—	120	7 10	180	—	in lieu £40.
1	Third " . .	—	105	7 10	150	—	Do.
1	Fourth " . .	—	80	5 0	120	—	Do.
1	Assistant, . .	—	75	5 0	120	—	Do.
1	Do. " . .	—	75	5 0	100	—	Do.
1	Reading " . .	—	125	7 10	200	—	—
18	Pupil Teachers, . .	—	—	—	—	—	—
1	Organist, . .	100 0	—	—	—	—	—
1	Band Master, . .	60 0	Clothing	—	—	—	—
1	Carpenter, . .	30 0	—	—	—	—	—
8	Drill Masters, Each . .	60 0	Clothing	—	—	—	—
1	Sail Maker, . .	26 10	—	—	—	—	—
2	Riggers, . .	54 0	—	—	—	—	—

\* Also, Half pay.

† Two Visits in the year.

‡ Also, £5 as Librarian, and £10 for extra teaching.

§ Also, £5 as Librarian.

|| £10 for extra teaching.

N.B.—£50 is divided between the four Masters, who instruct the Pupil Teachers. For each Lecture 10s. 6d. is paid, and for each Marine Survey, 10s. Besides those enumerated, there are 52 Tradesmen, Cooks, Nurses, Servants, &c., connected with the Domestic Establishment.

## ART. IV.—JOHN BANIM.

### PART VII.

THE RETURN HOME. LONDON: OLD FRIENDS. LINES TO BANIM BY THE LATE THOMAS HAYNES BAYLY. DUBLIN: MICHAEL BANIM'S DESCRIPTION OF JOHN'S APPEARANCE AND SUFFERINGS. WONDERFUL CHEERFULNESS OF MIND: HEROIC COURAGE. KINDNESS OF IRISH FRIENDS. "DAMON AND PYTHIAS" PLAYED FOR BANIM'S BENEFIT AT HAWKINS' STREET THEATRE. ARRIVAL IN KILKENNY. TAKES POSSESSION OF WIND-GAP COTTAGE: LIFE IN THE COTTAGE: THE "SHANDEREDAN," "THE MAYOR OF WIND-GAP" DRAMATIZED, AND PLAYED FOR BANIM'S BENEFIT, IN KILKENNY, BY GARDINER'S COMPANY. LITERARY LABOR. QUARREL WITH MESSRS. GUNN AND CAMERON, PROPRIETORS OF "THE DUBLIN PENNY JOURNAL:" BANIM'S INDIGNANT LETTER TO THEM. DISTINGUISHED VISITORS AT WIND-GAP COTTAGE. BANIM'S ENTHUSIASM WHEN THE EARL OF MULGRAVE, THE LORD LIEUTENANT, VISITED KILKENNY: THE "SHANDEREDAN" DECORATED, AND BEARING THE INSCRIPTION, "MULGRAVE FOR EVER." A PENSION GRANTED. DESCRIPTION OF A DAY WITH BANIM. "FATHER CONNELL" COMMENCED. VISIT FROM GERALD GRIFFIN. HIS LETTER TO MICHAEL BANIM. THE STAGE DARKENING Ere THE CURTAIN FALLS: THE TREE DYING FROM THE TOP.

" In closing the Sixth Part of this Biography of John Banim, we left him, with his child and his sick wife, at Boulogne.

When Mrs. Banim was pronounced by her physician sufficiently recovered to bear the fatigue of travelling, the poor, broken pilgrim of health, commenced his homeward journey."

He rested some days in London, and the old familiar faces, the friends of earlier, and, amidst all their sorrows, brighter days, gathered around his sofa. Amongst these friends, the late Thomas Haynes Bayly was one of Banim's most attentive and constant visitors, and referring to this period in the life of the two men of genius, a writer in a former number of THE IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW observes:—

" All through life Bayly was on terms of intimacy, or friendship, with most of the literary men of his time; and we find

letters addressed to him from Moore, Rogers, Theodore Hook, Crofton Croker, Galt, and others ; but our countryman, John Banim, whose memory is, like that of all distinguished literary Irishmen—neglected, was his dearest friend. "The last months of Banim's life were dragged out in all the wretchedness of corporeal anguish, which deprived him of all mental energy. He was, at the period of his death, a young man, and bright and buoyant years of life were, in the course of nature, before him ; but hard and early struggles had worn out the body, whilst the spirit was but beginning to burn with that brilliancy of which the latest gleamings were the brightest. He longed for life as only the dying man who feels the fire of genius within him can long ; or as the youth whose flower of health is withering away, hopes for its re-blossoming—to him, indeed, feeling and knowing his own genius, having worked for bread, and having won it, and fame, life was doubly life ; and he must have known but too deeply, that thought of Schiller, which Bulwer Lytton has so beautifully translated—

"Earth and Heaven which such joy to the living one gave

From his gaze darkened dimly!—and sadly and sighing

The dying one shrunk from the Thought of the grave,—

The World, oh ! the World is so sweet to the Dying !"

It was after he had called to see his friend thus expiring that Bayly wrote the following lines :

I.  
I saw him on his couch of pain,  
And when I heard him speak,  
It was of Hope long nurs'd in vain,  
And tears stole down his cheek.  
He spoke of honours early won,  
Which youth could rarely boast ;  
Of high endeavours well begun,  
But prematurely lost.

II.  
I saw him on a brighter day,  
Among the first spring flowers ;  
Despairing thoughts had passed away,  
He spoke of future hours ;

He spoke of health, of spirits freed  
To take a noble aim ;  
Of efforts that were sure to lead  
To fortune and to fame !

III.

They bear him to a genial land,  
The cradle of the weak ;  
Oh ! may it nerve the feeble hand,  
And animate the cheek !  
Oh ! may he, when we meet again,  
Those flattering hopes recall,  
And smiling say—"They were not vain,  
I've realised them all !"

London, even with friends like Bayly, could now offer nothing to the poor, broken, world-weary man, comparable to the quiet beauty of the humble resting place which his fancy had created, and which he hoped to discover amidst the green and leafy scenes of his native place. He quitted London for

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\* See IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, Vol. III. No. 11. p. 686, Art. "Fashion in Poetry and the Poets of Fashion."

ever, and arrived in Dublin, at the close of the month of July, 1835.

"When," writes Michael Banim to us, "I hastened up to Dublin in August, 1835, to meet my brother, I could not at once recognise the companion of my boyhood,—the young man, who, thirteen years before, had been in rude health, robust of body, and in full vigour, could scarcely be identified with the remnant I beheld.

I entered his room unannounced. I found him laid listlessly on a sofa, his useless limbs at full length—his open hand was on the arm of the couch, and his sunken cheek resting on his pillow. I looked down on a meagre, attenuated, almost whiteheaded old man.—I spoke, my voice told him I was near. He started, and leaning on his elbow he looked eagerly into my face. His eyes were unlike what they had been,—there was an appearance of effort in his fixed gaze, I had not seen before—I had been prepared to meet a change, but not prepared for such a change as was now apparent,—we were not long, however, recognising each other, and renewing our old love.

When we thus met, John was the wreck of his former self. He was unable to change his position; dependent altogether on extraneous help.—To remove from one place to another, he should clasp with both his hands the neck of the person aiding him, and sitting on the arms of his assistant, be carried wherever it was necessary to bear him.—He should be conveyed in this manner from the bed to the sofa, and from the sofa elsewhere.—It required expertness more than strength to convey him safely,—and when one unaccustomed to be his carrier, undertook the task, his apprehension of falling effected him strongly.—His extremities hung uselessly from the trunk, and were always cold,—it appeared as if the vital warmth had no circulation through them; and when out of bed, his legs and thighs should be wrapped closely in rugs and furs, or the heat of the upper portion of the body would pass away through them.

No day passed without its term of suffering,—for two, or at most three hours after retiring to bed, he might, with the assistance of opiates, forget himself in sleep,—he was sure to awake, however, after a short repose, screaming loud from the torture he suffered in his limbs, and along his spine: the attack continuing until exhaustion followed, succeeded by, not

sleep, but a lethargy of some hours continuance.—This was not an occasional visitation, but was renewed night after night.—It was not during the hours of darkness only, that he suffered—frequently the pains came on in the day time—after he endured them all night long, if the weather lowered, or the atmosphere pressed heavily, they were present in the day : to say nothing of his decrepitude, few of his hours were free from agony.

The account of one day and night will answer for every succeeding day and night ; the only difference, a greater or lesser degree of torture.—On one occasion, after his establishment at Kilkenny, I visited him about noon, and found him as at the same hour was often the case, languid and drooping after the night and morning—With a melancholy smile he said, as he took my hand.—‘My dear Michael, I can be food for the worms any time I please.—If I wish for death, I need only stay abed, and resign myself to what must inevitably follow.—If I make no effort against my malady, all will be over in three or four days,—I will not act thus, however,—I will live as long as God pleases.—But come, come my honest fellow, let us talk of something cheerful,—cheerful conversation is a balm to me.—The sun is banishing the clouds ; we will have a ride together in the Shanderadan—and look about us, and talk of something else besides my crippled body.’

In the intervals between one attack of pain and another, and when recovered from the consequent exhaustion, the spirit of the enduring man seemed to rebound, as it were, from its prostration.

He cheered up,—his brow relaxed from its compression ; his eye brightened ; and as a smile displaced the contortion of his lip,—and he enjoyed with a high relish, every thing from which he could extract a temporary gleam of pleasure, any thing that could induce a forgetfulness.—The mere negative good ; the absence of actual suffering, was an enjoyment, and he became even mirthful.

In the intermissions of extreme illness his conversation, if I do not judge partially, was very attractive.—His youthful sense of nature’s beauties would return ; and he would become enthusiastic as he pointed out favourite bits of landscape.—He would indulge in pleasant badinage. He would discourse of books and theories, or he would sketch vividly the vanities of human character he had encountered through life.—It was a blessing to him he had the power to forget, and to make his



companions forget also, that he was enjoying no more than a short vacation."

In Dublin, as in London, old and new friends gathered around Banim: literary friends; friends of the early days of artist life came to him, and the Viceroy, the Earl of Mulgrave, was most attentive and thoughtful in his endeavors to aid the poor, broken sufferer.

As a graceful means of increasing his resources, it was resolved that Banim's fellow countrymen should be invited to show their appreciation of his genius by attending a performance, for his benefit, which it was proposed should take place at the Theatre Royal, Hawkins'-street, and accordingly the following announcement appeared in all the Dublin Newspapers, of Thursday, July 16th, 1835.

"Theatre Royal.—Under the immediate patronage of His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant. Mr. John Banim, the author of 'Damon and Pythias,' 'Tales by the O'Hara Family,' and several other National Tales and Dramas, being now in Dublin, his friends deem this a fitting opportunity to call upon his fellow-countrymen to testify the respect and admiration in which they hold his talents. The Theatre will open for this purpose on Tuesday evening, 21st July, when will be performed for his benefit, the *Sergeant's Wife*, dramatised by Mr. Banim from one of his own Tales, and the *Sister of Charity*, also written by him. There will be a Comic Interlude, with a variety of other Entertainments; the particulars in the bills of the day. Tickets to be had at all the Newspaper Offices; of Mr. G. R. Mulvany, Secretary to the Committee, 24, Upper Sackville-street; and of Mr. Eyre, at the Box-office, where places may be secured."

The entire press supported this attempt to assist our sufferer, and the tone of all their appeals was, as in the following, from *The Morning Register*, of Friday, July 17th, 1835, the day following that in which the benefit was first advertised.

#### "MR. BANIM.

It does not surprise, but it affords us, nevertheless, infinite gratification to find, that even already there is a stir, and a great one, for our suffering, but, thank God! not forlorn countryman. High and worthy names, in some number, were put upon the box sheet yesterday. The press, of all colours, lends its willing and creditable aid. We shall, then, have a bumper; but let it be a bumper. Posterity will weave garlands for the grave of John Banim, and while they pay the merited tribute to his exalted genius, let there be in

their memory nothing giving them ground to cast the reproach of a base and unfeeling niggardness on those who dwelt in one town with him, and were aware of his misfortunes, in July, 1835."

And the following day the same journal thus declares for him:—

**"MR. BANIM—DEBENTURE TICKETS.**

There are over one hundred debenture tickets on our Theatre. These, we understand, are for the most part sold—and their action, night after night, on the profits of the concern, help to explain why it is running fast to total ruin. It would be lamentable, we had almost said scandalous, if they were suffered to interfere with the receipts on Tuesday night. We are told that some of the ordinary vendors of these tickets have come to the laudable resolution of suspending their sale, at least on this sacred occasion. We hope an observance so deserving, from its generosity, of the highest commendation, will become general, or if it do not, that there will, at least, be few willing to go in a cheap, and sort of back-stairs way, to poor Banim's benefit. The prospects of a bumper are increasing; but let there be no relaxation in the efforts of the friends of genius. Much must be done before that which is intended as an advantage is secured from the risk of becoming a source of new embarrassment. In plain words, to cover the very EXPENSES will require an exertion in the present state of the town."

The performance took place on Tuesday, July 21st,—the Lord Lieutenant attended; the house was filled by a rapturous, overflowing audience; Banim reclined on a sofa in a private box, surrounded by a few of his oldest, and firmest friends; and the following address, written by George F. Mulvany, Esq. was spoken by one of the performers:—

"This night to welcome to his native land  
A long-lost brother—and to grasp his  
hand,

In friendly brotherhood, as warm, as true,  
As erst a 'Damon or a Pythias' knew;  
To-night to cry *cæd mîle fuithe* home,  
I see bright eyes, and beating bosoms come!  
I see the fair, still ever first to breathe  
Soft words of welcome, and still first to  
wreath

For brows victorious in the field of fame—  
Or warrior, or poet—still the same—  
The laurel crown—the dearly—toll-worn  
prize;

Ever most treasured when their sunny eyes  
Smile on its freshness.—I behold around  
The noble! and the brave! who too have  
found

The while from states, or war's high tram-  
mels freed,

A pleasing pride to win the author's meed,  
And still a crowd—perchance to fame un-  
known,

But yet with hearts which Irish bosoms  
own—

All here assembled, with soul-beaming  
smile,  
To welcome Banim to his own green isle!

What! tho' from country and from kindred  
forced,

From all the magic ties of home divorced,  
In other realms the author's lot be cast,  
Where faithful still—true patriot to the last,  
To add new glories to his country's name,  
Has been his beacon on the path of fame:  
What!—tho' his course be one of anxious  
toll,

Though his lips fluid, like the fatal oil,  
That feeds the brightness of his midnight  
lamp,

When his brain burns—tho' his brow be  
damp;

Exhale too oft—too swiftly in the bright,  
And rapt conceptions of his spirit's light;  
Sapping the system, till the treacherous  
stealth

Drives him a *pilgrim* to the shrine of health;  
Bidding him wander back reserved to be  
At life's true spring—the scenes of infancy!

Tho' dark clouds lour—must not the gladd'ning sight

Of friends assembled as around to-night,  
Repay in part the grateful tribute due,  
And bid Hope's flow'ers blossom forth anew!

So may it prove to him, whose ev'ry hope  
Hath been concentred in the patriot scope  
Of country's cause—whose labour to unfold  
Th' historic records of her days of old,  
To draw oblivion's dusky veil aside,  
And paint his country's claims with filial pride—

To him whom HOMEWARD now a soft voice calls,

Th' awakened echo of O'Hara's halls;  
There, in the magic of his native hearth,  
To feel, fresh springing in *Antean* birth,  
New strength to cope in *Herculean* strife  
With toils and care that track the poet's life,

To work afresh th' unexhausted store  
Of Irish character and Irish lore,  
Rich mine of hidden wealth, of unwrought ore—

To dare new labours in his country's cause,  
And win reward—and impetus in your applause!"

Back he went, in the month of September, to his longed-for home. He was so worn and weak, that he could only travel by post-chaise, and the journey from Dublin to Kilkenny required three days in its completion. He went first to the old house where so many years of hope, of dreaming, of love, of pain, and of memories, "bitter sweet," were passed.

The "little octagon table" in the "sanctum sanctorum" of his father, with the dear mother, and Michael, and the schoolmaster, and the sister around it, reading his praises, and weaving the laurel crown, were the dreams of the dead, cold, forgotten, past,—and now he came to the grave of all those things, and even hope itself was dead, and nothing was in memory but pain and woe, nothing in the future, but rest which was poverty, and life which was worse than death, in its pains and in its inutility.

Early in the month of September, 1835, John Banim, accompanied by his wife and daughter, and by his brother Michael, arrived in Kilkenny, and his fellow town's-men received him warmly and kindly. They assembled to consider the best method of shewing their regard for him, and their appreciation of his genius; and after some debate, they resolved, unanimously, to present to him the following address:—

*"Address from the Citizens of Kilkenny,*

TO JOHN BANIM, ESQ.,

AUTHOR OF 'THE O'HARA TALES,' &c.

SIR—Influenced by personal regard, and by that esteem which your talents have won, even in far distant lands, your fellow-citizens hail, with sincere pleasure, your arrival amongst them, though that pleasure is accompanied by the regret that your health is not such as the desires of your countrymen would have it; but they trust that native scenes and air shall tend to your restoration, and that, ere long, a fostering legis-

lature shall extend to you that liberal aid which a good and wise government is ever ready to bestow upon distinguished literary worth.

Your fellow citizens have resolved to offer to you some testimony of that respect which native and well-directed talents ever merit—respect due from every Irishman who recollects that your writings have portrayed his country in the colours of truth—delineated, without concealment or exaggeration, its national character—sketched its peasantry as they really are, placing their virtues in relief, and tracing their misfortunes and their crimes to the true sources whence both spring—showing this country to the sister kingdom as it really is, and begetting there commiseration for its sufferings, and esteem for those social virtues and ennobling qualities, which centuries of wrong and bondage have shrouded, but not entombed.

As citizens of Kilkenny your claims come still more forcibly upon their esteem. Your pen has preserved many of the beautiful localities in and around this city—given new charms to most of its popular legends, and delineated, with truth and accuracy, many of its original characters, blending the charms of truth with the creations of a powerful fancy, and directing all to the noble purpose of elevating the national character, and vindicating a too long-neglected and oppressed land.

The citizens of Kilkenny, therefore, hope that you will accept of the token of your countrymen's regard, which accompanies this address, and they venture to express their ardent wish that you may live to use it in an advanced and honourable old age, with bodily powers then as vigorous as is that intellect which has won you the proud distinction of fame, conferred an honour on Kilkenny, and an important benefit upon Ireland.

Signed, for their fellow-citizens, by

C. JAMES, Chairman,

B. CANE, M.R.C.S., Secretary."

This address was written by Dr. Cane, and was engrossed on satin, and was presented to Banim with a silver snuff-box containing in it a subscription of eighty-five pounds; the snuff-box bore the following inscription :—

"This Box, containing a token of regard

And esteem for his talents,

Was presented to

The Author of the O'Hara Tales,

By his fellow-citizens,

At Kilkenny.—September, 1835."

Banim thus replied to the address of his fellow citizens :—

"MY DEAR SIRS—With a son's deep affection I returned to my mother land—with a child's delight I re-entered my native city ; and from the moment that I touched Irish ground, after attentively regarding, during many years, other countries, my mind has been gradually and irresistibly impressed with the proud and happy conviction, that among strangers Ireland is at present ignorantly, and, I may add, presumptuously underrated, and that to no country that I have seen is she, in my humble opinion, inferior—except, alas ! in the disunion, and in the consequent poverty, misery, and crime, caused by the born-blindness of those who unfortunately cannot perceive that their own proper interests are naturally, derivatively, and inevitably identified with hers. *Superior* to any other country I am not enthusiastic enough to wish to make her ; but, in some instances she has made herself so ; yes, in the social and domestic relations—in that glorious quality which we all agree to call *heart* ; and, taking one class with another, in true urbanity of manners—and of good manners, too—we may, although her sons, safely venture such an assertion.

All this you may call the exaggerated glee of a boy sent away to his school, and now asked home to spend his holidays. I will, however, hazard another remark, which perhaps may sound even more like flattery to you, and more like home-prejudice on my part :—no matter, this it is—that of any city or town of Kilkenny's population and resources—considering it also as an inland city—it has not yet been my chance to have observed one equal in beauty of scenic appearance, in the pervading intelligence of its citizens, in unostentatious morality, and above all in public and private charity, to my own dear native place. As to the flattering mention made by you of my *Tales*—I beg to say that they were inspired simply by a devoted love of our country, and by an indignant wish to convince her slanderers, and in some slight degree at least to soften the hearts of her oppressors ; although that in writing in her cause to other nations, I saw the necessity of endeavouring, cautiously and laboriously, to make fiction the vehicle of fact ; and while thus, for the first time, called upon to reply to compliments paid to me as the writer of these volumes, I cannot hesitate to mention that a considerable portion of the success of some of the stories they contain, is attributable to the assistance of a dear and respected brother.

My dear Sirs—I return through you, to my fellow-citizens, my proudly-grateful acknowledgments of their tasteful as well as munificent present; and for your and their kind wishes for my continued possession of it, I also beg leave to offer my heartfelt thanks, assured that no spot on earth can so much contribute to the re-establishment of my health as that of our unique Kilkenny. Allow me to subjoin, that upon this the earliest occasion when I have had a fitting opportunity to express my sense of national kindness, I hope I may avail myself of it to remind you, that in the beautiful though half depopulated metropolis of our Ireland I have, on my way here to you, experienced friendships and services, such as even you could not have excelled, and that I now anxiously request my numerous Dublin creditors, to whom, one and all, I owe myself a bankrupt in gratitude, to accept this passing allusion as part payment of my deep debt to them. And again I pray you to allow me a parting word. In Dublin, as well as here, flowers of every tint of the political parterre have been condescendingly wrought into a little holiday garland for a very humble brow; and may I not, therefore, take the liberty of asking you, is not this a slight proof at least that Irishmen of all opinions *can* unite in recognising, through the medium of no matter how unmeriting occasion, that principle, of the perfect and universal establishment of which we all stand so much in need—namely, the great and glorious principle of nationality!

I remain, my dear Sirs, and my dear fellow-citizens, with profound respect and esteem, your faithful humble servant,

JOHN BANIM.

To Christopher James, Esq., and  
Robert Cane, Esq., M.R.C.S."

Thus was Banim received by the people amongst whom he had past his boyhood; and as the words of the address told him of their appreciation of his genius, of their pride in his fame, of their sympathy in his sorrows, the brave, strong heart must have grown bright once more, as in the old times when the battle of life was as nothing, but a thing to rouse every faculty, with no doubt or pause; when hope was too weak a term to express the knowledge of certain success,—when to secure success required but work and thought; and then, with John Banim, work and thought made up the whole sum of life, with all joys and sorrows centred in them.

We asked Michael Banim to tell us the story of his brother's return; and, of John's first months of the new life in Kilkenny, he writes thus:—

“John was received, in the old house where he was born, by the remaining members of his family: not now as on his last visit, to boast of his hopes and aspirations: but to tell the tale of his wreck and failure. When I saw him in the old room, where we had been all assembled together thirteen years before, giving credit to the bright visions of prosperity and distinction he then described as in store for him, I could scarcely regret that his mother was no longer with us to witness the present contrast.

After some preliminary arrangements the object of our solicitude was established in a suburban cottage close by the road leading to and from Dublin. This cottage was on a height above our river, at the outlet called Windgap, and the scene of one of the tales by ‘The O’Hara Family.’ After a short residence here, the neighbours knew him ‘sotto voce’ as ‘the Mayor of Windgap,’—the title of the tale I have referred to. There were at this cottage dry air, as much sun as any other spot was favoured with, the view of green fields—and from one of the windows a glimpse of our crystal Nore, wending through a beautiful valley—these recommendations, joined to seclusion from observation, were desirable, and guided the choice of ‘Windgap Cottage’ as the future abode of the ailing resident.

There was a slight inconvenience, however, which to another would have been trivial in the extreme, but which annoyed my brother to some extent.

In the spring of 1836, the occupant of Windgap Cottage set to work, at the formation of a flower garden, outside his parlour window; and, when the weather permitted, he sat without doors propped in his bath chair, superintending the operations of his man of all work, as he planted shrubs and flowers, laid down sods, and formed broad sanded walks, in contact with which the invalid still hoped to place his feet. The Dublin road ran outside the high boundary wall of the enclosure, and as the public coaches passed to and from the metropolis, those seated on the outside could look down into the little garden. My brother soon discovered that he had become an object of curiosity and comment; regarded as one of the shows of the road, exhibited by the driver for the entertain-

ment of his fare—he could notice the coachman's whip pointing him out, the exhibitor at the same time turning his head from one passenger to another, as he answered their queries, and then there was the stretching of necks for a view, and comments going the round of the coach.

On one occasion he overheard a portion of the dialogue passing from the rear to the front of the vehicle.

'He'll never see the bushes an inch higher,' said a rear passenger: 'He's booked for the whole way, and no mistake,' responded the coachman, chirping to his horses, and smacking his whip artistically, in satisfactory appreciation of his own wit—a laugh went round as the coach drove on. It showed a weakness of mind in the subject of the jocularities, to be so sensible to ridicule; but for the future, he never sat out in the sun, directing the plantation of his shrubs or flowers, when the passage of the coach was expected."

Shortly after Banim had become the occupant of Windgap Cottage, some strolling players, under the management of Gardiner who, about twenty-three years ago was a performer of Irish characters, in Power's line, at the Abbey-street Theatre, Dublin, happened to be on circuit at Kilkenny; and amongst the company was an actor named De Vere, of very considerable ability, and who was also an excellent scholar, and a man of cultivated taste. This De Vere had been attracted by the admirable 'situations' of the tale by *The O'Hara Family*, entitled *The Mayor of Windgap*, and had, at his leisure hours, dramatized it. This circumstance became known to Banim's Kilkenny friends, and after some consultation it was arranged that *The Mayor of Windgap*, and *Damon and Pythias*, should be performed by Gardiner's company for Banim's Benefit. The plan was speedily carried out, and a crowded house and full treasury were the welcome results.

But, it may be asked, how did Banim pass his time? how did he visit his friends? how was he able to leave his garden in search of changed scene, and other air? We asked these questions, and Michael Banim thus replied:—

"Motion and air, for a portion of each day, were prescribed as indispensable for the sufferer's endurance of life: a postchaise and pair, was the only vehicle he could use, as he should be supported at his back to the height of his shoulders, and have something to hold by with his right hand. This mode of conveyance, having been indulged in for some months, was



found too expensive, and it became necessary to provide some kind of carriage for his own particular use. A gentleman having an old four-wheeled chair lying by presented it to him, and it was gratefully accepted. On examination this was found unsuitable, but as it had been a gratuitous offering, it was deemed worth remodelling, and much consultation there was as to the mode of adaptation. It was a low chair, in which two persons could sit facing the horse, while the driver took place immediately in front; there was no support for the back, no grasp for the hand, and no defence against the weather. All these defects were to be remedied. On a stout iron frame a roof of oilcloth was raised, projecting to the front over the person, a lap of leather, or apron, was contrived, folding over the occupant nearly breast high: and a stout loop of leather was attached to the iron stanchion of the roof, through which the arm could be passed.

Thus added to; the nuts, and bolts, and so forth put into gear, and the whole newly painted, it was tolerably convenient for use; and being unique in structure and appearance, it received from its owner, in one of his lapses from pain, the title of the 'Shanderadan'—a translation, he said, of its rattle and rumble as it went along. After a little use the Shanderadan gave way bit by bit; the axle, the springs, the shafts, the wheels, all of it in fact, became disjointed and broken, and a year had scarcely gone by, when my brother would entertain his visitors with a humorous description of its several dislocations, and his 'hair-breadth 'scapes' in consequence; and he would enlarge on the joint skill of himself and Geoffry Grady, the neighbouring carpenter, who had, the one by plan, the other by operation, displaced scrap by scrap, the entire vehicle, so as to leave scarcely any of the primary Shanderadan existing.

The conveyance held together, however, by constant patching, longer than its occupier. For six years he daily took his seat therein, in his little garden, whenever the weather, and his ailment, allowed him to be abroad—seated in this, or in his bath-chair, should the Shanderadan be under Geoffry Grady's hands, he received his visitors; and almost daily, while his life continued, he was to be met driving about on one or other of the roads in the neighbourhood of Kilkenny.—In the Shanderadan he frequently penetrated into the demesnes of the gentry of our locality, and even into their gardens, and he

visited any of the contiguous villages not too distant, to continue his acquaintanceship with the native resorts of his youth.—He was seldom without a companion as he went along; at times his wife; at times his brother, but most frequently his daughter, a lovely and loveable child, bore him company.—Very frequently he invited any of his visitors, whose conversational powers gave him pleasure, to sit with him during his little excursions. Gerald Griffin was his guest for a fortnight, shortly preceding the death of that eminent writer. And during the term of the visit the brother authors drove out every day together.—Griffin was tall, and he was forced to bend his knees uncomfortably to adapt himself to the inconvenient mode of conveyance, that he might enjoy his friend's society."

Poor Griffin! the old times were around him in memory; many a pleasant hour they had at this period; and yet these were hours snatched from physical pain by Banim, and from pangs of a false and tender conscience by Griffin,—for he had begun to think of the past as a void in life, and to look forward to the future years as a period of expiation. He fancied that his novels might be injurious, and as he expressed it, he felt the horrors of "the terrible idea, that it might be possible he was mis-spending his time," or as he wrote to a friend,—

"Because the veil for me is rent,  
And youth's illusive fervour spent,  
And thoughts of deep eternity  
Have paled the glow of earth for me,  
Weaken'd the ties of time and place,  
And stolen from life its worldly grace;  
Because my heart is lightly shaken  
By haunts of early joy forsaken:  
Because the sigh that Nature heaves,  
For all that Nature loved and leaves,  
Now to my ripening soul appears  
All sweetly weak, like childhood's tears.  
Is friendship, too, like fancy, vain?  
Can I not feel my sister's pain?  
Aye, it is past! where first we met,  
Where Hope reviving thirsted yet,  
Long draughts of blameless joy to drain,  
We never now may meet again.  
At sabbath noon or evening late  
I ne'er shall ope that latched gate,  
And forward glancing catch the while

The ready door and L——'s smile ;  
 I ne'er shall mark that sunset now,  
 Gilding dark Cratloe's heathy brow,  
 Blushing in Shannon's distant bow'rs,  
 And lighting Carrig's broken tow'rs ;  
 No more along that bedgy walk  
 Our hours shall pass in lingering talk ;—  
 For vanished is the poet-queen,  
 Who deck'd and graced that fairy scene,  
 And stranger hands shall tend her flow'rs,  
 And city faces own her bowers.

How good Gerald was, I hear you say, 'when he wrote those lines.' I believe I was better then, dear L——, than for a long time before, and you see I do not now consider myself *good* enough to add any thing to them, unfinished as they are. Adieu, my dear friend, and believe that your best happiness and the happiness of all you love is amongst the warmest wishes of your poor friend,

GERALD."

However, with his "long shanks doubled up," and sitting in the Shanderadan beside John Banim, Gerald Griffin was, as in the old days when he wrote to his brother William of Banim,—“What would I have done if I had not found Banim? I should never be tired of talking about, and thinking of Banim. Mark me! he is a man—the only one I have met since I have left Ireland, almost.”\*

As they sat by Banim's humble table, he gathered there, to do honor to his guest, all in Kilkenny who were likely to appreciate the mind-gleamings of himself and his friend.

Amongst those thus invited to meet Griffin was an artist, now distinguished in his profession in Dublin, who tells us; “I met them often during Griffin's visit, alone and with others; and 'twas charming to mark their love of each other; Griffin's buoyant spirit seemed to make Banim forget his pains; and he appeared, when speaking of their London life, to fancy himself once more in London. It was all—don't you remember, Gerald?—or, Griffin, my boy, do you recollect? and then, when Griffin sang for him his, Banim's, own songs, he seemed happier than I ever knew him, even in his best days.”

In fact, his love for Griffin was so tender and anxious, and yet so proud of its being returned by Griffin, that it took the hue of a kind man's loving regard for a woman: he loved him as Southey might have loved poor Hartley Cole-

\* See IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, Vol. IV. No. XVI. p. 850.

ridge, had Hartley shunned the enemy that stole away his life and brains.

Griffin returned to Pallas Kenry, and a few weeks afterwards he thus wrote to Banim. The letter is now first published, but one more creditable to the writer's heart we have never read :—

*"Pallas Kenry, Oct., 1836.*

My dear Banim,

It is with no little gratification I find myself writing to you once more as of old, to ask you how you are, and all who are about you. I have often thought since I left Windgap, that it must have been an ease to you to get rid of me, you kept such continual driving about while I was with you ; besides the exhaustion of the evenings, which I fear must have been too much for you in your present state of health. To enable me to pass my time pleasantly, I am afraid you made it more unpleasant to yourself than I ought to have permitted ; but I am a great hand at seeing what I ought to have done when the occasion is passed. And now in the first place I will ask you—How have you been since ? and have you yet had any relief from those terrible pains and sinkings, from which you used to suffer so much and so continually while I was with you ? I believe you would think well of the Munster folks, if you knew how kind and general have been their enquiries respecting you since my return. How fervently do I wish that time, and home, and patience, may bring about in you the same happy change which they have often done in other invalids, and enable you again to take, and long to hold, your rightful place at the head of our national literature. This sounds mighty like a fine speech, but let it pass. Would it be unreasonable to ask you to send me that song—*your* song—when you can conveniently do so. I would also wish to have that beautiful little poem you read for me one evening—the lines in a churchyard : some of them have been haunting me ever since I heard you read them. It is time for me to say something of the other members of your family, and to make enquiries for Mrs. Banim and for your sweet little daughter. It is a great blessing that Mrs. Banim's health has held out so well under the severe trials and fatigues to which it has been so long subjected, and most sincerely do I hope that her devotedness and patience may ere long meet some reward, in seeing you restored to at least a portion of the health you once enjoyed. I would be most

ungrateful indeed, very ungrateful, if I could ever forget the attention I received both from her and you in London, when friends were less than few. In your present state, it must be a great source of satisfaction to have your sweet little Mary near friends who feel for her the interest which only, or almost only, relatives can feel. Farewell, my dear friend : God bless you, and all you feel an interest in. This is my sincere and fervent prayer. Remember me to your father and brother (who I find was perfectly right about action and reaction), also to your sister. Hoping that you will find my 'shalls' and 'wills,' 'shoulds' and 'woulds,' 'weres' and 'have beens' in the foregoing, orthodox, and hoping far more ardently that they may find you better in health and hope than when I left you—I remain,

My dear Banim,

Your sincere friend,

GERALD GRIFFIN."

About this period the Earl of Mulgrave, now Marquis of Normanby, was Lord Lieutenant, and was hailed by the populace as the greatest and truest friend of Ireland that had ever held the Viceroyalty. Banim joined naturally in the popular opinion, and when the Lord Lieutenant, in the course of his "Progress" through Ireland, was reported to approach Kilkenny, Banim called, in the Shanderadan, upon his artist friend, to whom we have already referred, and having been carried to the studio, said,

"I want you to paint something for me."

"Do you," said the artist, "only tell what, and I'll go at it at once."

"Well," replied Banim, "you see there will be a procession to meet the Lord Lieutenant, and I want you to give a touch to the Shanderadan."

"I was," says our friend, "rather taken aback by being requested to make myself something between a coach decorator and a sign painter ; but, upon reflection, I could not refuse the poor fellow, so I enquired what kind of 'touch' he wished me to give the Shanderadan. He said, 'I want you to paint the top and front of it green, and to put on the front, in orange letters,

MULGRAVE FOR EVER.'"

This wish was gratified, and as John Banim, in the Shan-

deradan, drove through the city, on the day of Lord Mulgrave's entrance, not a truer, or more honest admirer of the Viceregal politics greeted the Viceroy on his way.

Of Banim's every-day life at Windgap Cottage, Michael Banim thus writes to us:—

"His habits or occupations could be but little varied. Reviving from the exhaustion of the night, he arose generally at a late hour; from his bed he was removed to his sofa, and thence to the shanderadan, or to his chair, in the open air. There was then his drive before dinner, again to his sofa, and then to seek such rest as he could find. He could accept of no invitations, owing to his decrepitude; he was sometimes his father's guest, up to the old man's death which took place before John's; he dined now and then with his brother-in-law, and his relatives partook in turn of his family meal—chance guests might call on him of an evening, and then, if not in pain, he was merry, and his spirits cheerful.

"It will be easily credited, that leading the life I have particularised, it was impossible he could employ himself with any continuity at his pen." He said to me once:

'Michael, I shall never be able to do anything worth notice again; I am now only fit for stringing a few loose and pawky verses together; giving out the same odour as the archbishop's sermons in *Gil Blas*—the energy of my mind is gone with the health of my body—neither of them ever to return.'

Yet he was not altogether idle—he sent a few contributions to *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*—the manuscripts prepared at his dictation by his devoted little daughter, and he put together some songs; many of them sweet and plaintive, but little of power about them. I cannot point to the particular song or verses referred to by Gerald Griffin.

"Before he had been a year residing at home, the welcome news came that the queen had bestowed a pension on him of £150 per annum—never was the royal bounty more needed, or bestowed on a more helpless claimant." I had hopes at the time that this certainty of the future might tend, by easing his mind, to the abatement of the disease—his own hopes were similar to mine—but there was no amendment.

"I have heard him say, that for this boon, which by removing pecuniary anxiety lightened his sense of endurance, and helped to smooth his passage to the grave, he was principally indebted to the present Earl of Carlisle,\* aided by his early friend, Mr. Sheil.

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\* Now 1855, Lord Lieutenant.

Amongst other persons of distinction who came to visit him, the Earl of Carlisle, then Lord Morpeth, favoured him more than once by calling to Windgap. "My little niece, then twelve years of age, attracted his lordship's observation. The father spoke about his anxiety on her account, and a further pension of £40 was granted for the child's behoof. This was another great cause of uneasiness removed—my brother never spoke of this nobleman's kindness and commiseration without evincing the most lively gratitude."

Michael Banim here refers to the tales and poems contributed by John Banim to the periodical literature of the time. Indeed these short pieces were his sole means of subsistence previous to the grant of his pension; and to the last hour of his life, literary composition was his best, and surest, and chiefest security against the depressing effect of pain.

Amongst his poetic pieces written at this period are two little poems suggested by his love for the memory of his dead child, his son. How he loved this boy, Michael has thus told us:—

"I have listened to him for hours of an evening, after his return home, describing the noble qualities, and the affection of this child to him. I have heard him tell how the little fellow would come in from his play, steal gently to the back of the father's sick sofa, and press his soft lips on the hand that lay listlessly hanging over. The first intimation of the child's presence would be this affectionate salutation. And when the father turned his eyes to greet the saluter, then there was a spring into the parent's arms, and a fond, lengthened embrace between them. Other and various excellencies he would repeat, when he lay helpless and discoursed of his affections."

It was a beautiful trait in the sick man's character, that frequently, during his bitterest pangs, his memory bore him back to the child's grave at Montmartre; the following are the lines to which we have referred:—

"TO MY CHILD.

By the quiverings of thine eye, my babe, so quick and sharp, they seem  
Revealings of meridian mind before thy time to gleam,  
By thy knowledge of our words to thee, although the knowledge come,  
We know not by what promptings, for as yet, my babe, thou'rt dumb—

By thine answers in thine actions, babe, so rapid and so true,  
Is all that by a word or look we want thee, babe, to do—  
By signs like these 'tis whispered, babe, in moments as of fear,  
That a spirit winged so early forth, not long can settle here.

In pride, alone, and humble thanks for promised gifts so rare,  
That foolish whisper comes to me, of my little boy so fair,  
Because by sickness only, I am sure God lets us know,  
When he doth wish a living soul back to himself to go.

And yet, my babe, while you and I this day communed alone,  
A creeping of that vain surmise I inwardly did own,  
There was such meaning in thee, babe, so startling and intense—  
A power in thine up-cast eyes, a pure intelligence—

In accents strange and primitive, in a language bold and strong,  
Once spoken in the infant world, though now forgotten long,  
I almost thought to hear thee shape the question of that look,  
To which, as to a spirit's glance, I for a moment shook.

My dreams! my dreams, I also fear! they do so picture thee,  
A little corpse laid at my feet, in sage tranquillity,  
And in the middle of the night, my own weak moans do start,  
The desolating sorrow from my cramped and quailing heart!"

#### "AN INFANT'S BURIAL.

Little child, for you  
No passing bell was rung;  
Little child, for you  
No burial chaunt was sung:

Little child, for you  
Before your coffin head,  
No priest led on the way  
Unto your church-yard bed:

Little child, for you  
No mourning weeds were on,  
To show a double grief  
That you to God had gone.

But people paced around,  
With grave and sober tread,  
In awe, not tears, to heaven,  
For a gracious infant, dead.

Behind, your father walked,  
Linked with his brothers, two,  
And alone, because infirm,  
Another followed you.

And why tolled not the knell,  
Why was the death-chaunt mute—  
Why were the mourners there,  
Without a mourning suit?

Why did no follower shed  
A tear, sweet child, for you;  
Nay, father and his kin,  
Why were they tearless, too?

Although it taxed them sore,  
And him, the mourner-chief,  
Although he could have wept  
Aloud, alone in grief.

Because each well did know,  
Priest, people, father, kin,  
That for your loss to us,  
Sorrow were almost nigh:

That life is misery,  
The more when life is long—  
That life is weakness all,  
When life should most be strong.

And more than this they knew,  
That God had willed away  
From earth a child of His,  
Unsullied by earth's clay—

As yet unstained by crime,  
Before his Maker's face—  
And therefore sure to find  
In heaven a resting place."

The lines are not, we are well aware, either very poetical or very striking; but they show the phases of a longing, loving mind; of a soul all love and hope, of a heart young amidst care and grief—a heart that would not be crushed.

A friend who visited Banim, at this period, thus describes his conversation and mode of life:—

"I had left the town behind, and my route led along the Dublin road, when a small dwelling overlooking the path announced the author's villa. A wooden door opened to my summons, and admitted me into a small court-yard bordered by a trimly kept plot of garden ground. A lad was wheeling an invalid in a bath chair round the gravelled walk. I needed not to ask; I knew it must be Banim.



Quickly I approached, and put my card into his hand. 'Mr. Banim,' I said, 'pardon this intrusion—but I could not be a day in Kilkenny without paying my homage to a genius to whom Ireland owes so much. I have written a little myself, and therefore felt bound to come and see you.'

He took my hand and pressed it warmly. 'I have read your work with pleasure,' he said, 'and am thankful for your visit. Come in and rest after your walk.'

'Pardon me,' I replied, 'if I decline just now. The walk here is nothing, and you are enjoying this lovely day. Continue your jaunt, and I will walk and talk with you.'

The boy resumed his propelling motion, and I chatted with the gifted Banim. I had full leisure to observe his features, which were long and delicately formed; his high forehead, denoting intellect, and soft eyes ever lit with flashing thoughts. When he removed his hat, his hair seemed grey, 'but not with years,' for I do not think he was much more than forty; but with mental excitement, and much privation and acute bodily suffering, (he then laboured under rheumatic paralysis, which deprived him of the entire use of his lower limbs) had told upon his brown tresses, and his silvered head.

We spoke chiefly on literary topics. He declaimed powerfully against the low state of literature in this unhappy country, which he attributed to the prohibition of learning in the time of the Penal Laws, from the effects of which the great mass of the people were but slowly recovering—how it was impossible to derive any considerable pecuniary emolument from writings in Ireland. 'Moore told me,' he said, 'if, he had confined his labours to Ireland he would be a beggar.' He spoke rather feelingly of the neglect of men, who had the means, but not the will, to make his sojourn in his native place more agreeable, and hinted at the Marquis of Ormond. Tears of gratitude sparkled in his eyes as he related a visit not long before paid him by the Lord Lieutenant, the Marquis of Normanby. If men of that class only knew how prized a few kind words—some pithy notices of judicious praise—are to the sensitive minds of authors, methinks they would be less chary in giving what, at all events, costs nothing.

I mentioned my regret at his invalid state, and asked whether change of air might not be serviceable? 'Ah!' he said 'I have tried that, and it was of no use. I was in France, at Boulogne, and in Paris, and the contrast between my re-

ception at Paris and here is painfully great. There I was made too much of. My soirees, which, unlike the extravagant parties in this country, I would give for about a dozen francs, lights, cakes, café, and eau sucré, forming the chief items in our bill of fare, were attended by the elite of the French capital. The nobles, by birth as by talents, took pleasure in attending. I found my health rapidly declining, and indeed I came home to die. My God! I shall never forget the humiliation of feeling I experienced on landing at Kingstown. Judging from the misery that every where met my sight, I felt as if the Irish had nothing to be proud of except their beggars.'

I described my ramble over the city that forenoon, and the interest which his tale of the Roman Merchant gave to the church-yard of St. Canice.

'That is a singular incident,' he replied, 'and well worthy of being wrought into three volumes, I wrote that tale one evening between dinner-time and tea. It is quite true. The stranger's tomb is in the wall, near the entrance.'

Banim now directed his servant to turn his steps towards the door, and, by the help of crutches, entered his dining-room. Here we were shortly joined by a gentle little girl, with pale, thoughtful face, and auburn hair, Banim's only child; she spoke but seldom during my stay, but her remarks betokened an intellect far beyond her years. She seemed a great pet of her father's, and no doubt the fervour of his genius communicated a warmth which caused her's to expand.

Of those we love, unconsciously we learn. Mrs. Banim also entered, and I was introduced to her; she shewed great solicitude about her husband, enquiring how his drive agreed with him, and appeared obliged for my visit. She was evidently proud of the renown he had acquired, and felt every call the homage he had a right to receive. She spoke rather reproachfully of the conduct of his countrymen in general, who seemed to take little interest in the declining health of one who had done such honour to the soil.

Banim soon resumed his literary conversation, and we talked much of poets and poetry. He took down a volume and read part of Shelly's Faust, and I sat by entranced—never was poetry more eloquently written, and never was poetry more eloquently read. It was a glorious thing to hear such strains so sung.

But of Ireland was the theme most upon his lips, and the love country glowed in his bosom ever and always. 'We have been sadly neglected,' he said, 'and the works which are written on this country, seldom give a correct notion of the people. Mrs. Hall writes too like Miss Mitford, and therefore too English to be correct. We want a cheap periodical.'

I mentioned the Dublin University.

'It is a good magazine for the hands into which it falls,' he replied, 'but too much devoted to party to be national.'

He repeated some of his own poetry—very touching and intensely Irish. I remembered an incident, he thought at the Clare Election, when two adverse factions were reconciled by the amicable meeting of the leaders long at variance. Banim wrote the following stanzas on the event, which he called 'The Old Man at the Altar':—

" An old man, he knelt at the Altar  
His enemy's hand to take,  
And at first his weak voice did falter  
And his feeble limbs did shake,  
For his only brave boy, his glory,  
Had been stretched at the old man's feet,  
A corpse, all so haggard and gory,  
By the hand which he now must greet.

And soon the old man stopt speaking,  
And rage which had not gone by,  
From under his brows came breaking  
Up into his enemy's eye—  
And now his limbs were not shaking  
But his clenched hands his bosom crossed.  
And he looked a fierce wish to the taking  
Revenge for the boy he lost.

But the old man he glanced around him  
And thought of the place he was in,  
And thought of the promise that bound him,  
And thought that revenge was sin—  
And then, crying tears, like a woman,  
Your hand—he cried—aye, that hand,  
And I do forgive you, foeman,  
For the sake of our bleeding land!"

When Messrs. Gunn and Cameron resolved to publish *The Irish Penny Journal*, they were anxious to engage the services of Banim, as a contributor ; the usual differences between author and publisher, monetary, arose, and bitter complaints were made by Banim, answered by declarations of the publishers, that he was irregular in his promised assistance.

Sick, weary, and irritable, Banim became impatient, and enclosed the following letters to his ever faithful friend, Michael Staunton, then the Editor and Proprietor of *The Dublin Morning Register* :—

“ *Kilkenny, September 17, 1840.*

My dear Staunton,

Should you consider the accompanying letters fair matter for the notice of the Irish Press, I beg to leave them at your disposal.

Ever truly yours,

JOHN BANIM.

M. Staunton Esq.

Office of the General Advertiser,

*Dublin, 21st. August, 1840,*

Sir,—For anything new, and which will be suitable, we shall, if it be first-rate, pay as high a price as any one ; and more can hardly be expected from the publishers of such a work as ours.

When we commenced the PENNY JOURNAL, we certainly were foolish enough to suppose that ‘patriotism,’ (that is the word) might possibly induce *some* ONE Irishman to aid us with his pen in our arduous undertaking—not certainly, gratuitously, but at a moderate rate. We have, however, already lived long enough to be undeceived. We have, always, it is true, found Irishmen exceedingly kind in their professions of patriotism, and verbally, very fervent in their hopes, that every Irishman, capable of contributing to the PENNY JOURNAL, ought to aid us with his talents, and so forth. But we are constrained to say, that we have always found these loud professions coupled with an immediate demand for not only the highest price for their contributions, but a greedy desire to clutch as much as possible, from those who, if not more patriotic in reality than themselves, have not had the disgusting hypocrisy to avow a feeling they did not possess. It is not the demand for remuneration, for this

is but fair, but it is the invariable profession of patriotism which is so offensive—that patriotism, we find, being bounded by their lips and pockets. At the time we first wrote to you, we were very desirous of obtaining your contributions, because we then thought that your name as an author and contributor would assist us in launching our little work successfully.

We have now, however, found that its unparalleled progress has depended more upon our own efforts than upon the aid of others, and are, therefore, much more indifferent. If you had assisted us then, you would have obliged *us*; if you contribute now, it will be to oblige yourself.

We are, Sir,  
Your obedient Servants,  
GUNN AND CAMERON.

To JOHN BANIM, Esq.

*Kilhenny. September 17th, 1840.*

Messrs. Gunn and Cameron,

When you first applied to me to contribute to your penny periodical, a member of my family informed you that from illness I regretted I could not do so; lately I repeated the assertion to account for my not sending at a later date anything new; but the respect due to at least severe suffering—I put forward *to you* no other grounds for your forbearance—has not been at hand to protect me; and, through me, the whole literature of my country, nay the character of that country itself, from the gross, though absurd and contemptible insolence of your letter of the 21st of August.

But I have no further answer to that impudent shop-boy letter; trusting, however, to make such use of it as may help to deter future adventurers in Ireland, from repaying with offered insult, the hearty support of, perhaps, a too generous people.

Continued indisposition must again account for my delay in answering your communication.

JOHN BANIM."

This was an unhappy quarrel, and one must regret, that the publishers had so little consideration for the author's condition. As Johnson said of Collins, when sickness or want are at the door, a man of genius is little calculated for abstruse thought or glowing flights of airy fancy.

There are, there have been, hundreds of men who, with not one half John Banim's genius, and unafflicted with not one hundredth part of his sufferings and his sorrows, would have become misanthropic, and cold, and harsh, even to those nearest and dearest to them by every bond of relationship, of sympathy, and of friendship. Not so with Banim; broken in health; powerless for work; weak in all that a brave, strong soul would wish to possess in full, complete, and vigorous strength, still he was the MAN as in other days, and sickness or pain, or grief could not depress his spirit.

Thus writing, talking, suffering, and amidst all his sources of despair, ever hoping, John Banim lived on. He was happy in one blessing, his mind was strong as ever, and he, like Johnson, had prayed that his intellect might continue vigorous to the last, that like Swift, they might not die from the top while the leaves and branches were undecayed.

But strength to do was passing away, even while the will to do was eager; and in the following sketch, Michael Banim gives us an account of the last joint literary work of the authors of *Tales by The O'Hara Family* :—

"I had laid by my pen to devote myself entirely to business from the period of my coadjutor's break down in 1833.—It will be recollected, that in one of the letters from which I have extracted, my brother threw out the suggestion, that we should write a novel—of which an old parish priest, might be the hero.—In 1840, five years after his return home, relinquishing on his own part all hope of being able to take up anything requiring continuous application, he urged me to resume my occupation—under his immediate supervision.

I had, some time before, filled a note book with materials referrible to the latest agrarian confederacy, that had disturbed our neighbourhood; the actors in which had bestowed on themselves, the fantastical name of 'Whitefeet.' With some of the principal leaders of this lawless and wide spread combination I had held intercourse—I had gained a knowledge of their signs and passwords, and obtained an insight into their views and proceedings. I proposed a tale wherein my materials could be used; my adviser differed with me.

'We have given,' he said, 'perhaps too much of the dark side of the Irish character; let us, for the present, treat of

the amiable; enough of it is around us—I once mentioned our old parish priest to you; the good, the childishly innocent, and yet the wise Father O'Donnell—we have only to take him as he really was, and if we succeed in drawing him life-like, he must be revered and loved, as we used to love and reverence him.'

I sat down as proposed, when time, not indispensably engaged otherwise, enabled me to do so—I read for my brother each chapter as the tale progressed, and when I had put it out of hands, he took it up for revision and amendment. I have, ever since, regretted having allowed him to do this. According to his conception the tale required extensive alterations as to style and management: I may have differed with him; but, adhering to our original mode of proceeding, I did not object, either to substitution or condensation. The task was too continuous, for his disorganised brain, and I fear that, although his daughter then fifteen, and a young man who resided near the cottage, acted as occasional amanuenses, his death was hastened by his more than usual occupation on the tale of 'Father Connell.' In some instances the original was condensed; and one entire chapter substituted.

'Father Connell' was the last joint work of The O'Hara Family. John's attending physician, although not pronouncing positively, led me to think, he might have held out, longer if he had not wrought, for him too ardently, at this book.

Not presuming for one moment, that the tale of 'Father Connell' possesses merit as a novel, I may be permitted to remark, that it is so far of value, inasmuch as the character of the old priest who governed the parish of St. John in Kilkenny, when my brother and I attended in our muslin surplices at his vesper chair, and partook of his twelfth night feast of cakes and ale, is attempted to be faithfully portrayed. No matter how meagre may be the colouring, or how ill-disposed the lights and shadows, and relief—the likeness is a true one, without flattery or exaggeration; no virtue feigned, or habit imagined—such as he is given under the name of 'Father Connell' was our parish priest, the Rev. Richard O'Donnell, Roman Catholic Dean of Ossory—when the writers of the tale were young."

From the period of the publication of *Father Connell*, Banim's health began to decline, and, more perceptibly than

ever, he was wearing away. How his life faded into death ; how his last literary labors were performed ; and how his last hours passed, we shall relate in the next, and concluding, portion of this Biography of John Banim.

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#### ART. V.—LITERARY AND ARTISTIC LIFE IN PARIS.\*

1. *Scènes de la Vie de Bohême*, par Henry Murger. Paris. 1854.
2. *La Croix de Berny Roman Steeple Chase*, par Mme. Emile de Girardin, Théophile Gautier, Jules Sandeau, et Méry. Paris. 1855.

On looking through the volume heading this paper, and comparing the pictures there drawn with others that have lain by, and grown dusty in the store-rooms of memory, and which were drawn some fifteen years since by the great artist N. P. Willis for the literary potentate of Marlborough-street, we could not help being saddened by the present gloomy, scampish features of literary and artistic life in Paris, the centre of the civilised world, when contrasted with the honors, riches, and glory which rewarded the man of letters in that old time in busy, selfish, worldly, smoke-covered London.

Here are a few traits that have not altogether faded from the once glowing canvas. Our young American man of letters, and (through their influence) man of fashion, is reclining on a downy couch in a most superbly furnished drawing room in May Fair. He is striving to finish his dainty and costly breakfast as well as ennui, and the reminiscences and effects of the seventeen parties he attended the evening before, will

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\* For the other papers in our series, devoted to French novels, and the light literature of France, see IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, Vol. II., No. VI., p. 348., Art., "Modern French Novels." *IB.*, No. VIII., Art. "Untranslated Novelists : Alphonse Karr," p. 677., Vol. III., No. X. "Autobiography of Alexander Dumas," p. 193.—*IB.*, No. XI. Art., "French Social Life: Jerome Paturot," p. 497.—*IB.*, No. XII. Art., "Dumas and Texier, on Men and Books," p. 833., Vol. IV.—No. XIII. Art., "Phases of Bourgeois Life," p. 72.—*IB.*, No. XIV. Art., "French Life in the Regency," p., 328.



permit. We do not recollect whether the walls of the apartment were ornamented with portraits of the then famous ballerinas; but are pretty sure that some of our hero's present discomfort was caused by the inspection of certain perfumed satin-paper billets, bearing the signatures of ladies the greatest and fairest among Albion's lovely wives and daughters: was Mrs. Ellis sleeping on her post, ye Gods! It was a proud day for America and literature, that this deity in slippers and morning gown, thus worshipped by the brightest and highest dames in the eastern hemisphere, owed his eminence in a small degree only, to the beauty of his features\* and graces of his person. All the other blushing and blooming glories were showered on his aching head, by whatever goddess represents literary excellence. But ah, our West-End sybarite is not without his crumpled rose leaf: the devil shews his inkstained horns at the door, and claims his soul, at least that emanation of it known by the name of 'Copy.' The wearied and blasé victim bids him avaunt, but he sticks to his bond, and "Copy" he must have. Forty-eight pages of the *New Monthly*, as blank this moment as the emptiest fools-cap, must ere fall of eve, be filled with "thoughts that breathe and words that burn," and in a small week's span, enthrall and occupy some thousands of empty and admiring minds.

Needs must; the heavy ambrosial curls are waved aside; the poetic eyes and marble brow are bent on Cupid and Psyche in the centre of the lofty ceiling; the point of the jewelled pen, the souvenir of a Duchess, just touches the paper: there is a pause; he is awaiting for the rush of inspiration as the housewife, when she applies her ear to the end of the water-pipe, and hearkens for the gurgling of the liquid, as it comes pouring on, but still a street away. All at once his eyes dilate, his cheeks flush, his fingers quiver, and away goes the nib, carrying the poet's creative powers in its wake. The images crowd and jostle, each to get issue first at the diamond slit: time, place, self-consciousness vanish, and the operation proceeds swiftly and steadily, and the sheets are furrowed

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\* We take for granted, that the writer intended to present his own corporal identity under the effigies of his Magazine hero; at least we cannot recollect any other Columbian Apollo of the time, that claimed a likeness to the fancy portrait. If so, we are decidedly of opinion, that Mrs. Trollope shewed considerable spite, injustice, and littleness of spirit, in calling our talented Author "an ugly man."

with dark lines, even as the dewy surface of a bush is covered with the filmy threads of the creative spider, till the matter of the forty-eight pages rises round the poet in billowy sheets of foolscap.

Now with a sigh of relief he rises up, wipes his glowing brow, dons those envied garments the pride and despair of Bond-street; orders his cab to Marlborough-street before Mr. Colburn's novel-raised temple, delights that great man by walking into his sanctuary, and condescending to receive at his hands a paltry check for \$500 more or less, the guerdon of his three hours' labor, and again instals himself in his triumphal chariot, the cynosure of tigers, flaneurs, ladies' maids, and their mistresses. Pondering the sundry claims of the morning, he finally decides on rewarding the least selfish of his admirers, drives off to the splendid mansion of the lovely and titled Lady \* \* \*. (If our memory is not at fault, she was wearing weeds for her lost lord, now hunting chamois in the Tyrol); they bid the world (of London) farewell, and for three weeks, the Baronial mansion of \* \* \* in Devonshire and its household ministers, are alone conscious of their dream-wrapped existence.

Oh youthful candidate for the privilege of delighting the readers of Blackwood or Frazer, month after month; aspiring artist that never yet could secure a decent strip of exhibition wall for your picture; composer of music, longing to hear your ideas issuing in soul-subduing melodies from the twisted brass tubes and elastic chords of a parterre of musicians, did not our heart glow as we called to mind the noble lot of our gifted Adonis of the olden time, and were about to project this article for your encouragement, to proceed confidently and hopefully through the picturesque and flowery pleasure grounds of literature and art! And here, on opening this book of evil omen, are our hopes disappointed, our wishes thwarted, and our spirits dejected. For, if our author comes within any reasonable distance of the truth, the present lot of the aspirants to fame in art or letters in Paris, is no more like that of the corresponding class in the palmy days of the "New Monthly," than the plodding track of a dray horse, to the soaring course of Pegasus, when from the top of the cleft hill above Delphi, he springs above the clouds to meet bright Phœbus issuing from the glowing portals of the morning.—This winged quadruped reminds us of Bellerophon and his

fate; so we descend to talk of earthly things, and the prosaic every-day life of men who, despising the yard measure, the plough, or the chisel, wish to seize on the minds and souls of their fellow beings, and hold them in bondage, listening to the beautiful combination of sweet sounds, looking with enchanted eyes on all that is captivating in form and color, or lost in admiration while the mind's eye contemplates, and the soul glows at the pictures of nature, or of human affections and sufferings, drawn by the life-inspiring pencil of genius.

We fear, that if the large proportion of civilized man, that having got a few hours holiday relaxation in the enchanted gardens of literature, are seized on with a longing to linger in the enchanted walks and bowers during the term of their mortal being, were to have their wishes gratified, and could ever enjoy the bright landscape, at the mere cost of training the luxuriant foliage, watering the flower beds, or acting as guides to the visitors of this paradise,—if all such were gratified with easy success. Ah! how few tillers of the outer-world would there be, what rapid successions of years of famine would ensue, and how ill-made would be our coats and shoes! Though many an ill-starred youth mistaking will for power, and rejecting all wise counsels, rushes into the arena of literature and quickly perishes through want of ability, of force, or skill, we must strive to comfort ourselves with the reflection, that the dismal fate of every one of these may deter a score, at least, of equally unfitted candidates, who will, in consequence, discharge important duties in the great social household, by constructing chimnies not addicted to smoking, or fashioning garments warranted sound in the seams.

If our Author intended to warn individuals of this class, of the dangers and privations that beset the literary and artistic professions, he has only partially succeeded, for the individuals he selects as scare-crows could hardly succeed in any calling, so impatient are they of the possession of money for an hour. They have no more hold on the ordinary world about them, than gipsies have leases of the woods or heaths where they fix their temporary homes; hence he calls them Bohemians, but traces the family to a remote antiquity. Assuming, that all who have ever enjoyed the privilege of entertaining, interesting or profiting their fellow men by the productions of their brains, were first obliged to pass through this probationary state, he gladdens the living penny-a-liner, rapin or fiddler,

by shewing him Moliere, Shakspeare, Rabelais, Tasso, Milton, Ariosto, Lope de Vega, Virgil, Terence, Æschylus, and Homer,\* each enduring the discomforts of his own bitter lot before the world had stamped his works with its enduring seal. Passing over the classification of his subjects into those whose genius is undoubted, but deprived of access to the scene where it might be manifest, and those who mistake their vocations, or are merely under the influence of indolence or dissipated habits, we get a glimpse of their ordinary characteristics.

"Their mere daily existence is a work of genius, a twenty-four hours' problem which they always succeed in solving by audacious calculations. These are the people who would induce Moliere's Harpagon to lend them money, and gather truffles on the raft of the Medusa. At need they can practise abstinence with the virtue of an anchorite; but let a little money fall into their hands, and you will see them astride on the most ruinous fantasies, aspiring to the youngest and fairest, swallowing the richest wines, and finding the windows too small to throw their Napoleons through. Then, when their purse is dead and buried, they resume their meals at the "table d'hôte" of chance, where their cover is always laid, preceded by a train of wiles, poaching on all the occupations that pertain to art, and hunting from morn to eve that beast of chase, '*the five-franc piece*.'

The Bohemians know every thing and are seen every where, according as their boots are varnished or broken in the upper leathers. You find them to-day with their elbows on the chimney-pieces of fashionable salons, and the next, seated at the tables of guinguettes. They cannot take ten steps on the boulevards without espying a friend, nor thirty steps any where without meeting a creditor.

The Bohemians, when together, speak a peculiar language, composed of the causeries of the atelier, the jargon of the coulisses, and the discussions of the editor's sanctum. All the eclecticism of style give rendezvous to each other in this 'unknown tongue,' where the turn of apocalyptic expressions is found united with the homely style of the history of 'Puss in Boots'; where rusticity of diction dovetails with the extravagance of the old stories of chivalry; and where the 'paradox,' that spoiled child of modern literature, handles common sense as they treat *Cassandra* in the pantomimes; an argot understood by themselves, but unintelligible to those who have not the key: this Bohemian vocabulary is the hell of rhetoric and the paradise of neologism."

As Sterne took his solitary prisoner apart from the common herd, we will look in on one of our Bohemians, a musical composer: he is awakened in his garret by a neighbouring

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\* If our Author was conversant with English literature, the omission of *Our Oliver*, the veriest Bohemian of them all, would be unpardonable.

cock, on the morning of the eighth of April, at an hour earlier than he approves.

"Sacrebleu," cried he, "my feathered clock is too fast." Opening his window the sudden light made him wink, but did not convince him of the lateness of the hour. "It really is the bright Aurora herself," he continued; "it is astonishing, but is there no mistake?" Here he consulted a sheet almanac: "there must be a blunder somewhere. Science has appointed the sun to rise at this season at half past five: it is hardly five at this moment, and yet he is up and stirring; indiscreet haste; this star must be lowered a peg or two; I'll lodge a complaint at the Bureau of Longitudes. Oh, oh!" said he, looking at an ill-written scroll pinned to the wall; "this must be the 8th of April, unless time has gone back since yesterday, and at the hour of noon, I must find for my esteemed landlord sixty-six francs, and vacate my splendid abode. I had hoped to this, that the god of chance would take the trouble to settle the affair, but it appears he has not time. Courage! I have six hours before me; perhaps in the interim I will find this confounded melody I've been chasing so long." (*He seats himself at the piano*) "*Do, sol, mi, do, la, si, do, re,—boun, boun, Fa, re, mi, re, ach!* this *re* is as false as Judas," said Schaunard, striking with violence the restive bit of ivory. "Now for the minor key: it should nicely pourtray the grief of a young girl pulling off the leaves of a *daisy* in a blue lake. That's an idea not very new I ween; but as it is the mode, and you cannot get a music seller to publish a romantic ballad without a blue lake in it, we must conform to the fashion. *Do, sol, mi, do la si, do, re*; I protest that's not so bad; it gives a good idea of a *daisy*, especially to such as are strong in botany: *la, si, do, re*; confound that rascal of a *re*! But now to bring the blue lake before the eyes of the audience. We must have combinations of notes that express moisture, sky blue, and moonshine; the moon must not be left out: ah, ha, here it comes. Now for the swan, we must not forget the swan by any means; *fa, mi, la, sol*," continued Schaunard, making the crystalline notes of the lower octave jingle. "Now for the adieu of the young girl who is going to plunge into the blue lake, to rejoin her lover that lies dead under the snow. This is interesting but difficult; it requires tender melancholy notes; delightful! here they are: here is a dozen of measures that weep like Magdalens: it is enough to break one's heart. I wish it could split that log so that I might have a fire, for I feel inspiration descending on me in an influenza. Come, come, let us get our young girl drowned;" and while his fingers punished the trembling keys, Schaunard, with beaming eye and watchful ear, pursued his melody which, like a delusive sylph, floated through the sonorous fog that issued from the vibrations of the instrument, and filled the poorly furnished chamber.

He now examines the poetry to which he is wedding his romantic melody, and is very indifferently pleased with the construction: the metre is something in this style:—

'The fair young girl,  
To the stormy sky,  
(Laying down her cloak)  
Casts a wearied eye.

In the azure lake,  
With its silver waves.' \* \*

Finding that the words and the air do not hang well together, he gets into a passion, and composes a trellis work to support the melody :\* though not poetical, it had the merit of common sense, and expressed the uneasy sensations of the artist's mind, roused by the approaching mid-day hour.

"*Eight and eight are sixteen ;  
I put down six and carry one ;  
I'm sure my mind would be at ease,  
If I could find a worthy man,  
A poor and honest man,  
To lend me thirty pounds,  
Wherewith to pay my lawful debts,  
When twelve o'Clock resounds.*

REFRAIN.

And when that awful chime is heard,  
A quarter unto noon,  
With probity I'd pay my rent,  
To the owner of the room."

"Oh confound it," said he, inspecting *noon* and *room*, "here are verses that are not millionaires, but I have no time to make their fortune."

In the middle of his delight at finding the melody answer his ideas, the dreaded hour arrives, but not the francs. He puts all he can into his capacious pockets, and walks past the porter's lodge, acquainting him that he has taken lodgings in the Rue de Rivoli, and will return to settle his rent, when he can get change of a large note.

While the porter is superintending the admission of the new lodger (a Bohemian painter by the way) who is destined to succeed our musician, a mounted orderly enters the yard with a government despatch for the proprietor of the house. The porter, after signing a receipt for the missive, carries it to his master who is shaving, and far from expecting the promotion announced by this instrument from the War department.

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\* What follows is a specimen of those unmeaning collections of words to which musicians, when they have not the poetry ready made, adapt their compositions, they call them *monsters*.

"Oh my good fortune," cried M. Bernard in such a joyful fright that he nearly cut off the end of his nose, "from the minister of war! It must be my nomination to the cross of the Legion of Honour. They have at last recognised my warlike air and appointments. Here Durand," said he, fumbling in his waistcoat pocket; "here is a hundred-sous piece for you to drink my health; hold, I have not my purse; no matter, you shall have it by and bye; wait."

The porter was so disturbed by this astonishing generosity, a weakness to which his patron was not prone, that he actually placed his cap on his head; but M. Bernard, who at another moment would have resented this infraction of social etiquette, did not appear even to notice it. He clapped on his spectacles, broke the seal with the awe of a cadi receiving the firman of a Sultan, and commenced to read the despatch. At the first words a frightful grimace indented the purple folds in his fat cheeks, and his little eyes darted such flames, as ought to have set the curls of his bushy wig on fire. In fine, such a revolution took place in his features, that you would have said, his face had suffered an earthquake.

Here are the contents of that missive, written on paper used in the head office of the Minister of War, brought at a hand gallop by a dragoon, and for which, the worthy porter had given a formal receipt.

'Monsieur and Proprietor.

'Politeness, which, if we trust the mythology, is the grandmother of good manners, obliges me to let you know, that cruel necessity puts it out of my power to fulfil the ordinary custom of paying one's rent, especially, when it is really due. Up to this very morning I cherished the hope of celebrating this fine day, by settling the three quarters due; all a chimera, an illusion, a fiction; or, as they say in England, 'a delusion, a mockery, and a snare.' While I was reposing on the pillow of security, Fate or Necessity, *Amor* in Greek—Fate, I say, scattered my hopes to the four winds. The accounts on which I depended—my dear Sir, business is very bad just now;—have not been paid; and of all the sums on which I calculated, I touched but three francs, borrowed from a friend: I will not tender them in payment. Better days must come for *notre belle France* and for me—doubt it not, my worthy Sir. As soon as they arrive, I will borrow wings to give you information, and to withdraw from your domicile, the valuable property I've left behind. This I now place under the protection of you and of the law which forbids, for a year, the legal sale, if you should unfortunately desire, in the interim, to realise the sums for which you are given credit in the register of my conscience. I particularly recommend to your care, my grand piano, and the box, in which you will find sixty ringlets, whose hues exhibit the complete gamut of capillary shades, and which have been severed from the foreheads of the Graces, by the sheers of Cupid.

You are hereby entitled, Monsieur and Proprietor, to dispose of the asylum in which I have so long reposed. I hereby grant you that permission under my hand and seal.

ALEXANDER SCHAUNARD."

Our artist had written this unsatisfactory epistle in the

bureau of the Minister of War, where one of his friends held office. Our readers will probably form a correct idea of the state of *M. Bernard's* mind after its perusal, and his indignation against the unconsciously covered porter, and of the chance of the hundred-sous piece getting present circulation.

The new tenant is Marcel the painter, and as his furniture merely consists of a sort of panorama of a palace interior, the proprietor simply requests to know when his moveables are to arrive.

" 'Here they are,' answered the young man, pointing out the superb adornments of the grand interior. 'But you must be aware, that I require some sort of security for my rent.' 'Bah! are not the fixtures of a palace sufficient for the rent of a garret?' 'No Sir, I require real articles; mahogany, no less.' 'Alas, my dear Sir, neither gold nor mahogany can confer happiness, as an ancient philosopher wisely observed; besides, mahogany is a vulgar furniture, every one has it.' 'But surely you have furniture of some kind.' 'Not I; when you are encumbered with tables and chairs there is no place to sit.' 'However, you have a bed at all events; on what do you repose?' 'I repose on Providence, Monsieur.' 'But, Sir, what is your profession?' Here the entrance of a commissionaire with an easel, threw the proprietor and his porter into a fright, and set the hair of their heads on end.

*Proprietor to Porter*: 'You rascal, why did you not look for references?' 'Sir, he gave me earnest, and that convinced me of his respectability.'

*Proprietor*, on reflection: 'If you choose to pay me in advance, you can have the room furnished as it was left by the late tenant, at twenty-five francs per month, payable in advance.' 'Monsieur, you have repeated that last condition twice, the phrase is not worth an encore. Give me the change of this five-hundred-franc note.'

*Landlord, stupified*: 'Sir, you shall have it at once; you have only to advance twenty francs, having given five already as earnest.'

*Marcel*: 'Let the worthy Durand retain the fee, and this service he shall render in return. Each morning he shall enter my apartment, and, in plain French, announce the day of the week, the month and date, the moon's age, the state of the weather, and the form of government under which we live.' 'Ah, Monsieur,' cried Durand, 'describing an arc of ninety degrees.'

While these things were passing, *Schaunard* was beating through the streets of Paris, what himself called the *rappel de la Monnaie*.

"Schaunard had raised borrowing to the dignity of an art. Foreseeing the possibility of being obliged to victimise foreigners, he had learned to ask the loan of a five-franc piece in all the known languages of the world. Better than any pilot he knew the tides of the money market; the times of high and low water he understood; he



was cognisant of the days on which his friends received their salaries, and those when their treasury was empty. Thus, at houses where he had the entree, on seeing him enter in the morning they never said, 'here's M. Schannard, but here is the first or fifteenth of May,' as the case might be. To equalise and facilitate the collection of his tithe, as he called it, he had arranged by quarters and arrondissements, an alphabetical list of all his acquaintance, willing or able to lend. Opposite each name was placed the highest figure he could afford, the day he was in funds, his hour for meals, and the general economy of his house. Besides this memorandum book, he kept a ledger, in which he entered the sums borrowed, ay, to the very centime; and the total never went beyond the amount which he knew depended at the nib of an uncle's pen, whose heir he hoped to be. As soon as an individual debt came up to twenty francs, he paid it at once, even should he borrow it from a second friend; so he preserved a certain amount of credit which he called his floating debt, and his friends continued to accommodate him as well as they could afford.

This morning, out of his seventy-five francs (sixty-six with costs) he was only able to amass a miserable crown, by the collaboration of the letters, M. V. and R.: all the other letters of the alphabet having their own liabilities to meet, were obliged to put him off to another time.

At six o'clock, the dinner bell of his stomach rang a peal; he was now at the Barrier of Maine where lived his friend U——. On him he called, as his knife and fork were always there, when knives and forks were in question.

'Where are you going?' said the porter. 'To see Mr. U.' 'He is not within.' 'And Madame?' 'She is not at home either. I was directed, if a friend called, to hand him this paper; you are the person, I suppose,' and he handed him the paper, on which was inscribed:—'We are gone to dine with Schannard, you will find us there.'

He makes the acquaintance of a teacher of languages at a restaurant's, where he goes to procure something to eat. This is the philosopher *Colline*, whose chief characteristic is a load of old books in his coat pockets. *Colline* introduces him to *Rodolphe*, editor of a puffing shopkeepers' journal, called *The Scarf of Iris*.

"His face lost itself in a beard of many colors. As a set off to this abundance at the chin, a precocious baldness had spoiled his forehead, which strongly resembled a knee, and which, some hairs very easily counted, were striving to cover. He was dressed in a black coat, tansured at the elbows, and furnished with ventilators at the inner seams, visible when he raised his arms. His pantaloons might once have been black, but his boots, which certainly never had been new, appeared to have been round the world more than once on the feet of the Wandering Jew.'"

The three Bohemians scrape acquaintance, and get tipsy together. When they are about to separate, a heavy shower comes on, and *Schaunard* forgetting his ejection, offers hospitality to his new friends. They accept, and ascend to his chamber, where *Schaunard* is mystified by seeing in his door on the outside, that key which he knows to be at that moment in his own pocket. More terrible still, he hears his piano playing a voluntary in which the rebellious *re* is easily distinguished.

*Marcel* admits them, and a scene of ludicrous confusion ensues, as *Schaunard* recognises the various articles in the apartment, through the fumes of intoxication, without being able to recal the circumstances of his sequestration. Finding some five-franc pieces of *Marcel's* in the press, he concludes, that they had come and settled themselves there for his behoof, while he was on his quest. Finally, some understanding is established, and the four Bohemians swear everlasting brotherhood, take supper, and next morning are pretty well astonished on hearing *Durand* announce in the style of a town-crier, "Monsieur, this is the 9th of April, 1840, there is mud in the streets, and His Majesty Louis Philippe is still the King of France and Navarre."

We have seldom fallen on a book so utterly without a plan. At the end of a chapter our heroes will be as comfortable as possible, and keeping house in a creditable manner (*a la Bohémienne*), and in the beginning of the next, the poor fellows will be without supper or bed. At the end of the work there is held out some visionary hope of seeing each exercising his art legitimately and living respectably by it, as Youth and Bohemianism have only a limited term. This being premised, we might as profitably begin our extracts at the last page and go backwards; but as the other process is easier we will give it the preference:—

"*Schaunard* and *Marcel*, having been vigorously at work since morning, suspended their labours all at once. 'Sacrebleu,' said *Schaunard*, 'I am dreadfully hungry, are we to dine to day?' *Marcel* appeared confounded by this query. 'Will you tell me when we were able to dine two days in succession?' and he pointed to the table of the Commandments of the Church which hung on the wall—

'On Friday you shall eat no flesh,  
Nor any such like food.'

*Schaunard* could find no effective reply, and set himself at work on his picture, a fine composition of a blue and a red tree in an open plain, shaking hands through the agency of their branches; a transparent allusion to the delights of friendship."

The porter opens the door and demands three sous, postage on a letter. *Marcel* promises to owe it to him, shuts the door in his face, and, on reading the missive, begins to execute a Pyrrhic dance, and sing the immortal charter song of the Quartier Latin, which the reader will find translated in *THE IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW*, No. 12, p. 839. *Schaunard* threatens that if he does not cease, he will execute the allegro of his symphony on "*The influence of BLUE in the arts.*" This acts like a mug of cold water falling into a boiling pot, and *Marcel* communicates to his friend, that he has received an invitation to a dinner given by a deputy.

" 'Ah how will you go in a red coat and a *debardeur's* cap?' 'I will borrow *Colline's* or *Rodolphe's* dress coat.' 'Do you forget, you simpleton, that we are past the twentieth, when these gentlemen's coats are always under the care of their aunt.' 'At all events I'll find one in the next five hours.' 'I took three weeks to the same task at my cousin's marriage.' *Marcel* went out in a state of agitation, and returned in two hours adorned with a false collar. 'It was not worth the trouble,' said *Schaunard*, 'we have paper enough to make a dozen.' 'But,' said *Marcel*, tearing his hair, 'we ought to have some effects; and he instituted a diligent search in every nook and corner. In an hour he realised a suit of this quality:—

A plaid trowsers,  
A grey hat,  
A red cravat,  
A glove, once white,  
A black do.

'At need the two gloves may be black, but I fear you will resemble the solar spectrum when in full dress.'

*Marcel* now inspected the boots. Oh, misery! both belonged to the same foot. Finally, he selected one on which they were in the habit of daubing their used colors; and now everything was right, but the absence of the dress coat, and the circumstance of one boot being pointed and the other square-toed. A knock was heard and a comfortable looking, honest countryman entered. He announced himself as a sugar refiner of Nantes, going on a voyage, and wishing to get his portrait painted by *M. Schaunard*. 'Oh, blessed chance,' said the painter, '*Marcel*, hand a seat to Mr. —' '*M. Blancheron*,' said the stranger, Delegate of the Sugar Company, Mayor of V., Captain of the National Guard, and Author of a pamphlet on the sugar question. 'Extremely honored, Sir, by your choice,' bowing to the sugar refiner, 'how do you wish your portrait taken?' 'In miniature, such as that,' said *M. Blancheron*, pointing to a three-quarter canvass; for with the worthy man of sugar, as with others, everything not large enough for a public hall is a miniature. This naïveté of *M. Blancheron* gave the painter his complete measure, especially after he expressed his wish to be painted in fine colors;

'We never use any others, my dear Sir.' 'But what will be the expense?' 'Sixty francs, with the hands; fifty, without.' 'Oh, confound it, my cousin spoke of thirty.' 'Sir, that is according to the season, colors are much dearer at some parts of the year.' 'Just like sugar.' 'Exactly.' 'Well, fifty francs, let it be.' 'Sir, you are wrong: for ten francs more your hands will be displayed, one of them holding in triumph your brochure on sugar.' 'Ah, by my faith, you are right.' 'If he goes on thus,' said Schaunard to Marcel, 'I'll explode, and wound him with some of my fragments.'

*Marcel, aside to S.:* 'Do you observe that he has a black coat?' 'Leave me alone; I will do the job. Sir, if you are ready, we will commence at once. One good sitting will considerably advance the business. If you take off your coat, we will fall to.' 'Why my coat?' 'Do you not intend your portrait for your family?' 'Without doubt.' 'Then you must be represented in your domestic habit, your dressing gown; in fact it is the invariable custom; here is the garment;' and he presented a ragged robe to his victim, who eyed its rents and paint blotches with much suspicion. 'It is a singular article of dress,' said he. 'Very singular: a Turkish vizier made a present of it to Horace Vernet, who bestowed it on me: I am his pupil.' 'You a pupil of Vernet's?' 'I am proud to say I am. (*To himself*; oh horror! I am renouncing my faith).'

'Hang up Monsieur's coat by the wardrobe,' said Schaunard to Marcel with a knowing wink: 'get away quickly; be back at ten; I will detain the prey so long, and bring me something in your pocket.' Marcel assumed the dress, and vanished at the second door of the atelier. Schaunard set to work, and M. Blancheron, hearing the clock strike six, recollected that he had not dined. Schaunard replied that he was in the same predicament, though he had been invited to a mansion in the Fauborg St. Germain. (*Dinner is ordered up by the sitter, and a very good dinner Schaunard took care it should be.*) \* \* \*

At eight o'clock, M. Blancheron felt the need of pouring into the bosom of a friend, his notions on the manufacture of sugar; and he recited at full length the pamphlet he had written: Schaunard accompanied the rehearsal on the piano.

At ten o'clock M. Blancheron and his friend were dancing a galop and *tu-toi-ing* one another: at eleven they swore never to separate, and each made his will in which he appointed the other his residuary legatee.

At midnight, Marcel entered, and found them in each other's arms and weeping abundantly; there was already half an inch of water about them. He knocked against the table, and saw the remains of a splendid repast; he looked into the bottles, but they were empty.

He endeavoured to rouse Schaunard, but he swore he would murder any one that would attempt to snatch him from his dear friend M. Blancheron, whom he had converted into a pillow.

'Ungrateful man,' said Marcel, pulling out a pocketful of nuts; 'and I that have brought him his supper.' \* \* \*

About the end of December our good-natured, insouciant,

and pleasure-disposed Bohemians issued cards of invitation to the following effect :—

“‘ Messrs. Rodolphe and Marcel request the honor of your company on Saturday next, being Christmas Eve : lots of laughter.

P.S. We have only a short lease of life.

#### PROGRAMME OF THE ENTERTAINMENT.

7 o'clock. Opening of the salon ; lively and animated conversation.

8 o'clock. Entrée and promenade of the witty authors of ‘ *The Mountain in labour*,’ a comedy rejected at the Odeon.

Half past 8. Alexander Schaunard, the distinguished virtuoso, will execute on the piano, *The influence of Blue in the fine arts*, an imitative symphony.

9 o'clock. First reading of the paper on the abolition of *Punishment by Tragedy*.

Half past 9. M. Gustavus Colline, the great hyperphysic philosopher, and M. Alexr. Schaunard, will sustain a discussion on philosophy and comparative metapolity. In order to prevent any disagreeable collision the disputants will first be strapped to their respective seats.

10 o'clock. M. Tristan, a distinguished man of letters, will recite his youthful loves ; M. Alexr. Schaunard will accompany him on the piano.

Half past 10. Second reading of the paper on the abolition of *Punishment by Tragedy*.

11 o'clock. Recital of the hunting of the casaor by a foreign prince.

#### SECOND PART.

At midnight. M. Marcel, historic painter, will get his eyes bandaged, and improvise with white chalk the interview of Voltaire and Napoleon in the Elysian Fields. M. Rodolphe will also improvise a parallel between the author of *Zaire* and the author of the *Battle of Austerlitz*.

Half past 12. M. Gustavus Colline, in modest dishabille, will give a representation of the athletic sports of the fourth Olympiad.

1 in the morning. Third reading of the paper on the abolition of *Punishment by Tragedy*, and a collection for the benefit of tragic authors out of employ.

2 o'clock. Commencement of games and organisation of quadrilles to last till morning.

6 o'clock. Rising of the sun, and final chorus.

During the festival, ventilators will be in full operation.

N.B. Any person attempting to read verses of his own composition will be summarily ejected, and given into the hands of the police. Guests are requested not to put candle ends in their pockets.”

Many of the invited looked on this document with much suspicion, for *Rodolphe* and *Marcel* had been issuing similar invitations for ‘next Saturday,’ any week of the last fifty one,

and still, circumstances over which, &c. &c. relentlessly deferred the entertainment. In their promenades and visits, they were doomed to hear uncomplimentary allusions to that slippery Saturday, till at last the matter assumed the character and force of a *scie*.\* So they took heart of grace, and though the cost would be one hundred francs, and they were not even provided with *one*, they were determined to trust to their good luck to bring them through with credit. On the evening before, they laid their heads together, and by judicious retrenchments in cakes and other delicacies, reduced the expence to fifteen instead of a hundred francs, thus simplifying the question without bringing it to a safe solution.

*Rodolphe* starts next morning to wait on his uncle, who generally makes him a present as often as he listens to his recital of the battle of Studzianka: *Marcel* paints a view of a "Moated Grange" in ruin, and waits on a Jew patron, but they meet on their return, *Rodolphe* not having seen his uncle, and *Marcel* having found his dealer insensible to the charms of any subject but the *Bombardment of Tangier*.

On entering their atelier, *Rodolphe* proposes to rip the sofa, suspecting it, from its hardness, to contain some hoards deposited by the old emigrés, but *Marcel* looks on the operation as savouring of an incident in a farce: at last, by dint of fumbling, an old crown piece of the time of Charlemagne is discovered, and *Marcel* carries it to *Father Medicis*, the Jew broker.

During his absence *Rodolphe* calls on their friend and brother *Colline* to borrow his black coat, as in his capacity of host it was befitting that he should be in full dress. *Colline* objects, that in his own capacity of guest, his coat was a thing of need to himself, but being of a yielding disposition he gives way, and resolves to be content with his slate colored paletot. In passing the coat to his friend he cries,—

" 'Wait, wait, there are some little things inside.' "

The black coat of *Colline* deserves a word. In the first place it was of a blue color, but *Colline* called it his black coat, and it being the only presentable one in the society, every one said when mentioning it, 'Colline's black coat.' Enormous skirts attached to a short body, covered two pockets, or rather pits, containing thirty volumes on an average. These he always carried about with him, and his friends used to remark that the savans and men of letters,

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\* For the nature of the persecution signified by this word, see the paper on Alphonse Karr, No. 8.

during the recesses at the public libraries, might resort for reference to the ever patent skirts of Colline's coat."

This day, for a wonder, they only contained a 4to. volume of Bayle, a treatise on the hyperphysic philosophy in three volumes, a volume of Condillac, two of Swedenborg, Pope's *Essay on Man*, two Arabic grammars, a Malay dictionary, and a *Perfect Bouvier* in Chinese, his favorite study.

*Marcel* has succeeded beyond his expectations: he met a collector at the Jew's whose numismatic treasury wanted the very piece in *Rodolphe's* possession. He would have gladly parted with it for five francs, but the Jew interfered and got thirty, of which he only retained fifteen himself.

The soiree passed off triumphantly. *Schaunard* arrived at eight o'clock, conveying three ladies who had forgotten their bonnets and jewels. He introduced one as an English gentlewoman, whom the downfall of the Stewarts had driven into exile: she lived by giving lessons in English, though her father had been Lord Chancellor under Cromwell.\* "you must be very polite and not *tu-toi* her too much." Between the several courses in the programme, refreshments were handed round; no one could rightly recollect afterwards of what they consisted, but the success of the Fête was the subject of conversation for eight days through the whole *Quartier*.

Our friends had money occasionally in their pockets, and to their credit be it said, that no one ever for a moment thought of helping himself while his friends were in need. *Marcel* has been painting and repainting "*The Passage of the Red Sea*" any time for three years, and still the dragons of the Exposition will not let it touch their walls. While he is vigorously employed drowning his Egyptians, *Rodolphe* enters and scatters five hundred francs round the room. *Marcel* is reasonably-astonished, especially as *Rodolphe* tells him his ultimate plan, which is 'to renounce Bohemianism, to wear a black coat, to live like the rest of the world, to work for three months, and be economical. If *Marcel* wishes to imitate his example well and good; if not he desires no more of his acquaintance.'

"My friend," said *Marcel*, "economy is a science to be attained by the rich alone; hence you and I are ignorant of the first elements. However, by an outlay of six francs, we

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\* The reader will judge for himself whether Dudley Costello, Jolly Green, or Henry Murger, has condescended to be an imitator.

can procure the works of M. Jean Baptiste Say, who is a distinguished economist. By reading them carefully we will probably learn to practise the art. Hold! is that a Turkish chibouke you have got?" "Yes, it has only cost twenty-five francs." "Twenty-five francs for a pipe, and you talk of economy!" "And it is a saving without doubt. Every day I break a clay pipe, and at the year's end my expense would much exceed the cost of this fine article." "Faith, you're right."

Six o'clock is now heard, and they go abroad to dine, finding it more economical than to lose their precious time in cooking for themselves. The dinner amounts to fifteen francs, whereas on ordinary occasions they only expended thirty sous between them. So they think it will be more economical to hire a Swiss, and teach him to cook, wash out their pencils, copy writings, and clean their boots, thus saving themselves six hours per day. They also console themselves for the dearthness of the dinner, by the certainty that an inferior one would have inflicted the expense of a supper on their frugal purse.

"'Are we going to work this evening?' 'No, by my faith,' said Rodolphe: 'I'll visit my uncle and let him know my improved prospects; he will give me some good advice. And you, Marcel?' 'I am going to old Medicis, to see if he wants any old paintings touched up. 'Apropos, give me five francs.' 'What for?' 'To cross the Pont des Arts.' 'It is a useless expense, and though of small amount, it is an infraction of our rule.' 'I am wrong, I see: I will take the Pont Neuf, but I must hire a cabriolet.' So the friends parted in different directions, but by some chance they found themselves at the same house a little afterwards. 'Oh dear! you have not found your uncle at home.' 'Nor you, Father Medicis;' and they both burst out laughing. They went home, however, at an early hour—in the morning."

The system of economy continues in full vigour, but the "Organization of Labour" halts. Their Swiss servant hires a commissionaire to carry his parcels: he will not pose for *Pharaoh*, so *Marcel* cannot finish his *Passage of the Red Sea* in time for the exhibition: he neglects to bring books wanted for reference, and *Rodolphe's* articles for *The Scarf of Iris* are in abeyance. They are about to dismiss their slave on the tenth day after the great receipt, but unluckily find their treasury empty. They verify the account, but the only expense they really lament is the paying of their rent, which their dunce of a Swiss executed in their absence on the landlord presenting his receipt. A few of the items regularly and



daily entered are here presented, with the expenders' running commentary.

"We must audit the accounts," said *Rodolphe*, "perhaps we will find out the error." "Ah, but we will not find the money," said *Marcel*: "it is all the same, let us consult the book of expences." (Here is a specimen of the disbursements practised under the auspices of Saint Economy.)

"*March 19th.* Receipts, 500fr. Expenses; one Turkish pipe, 25fr.; dinner, 15fr.; sundries, 40fr. 'What about the sundries?' said *Rodolphe* to *Marcel* who was the reader. 'You know as well as I; it was the day we came in early; we saved however, in fire and candle-light. *March 20th.* Breakfast, 1fr. 50c.; tobacco, 20c.; dinner, 2fr.; an eye-glass, 2fr. 50c. 'Ah, ha!' said *Marcel*, 'the lorgnon was for you; what did you want it for? your eyesight is quite good.' 'I had to write an account of the exhibition for *The Scarf of Iria*. It is out of the question to write a critique on pictures without an eye-glass; the expense is legitimate, go on.' \* \* \* *March 26th.* 'Sundry expenses necessary in an artistic sense, 36fr. 40c.' 'What was the object so useful and so expensive?' 'Do you not recollect the day we climbed the tower of Notre Dame to get a bird's eye view of Paris?' 'Oh, yes; 8 sous for permission to go up.' 'Ah, but we dined the same day at St. Germain's.' \* \* \* *March 30th.* 'Company to dinner, 55 fr. Still a balance remains, but where is it?'"

Then the receipt is found, and the poor valet is about to be dismissed for his officiousness; but he appeals to their mercy, and the kind though economical men of letters cannot find in their hearts to execute the sentence.

However disposed an author may be to look only on the side of life which is presented by youth, brisk animal spirits, or heedlessness of the future, the inevitable results of irregular courses, or even grave errors of judgment, will force themselves on his attention. *Murger*, with much feeling, relates an instance of the fate of one of his acquaintance.

"Amongst the genuine Bohemians I once knew was poor *Jacques D.* He was a sculptor, and held out a promise of undoubted talent, but misery left him not sufficient time to fulfil this promise. \* \* \* An affair of the heart gave impulse to the progress of his malady. By his own desire he was conducted to St. Louis's Hospital, and as he was able still to work and move about, he requested a small room and materials for modelling. During the first fifteen days he wrought at a figure which he intended for the tomb of *Francine*; an angel with outspread wings. It was never finished, for poor *Jacques* became too weak to mount the steps, and soon after was unable to quit his bed.

He now wrote to his family and asked for the attendance of Sister *Saint-Geneviève*, who surrounded him from that moment with

every solace and attention. 'My sister,' said Jacques one day, 'I have in the chamber above there, a little statue in plaster of Paris. This statue, representing an angel, was destined for a tomb, but I have now no time nor power to execute it in marble: to be brief, dear sister, I bequeath you this little statuette for the chapel of your community.'

Jacques then lay in No. 14, myself in No. 16 of the hall St. Victoire, a wretched spot to die in. Good reader, let me, before relating any more, take a whiff out of the old clay pipe which he gave me the day he was ordered by the doctor to cease smoking.

Nevertheless at times in the night when the warden went to sleep, poor Jacques borrowed his pipe again, and asked me for some tobacco. It is very dreary to be awake in these dismal large halls, during the long night, when you suffer and cannot sleep.

'No more than one or two whiffs,' said he, and I gave way; and Sister Saint-Geneviève took care not to seem to perceive the smoke as she went her rounds. Ah, good Sister, how kind you were! and how beautiful also, when you came round to sprinkle us with 'the holy water.' We would see you ever so far off, under the gloomy vaulted ceiling, walking gently, clad in the white robes which formed such graceful folds, and which my friend Jaques so much admired. Ah! good Sister, you were the 'Beatrice' of this 'Inferno': so sweet were your consolations, that we complained often for no other reason than to be comforted by your kind words and the expression of your heavenly face. If poor Jacques had not died one day while the snow was falling, he would have carved the sweet Virgin Mother for you to place in your little cell.

Jacques had in him, as I said before, the stuff of a great artist, and yet he was not able to turn it to account. During the two months of our acquaintance, and in which he felt himself in the arms of death, he never uttered a single complaint, nor gave way to those lamentations which render the unappreciated artist so contemptible. He died as a common mortal, and without the slightest attempt at a pose.

His father whom he had grievously offended by his choice of a profession, grudged every one of the items that compose a decent interment, and finally got into a fury when he was requested to provide a shroud. He asked if they were not yet done tormenting him. The good sister who was present at this miserable discussion, cast a look on the corpse, and let fall these naïve and feeling words: 'Ah, Monsieur! we cannot inter the poor boy in this way, it is so cold: give him a shirt at least, so that he may not appear naked before the '*Bon Dieu*.'

We are somewhat unbinged by this mournful extract; and having as great an objection to *punishment by tragedy*, as *Marcel* or *Rodolphe* themselves, we will make an effort to get out of the 'slough of despond' and take the sunny side of the hedge that intersects the course of our artists' lives.

*Rodolphe* calling on *Marcel* to borrow some odd francs,

finds him in conversation with a widow who is engaging him to paint, on her husband's tomb, a man's hand, with this legend underneath, '*I wait your coming, dear spouse.*' In order to get it done at a lower rate, she promises the lucky artist the painting of another hand (clasping the present one,) at the period of her death. The male limb is to be distinguished by a cut on the thumb, and the female by a bracelet on the wrist. The affectionate consort, not satisfied with this sacrifice, wishes for a most cutting elegy, but that screw, *Mr. Guerin* the public amanuensis, "insists almost on the very eyes out of her head" for its composition. Here is a piece of good luck in the way of *Rodolphe*. He accepts the commission for the sum of ten francs, engaging that the verses shall be the saddest possible, and the orthography blameless. On the widow's departure, he gratefully prays for a life of seven hundred years to be granted to her, but is obliged to modify the extent on recollecting *Rodolphe's* interest in her speedy and happy decease. He borrows some money for tobacco, and for candles to complete his task that night, and also *Marcel's* white bear skin: the winter is intense, and *Rodolphe* inhabits a very badly defended garret, some eight stages above the entresol.

After securing his candle with oiled paper, he composes two verses of the epitaph; but though his body is preserved nearly warm by the bear skin, his fingers are nearly frozen and he is obliged to drop the pen. A lucky thought enters his mind: he pops an early copy of the first act of his unaccepted drama, *The Avenger*, into the empty grate, sets it on fire; and by its means his fingers are thawed, and he is enabled to finish another verse:—

"Nothing could exceed the astonishment of the four Cardinal Winds when they perceived fire in the chimney of *Rodolphe's* stove.

'It is an illusion,' whistled out the North Wind whose greatest delight was to rub *Rodolphe's* hair against the grain. 'Let us blow down the flue and put out the fire,' said another Wind; but as they were preparing to torment the poor poet, the South Wind perceived *M. Arago* at a window of the observatory, holding up his finger at the four ravagers.

So the South Wind cried to his brothers, 'let us make our escape. In the Almanack, this night is marked *Calm*. We will be found in a hostile position towards the observatory, and if we are not home by midnight we will be put under restraint.' (By the time that the last act of the piece is consumed the elegy is triumphantly brought to a close.)

Our four philosophers patronise a particular room of a par-

ticular café, *The Moussu*: the room would easily accommodate forty persons, but they manage to render it intolerable to every one but themselves. The chance comer, dismayed at the strange and savage idiom of the society, and their peculiar notions on political economy, fled before he had read his journal or finished his demi-tasse. The conversation of the four Bohemians was of such a nature that the garçon who served them, was rendered imbecile in the flower of his age.

The nuisance became so unbearable, that the proprietor was obliged one evening to state his grievance, divided into the following heads.

*Primo*.—That M. Rodolphe when he came to breakfast, took all the journals into this room, swearing when he found them even taken out of the covers: so that the other customers, deprived of the organs of public opinion, remained till dinner hour, ignorant as carp of the political movements of the day. The Society Bosquet could scarcely tell the names of the members of the last ministry. M. Rodolphe had even obliged the establishment to take in the *Castor* of which he was the chief editor. The establishment had at first very properly refused, but he and his comrades persisted so vigorously in calling for *the Castor*, ‘waiter, *the Castor*,’ that the other customers began to think there must be something in it; and the proprietor was obliged to subscribe for *the Castor*, a paper devoted to the company of hatters, appearing once a month, adorned with a vignette and an article on fashions by M. G. Colline.

*Secundo*.—That the said M. Colline and his friend M. Rodolphe relaxed from their literary labours in playing *Trictrac* from 10 o’clock A. M. till midnight; and as the establishment possessed but one table for *Trictrac*, the other customers found themselves impeded in their passion for this play by the monopoly of these gentlemen, who, according as they were requested for the use of the table would cry out, ‘the *Trictrac* is engaged, call again to-morrow.’ The Society Bosquet is consequently reduced to the necessity of recounting their early loves to each other, or playing at picquet.

*Tertio*.—M. Marcel, forgetting that the salon is public property, has caused his easel and his box of colors to be introduced, and even his living models of both sexes; a cause of scandal to the sensitive morals of the Society Bosquet.

*Quarto*.—That M. Schaunard in imitation of his friend, has introduced his piano, and has even gone so far as to execute thereon, and get chaunted in chorus, a motive extracted from his symphony, *The influence of BLUE in the arts*. He has even gone farther; he has introduced into the lamp which serves as ensign to the café, a transparency to this effect;—

MUSICAL ENTERTAINMENT VOCAL AND INSTRUMENTAL: FREE TO  
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.

*Enquire at the Bar.*

In consequence the said Bar is beset every evening by ill clad youth of both sexes, enquiring the way to the music salon.

Moreover, M. Schaunard has appointed rendezvous in the said salon to a lady calling herself Phemie, who always forgets to put on a cap on the occasion of her visits.

So M. Bosquet junior has declared against setting foot for the future, where the laws of nature and politeness are set at naught.

*Quinto.*—The Garçon *Bergami* (so called from his hairy appendages), corrupted by the discourse of these gentlemen, forgetting his lowly origin, and setting all decorum at defiance, has taken the liberty to address the lady at the bar in a copy of verses, in which he encourages her to forget her duties as wife and mother. It has been judged from the disorder of the style, that this pestilent piece has been written under the influence of M. Rodolphe and his peculiar literature.

*Sexto et Ultimo.*—That in consequence, and much to his regret, the proprietor is obliged to request the Society Colline to patronise some other Café for the discussions of their revolutionary projects.

Colline being appointed the spokesman, adroitly removed all these objections, shewing that the society had raised the obscure tavern to the dignity of a literary Atheneum; that their withdrawal would be its ruin; that their moderate consumption of liquids, &c., would be enlarged by an account being opened, and of which they would furnish the ledger at their own cost; and that the incendiary epistle should excite Monsieur's gratitude, as it proved Madame's virtue to be above suspicion. He then covenanted that Phemie should not for the future forget her cap, and that the Triotrac table should be surrendered to the Society Bosquet every Sunday after two o'clock."

A certain *Carolus Barbemuche*, a frequenter of the café *Momus*, pays a heavy score for the society *Colline*, and through a series of diplomatic marches and countermarches, to which the proceedings of the conference of Vienna, are but a game of Scotch-hop, he gets himself enrolled a Bohemian: a good portion of the volume is taken up with this famous operation, but it merely improves their ordinary fare for a time, and we have no space for the details.

Amid all their follies they labour hard during intervals, at their vocation. *Schaunard* is requested to call on an Englishman, who rejoices in the name *Birn'n*. He is received by a lacquey in blue, who passes him to a lacquey in green, who then hands him to a lacquey in black, who introduces him to *Mr. Birn'n* who is sitting in the pose of Hamlet reflecting on the famous *To be, &c.* A parrot at this moment screams out at the top of his throat from the balcony of the floor underneath, and the gentleman of the discordant name cries in anguish, "Oh the beast, *il fera mourir moa.*" This unhappy bird belongs to an actress in vogue; and her literary visitors have taught such unseemly lessons to the favourite, that seve-

ral complaints are made by the neighbours; and some respectable tenants, fathers of families, &c., have given warning in order to get their young people away from the influence of the unprincipled conversation of the feathered biped.

Our Englishman had endured the plague for three months, (the parrot be it understood never ceased from noon till night), and then paid a visit to the actress. She took him for *Hoffman* as *Lord Spleen*, and invited him to breakfast. He consented, in 'French of twenty-five lessons', on condition that the bird, who smoking his man had commenced, *God save the King*, should furnish the chief part of the meal. After some parley he took a score of tickets for her benefit, and she consented to put the parrot in a back room where he would be out of hearing. She addressed her visitor as *Milord*, but he thus set her right, *Oh je n'étais pas Milord—Je n'étais seulement esquire*, and when she was about to give him change he bade her keep the difference, as *ce était pour boire*, and this of course outraged her feelings beyond limits. To add to her chagrin, her esquire having paid for twenty or thirty of the best places in the boxes, neither went himself nor gave the tickets to any of his friends; and *Madame Dolores* suffered all sorts of mortifications from the other actresses on account of her empty boxes. So great was her rage, that she put out the immoral and talkative bird on the balcony on her return from the theatre, and poor *Mr. Birn'n* did not get a moment's rest till morning. Open war being thus declared, *Dolores* (we should have mentioned that this Spanish lady saw the first light in the Rue Coquenard) had her parrot taught the vilest expressions in the English tongue, to punish the proud Islander whom she hoped to banish from her neighbourhood; but little was she aware of the strength of British obstinacy. He first got a concert established in his room, the instruments being drums, and nothing but drums. A police commissary interfering, *Mr. Birn'n* turned his suite of rooms into a shooting gallery. On the complaints of the neighbours reaching the same functionary, and his consequent interference, the firing ceased, but in two days *Mme. Dolores* found that it was raining in her apartments. The proprietor paying a visit to his tenant, and looking in through an aperture in the upper part of the Englishman's door, found his sitting room converted into a bath, and *Mr. Birn'n* swimming about very much to his satisfaction. The unfortunate landlord complained grievously of the damage,

and the obstinate Englishman, being thoroughly submissive to legal authority, and finding it forbidden to enjoy a private bath on so large a scale, got his lake drained. It was time, for the neighbours had begun to be sensible of "an ancient and fish-like smell" in the locality, and a bed of oysters was in process of formation on the boards of the salon. Now he resorted to legal means, and knowing that *Dolores* and her pet were accustomed to sleep up to 12 o'clock, he employed *Schaunard* to execute a tune on the three notes, the most discordant among themselves, to be found in the gamut, every day from early dawn to three o'clock. We are uncertain as to the party with whom victory remained. This is an instance of *Schaunard's* good luck: we will now turn to a fortunate event in the career of *Marcel*.

This artist in grain had labored for five years at his famous *Red Sea Passage*, and five times was it deemed unfit for the salon. It was a current belief in the *ateliers*, that if the picture was placed on wheels, it would find its way to the Louvre without help. After the first refusal, the painter, without changing the general effect of the composition, made an alteration or two, and called it *The crossing of the Rubicon*, but the hangmen detected Pharaoh under the toga of Cæsar, and sent the hapless piece adrift once more.

Next year, *Marcel* laid a coat of white to represent snow, over part of his canvas, planted a fir in one corner, and draping an Egyptian in the uniform of the old guard, named his tableau *The Passage of the Beresina*. The jury clapping on their spectacles, had no great difficulty in spying out the deception; a big devil of a horse standing on his hind legs, on the summit of a forgotten *Red Sea* wave, was the principal king's evidence. *A Deus ex machina* at last came to his aid in the person of old *Medicis*, who had been already named once or twice.

"*Medicis* made traffic of everything under the sun; he even made a commerce of *ideas*. He gave an author, cigars for his feuilleton; a poet, pantouffles for a sonnet; he procured places for you at the National Assembly, and invitations to private parties. He gave hospitality by the night, the week, or the month, to rapins who paid him by copies of the old masters in the Louvre. His head was an almanack of 25,000 addresses, and he was familiar with every literary man in Paris, famous or obscure. Here is an extract from his waste book illustrating the extent and variety of his dealings:—

20th March, 184—. Sold to M. L——, the antiquary, the compasses used by Archimedes at the siege of Syracuse, 75fr.

Bought from M. V——, journalist, an uncut copy of the works of M. \* \* \* member of the academy, 10fr.

Paid, for a critique on the above, to M. R——, 10fr., 50lbs: of charcoal, and 2 kilos of coffee.

Sold the above critique to M. V——, the journalist, for 30fr.

Received from the author for insuring the insertion of the above in M. V——'s journal, 250fr.

Sold to M. — a porcelain vessel, which once belonged to Madame Dubarry, 18fr.

Bought from little D——, her hair, 15fr.

Sold Mademoiselle O——, a blonde head of hair, 120fr.

Bought from M. M——, historical painter, a set of *Holywell-street* designs.

Mentioned to M. Fernand the hour when the Baroness R. de P. attends mass, 30fr.

Sold Mademoiselle B——, two ducks and six pair of gloves, 36fr. (received on account, 2fr. 75c.)

Procured for the same lady, a six months' running account with Madame \* \* \* Modiste (price to be arranged).

Procured for this last named lady, Mademoiselle R——'s custom (received for this, three metres of velvet, and six aulns of lace).

Purchased from M. R——, (*the critic above named*) his claim of 120fr. on the journal \* \* \* : cash, 5 fr., goods, 2lbs of Moravian tobacco.

Purchased from M. —, journalist, 52 lines in his *Courrier de Paris*, 100fr. and a chimney ornament.

Sold Messrs. O. and Co., the same 52 lines in the *Courrier de Paris*, 300fr. and two chimney ornaments."

This great man, worthy of the name of *Medicis*, entered one day, the *atelier* of the Bohemians, and announced to *Marcel* that he had come to make his fortune. A virtuoso was collecting works of modern art, to exhibit them in all the great cities of Europe, and he was now come to purchase, for this museum, *The Passage of the Red Sea*. He offered 150 francs and a dinner, and though fifty francs worth of cobalt, at least, had been expended on Pharaoh's robes, the bargain was struck. The dinner was superb : a roast duck ceased to be a myth with *Schaunard* from that day, but the result had like to be tragical with poor *Marcel*. He was so elated on going home, that he was on the point of ringing up his tailor, and paying him, on account, the 150 francs just received. A glimmer of reason passing through *Colline's* brain, he had just discretion enough to withhold his friend with one foot over the abyss.

A few days after, the artists taking a walk, observed a



crowd gazing on a large new sign covering the front of an Italian warehouse. They read the title, *AU PORT DE MARSEILLE*, and saw a steam vessel in one corner, but they had little trouble in recognising *Marcel's* specimen of *HIGH ART*.

We have now done with extracts from our Bohemian chronicler, and we wish that we could give him as much credit for the omission of some Paul de Kockisms, as we can for his bonhomie, his cheerful and lively style, and keenness of observation. Treating of the subject he has selected, he could scarcely avoid introducing scenes of that peculiar style of house-keeping in fashion in the Quartier Latin, where unmarried florists, mantua makers, and colorers of lithographs, keep temporary house, for students and young aspirants of the class, *Marcel, Rodolphe, and Co.* He might have done this, and yet produce a work fit for the entertainment of young and old, but he has not done so. Our readers have heard of the floods of tears shed by Parisian insensibles over the sad and early death (on the stage, be it understood) of a young lady exceedingly sentimental, but, in other respects, no better than she ought to be. Murger has one or two cases of this description, but we prefer to keep our sorrow for the hundreds of virtuous and suffering females who really deserve sympathy. We do not assert that he has gone out of his way for objectionable incidents, or pictures; but still he has sinned against good taste and morality in some instances. Balzac, in handling these subjects, would have exhibited the same pictures in all their objectionable details, with a grin of delight at the mischief he was doing; and Paul de Kock would not turn to the next leaf in a hurry, you may be certain, but more out of an irresistible penchant for drollery, than for any evil purpose. In addition, Paul, seemingly through remorse for his fault, would shew, in the sequel, the sad results of vicious indulgence, and want of moral restraint, as effectively as any French philosopher that ever spoke; but the cure, as administered by Dr. Paul, always comes too late. Virtuous young men and women occasionally figure in the stories of the last named writer, and glimpses of couples happy in the married state; and the good young people mentioned are commonly rewarded with happy marriages; but in the work under review there is nothing of this at all; and the moral scale is altogether differently graduated from that in common use among the professors of christianity.

A few instances of the reading of both scales are submitted, to render our remarks more intelligible and effective.

SCALE OF MR. S. RICHARDSON AND MRS. ELLIS.		SCALE OF H. MURGER, DUMAS FILS, &c.
<i>Sir Charles and Lady Grandison</i> in their splendid breakfast-parlour, taking breakfast with thankful hearts, and conversing with their beautiful children.	8°	<i>Schaunard</i> painting, and the temporary <i>Mrs. Schaunard</i> striving to get up a breakfast out of very refractory materials; a room littered with all sorts of inconveniences.
N.B.—The service all solid gold and porcelain.		
<i>Sir Charles</i> feeling lonely and a little piqued, on account of Lady Harriet staying out fifteen minutes longer than she should, gossiping about old times with Lady Clementina.	65°	<i>Schaunard</i> indulging in his cups, and rather displeased with his false <i>chère amie</i> , who is now living in comfortable style with an English milord. N.B.—She did not desert till the weather became intensely cold, and there was no fuel for the stove.
<i>Sir Charles's</i> welcome being at the temperature of 96°, the ordinary figure being 98°, Lady Harriet casts a resigned look to Heaven, and goes to bed with a slight headach.	32°	On the <i>soi disant</i> <i>Mrs. Schaunard</i> returning to her duty, <i>M. Schaunard</i> intimates his opinion of her conduct through the agency of a bamboo cane.
Her Lord after conducting her to the door and bowing on her hand, sinks on the sofa, and sheds some manly tears.		

Now, instead of saying that Murger is an immoral writer, or writes with a bad purpose, we would be inclined to say, that he writes with a thorough unconscientiousness of anything being wrong; and that living among such scenes, and with such companions as he has described, his whole nature is thoroughly imbued with the spirit of that peculiar phase of

society ; and can no more conceive his men and women practising self-restraint, or performing their duties through the ordinary christian motives, than a man who has spent his whole life in a coal mine can write a scientific treatise on botany. Making the necessary allowances, and still reserving our serious objections to parts of the work, we are confident that it will not be thought, by the readers of the extracts given, that we have over-rated the good qualities which we have taken occasion to point out. We have inserted a large proportion of extracts, in fact, we have exhibited the spirit of the best parts of the work, as we would be sorry to see it in its entirety in the hands of our young readers. As half the world is always ignorant of the modes of life of the other half, we have here exhibited scenes of society hitherto unknown to some of our readers ; and perhaps it will tend to recommend content to the bosoms of those who, blessed with independence or comfort in their circumstances, are yet unsatisfied with their lot. Let them look on the shifts, distress, and embarrassments of our talented Bohemians, and the cheerful spirit with which they are met ; then reflect on their own advantages, and learn to be thankful.

The second book on our list is a novel in a series of letters. Once on a time, when we were sentimentally disposed, and books were scarce, a novel, in a series of letters, twenty volumes bound in ten, would not have dismayed us ; in the present instance the single volume, though exhibiting rare ability in every letter, was found heavy enough. Yet the plan seems ingenious. Sandeau, with whom our French papers commenced in *THE IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW*,\* Théophile Gautier, Méry, and Mme. Girardin, agree on the general plan of a story : the lady commences in a letter to a relative in Dauphiny, introducing her supposed personality, and how she stands fictitiously related to one of the gentlemen. This we may suppose appears in the feuilleton of a paper. Méry reading the letter in good clear print, addresses Gautier, and goes partly over the same ground as Mme. Girardin, but treats us to some particulars which she is not supposed to know, and advances the story a stage or two.

Sandeau, refreshing himself with the two letters published, writes next to Gautier, giving his views on morality and national manners, and knitting the slight thread of the narrative

to some consistence. Now, Méry, the principal personage, taking notice of the part assigned him in the three preceding letters, gives us a taste of his quality, and the plot begins to assume consistence and vigor. So each of the artists proceeds, receiving the cue from the letter last published, and involving the peripeties or pushing the story to the catastrophe, and resigning it at a certain point to the manipulation of his successor: an interesting and exciting, but hazardous plan for executing a consistent work of art.

One inconvenience we felt in the perusal, to a disagreeable extent, i.e. being obliged, when we thought we had made some progress, to retrace our steps, and inspect the insertion of the new addition in the portion already woven. We are of opinion that the book may have been produced on this plan of united authorship, as it bears genuine marks of genius and high talent; for it is seldom that we find a truthful or vigorous production issuing from the brain of a writer whose aim is merely to produce a skilful imitation.

The *Rejected Addresses*, and one or two other things, prove the rule by forming honorable exceptions. Indeed, the minds endowed with vigour and plastic power to produce original living works, seem from their very nature, unfitted to imitate successfully the productions of others. Besides, to imitate successfully, there must be powers of combination, and judgment, and imagination equal to those that produced the original; and very few possessing these qualities would condescend to the task of the mere mimic, who must be content to catch some outward features of garb, or gesture, or movement.

We submit an outline of part of the frame work. *Irene de Chateaudun*, (Mme. de Girardin) bred up in opulence, has been reduced to the occupation of coloring those delicate paper boxes we see at confectioners and haberdashery shops. For three years she has seen, from her little window, a solitary light burning till near dawn, and indulges the idea that some one of a fortune, similar to her own, is laboring beside that little luminary: she is consequently disposed to love the watcher, whom she imagines a heroic generous youth, spending the night in vigils for some noble purpose. She is restored to affluence again, and is sought in marriage by a brave, frank *Bon Enfant*, who has been round the world, and left a sorrowing wife in one of the Sandwich, or other cannibal islands. (He had had the choice of taking her as his spouse, or being

made into a savory roast for her father and his noble guests.) After the engagement, she finds that her fiancé does not agree at all in appearance with her ideal lover. Thus she writes to her friend at Grenoble :—

*My lover* has fine blue eyes full of keenness and life. *My ideal* has fine dark eyes filled with sadness and fire; not the great dark eyes of the troubadour with the eye-lashes too long, and which seem to sing rather than speak. No, no, *my ideal* has not a look of romantic languor nor timid tenderness: his is a regard, powerful, profound, and deep, which by accident, burns in love; a look of a disarmed hero, or a man of genius subdued by passion.

*My lover* is what we call a *Bon Enfant*, you are in his confidence without the least delay: *my ideal* is not a *Bon Enfant* at all; even though you have a profound confidence in him, you are not at all at your ease with him. There is a gracious dignity in his manner, and an imposing mildness which always inspires you with a certain fear, an agreeable, gentle terror if I may say so. I never envied these heroines or shepherdesses who marched with a sublime pace to the deliverance of their country: I envied the timid Esther, swooning in the arms of her women at the terrible sound of Ahasuerus's voice, and awaking with delight to the same voice, now softened to give her confidence. I also envied Sémélé dying with admiration and terror at the appearance of Jupiter.

Our romantic lady fearing that she does not love *Prince Roger de Monbert*, (Méry) well enough to trust her future happiness to his keeping, or perhaps willing to test the earnestness of his passion, disappears from Paris society, assumes the character of a widow which she had sustained in her days of labor, and betakes herself to a little place near Rouen. On her journey, Cupid, or the devil, contrives that the poet *Edgar de Meilhan*, the friend and correspondent of her betrothed, shall be obliged to take shelter for half an hour in her company under a railway shed, and fall most piteously in love with her, the widow *Louise Guerin*, colorer of paper boxes; and all the time, the prince writing to the poet about his lost bride, and exhorting him to keep a look out. He relates to his friend his first interview with her in his aunt's box at the theatre, and how he thus rattled away to cover his embarrassment :—

‘Yes, Mademoiselle,’ said I, answering some trivial question, ‘music at this day is the sole care of the universe: it is France alone that has received the mission of amusing the whole human race. Suppress Paris, its theatres, and opera, and the universe will fall into an incurable lethargy. One day Calcutta was in its last agony, dying of ennui. The East India Company is rich, but no way amusing; all its treasures could not purchase a smile for the miserable city.

Paris sent her out *The Dumb Girl of Portici*, *Robert the Devil*, and some dramas of Hugo and Dumas; Calcutta began to recover, and is now doing well, even the life of Chandernagore has been saved into the bargain. *William Tell* cured Madras of the spleen. Paris while it gives occupation and life to all the earth, seems ignorant of the fact. It feels itself in a decline; it is not the Paris of other days; it builds twenty-four leagues of fortifications to keep out Mahomet II.: it weeps over its decay, it accuses heaven for refusing to its children of 1844, the genius, wit and talent that rained down in prose and verse in old times: the world entire is not however of its opinion. I know the fact, for I am now returning from the same outer world.

*De Meilhan* lives among the ruins of an old monastery on the Seine; he is as fond of botany and aquatic scenery as Alphonse Karr himself. He receives a letter at this time from *Raymond de Villiers*, (Jules Sandeau), and a word or two of his antecedents has now to be said.

Some three years before, he had sold his patrimony to save a friend and his family from bankruptcy. He then gave out that he was going on a tour to the East; but instead thereof, he took an obscure lodging, and labored, and studied incessantly; his was the lonely light watched by Irene, and her own little farthing candle formed an object of interest to him. He perfectly answers *Irene's ideal*; God help *The Prince Roger* if they ever find one another out.

His friend is enabled to repay him, and he goes as far as Rome, by way of instalment of his eastern journey. On his return he is disabled for a while at Grenoble, by injuries received in rescuing *Lady Penock* from a burning house, and is kindly taken care of by *Irene's* silent correspondent, *Mme. de Braimes*. An extract from his letter to *De Meilhan* is given:—

Do not expect me at the time mentioned. I lie bruised, wounded, burnt, half dead, and all by committing an unpardonable crime in your eyes. I have saved the life of an ugly, old woman, but it was in the night, and I thought she was handsome—let that be my excuse. Travel, sail over the globe; perhaps you may escape thousands of evils, but there is one you will not escape, and that is England, which I recommend to you as one of the gayest nations on the earth, especially when it is making a tour.

Lord K. gravely related to me last winter at Rome, that he had left his island a few years before to discover some one spot of ground where no one before him had ever been, and there imprint the first mark with his own British heel. After carefully studying the map of the world, he set out, and was soon climbing the steep side of Chimborazo. In getting to the top with bruised feet and bloody hands, and imprinting a mark on the rock with his conquering iron

heel, he perceived in a hollow, a little pile of cards left in the course of the last quarter century by some three hundred or so of his countrymen. Surprised but not disheartened, Lord K. drew out his own satiny pasteboard, deposited it on the little heap, and began to descend the mountain with as much phlegm as he had shewn in the ascent. Half way down, he met an early friend but now political opponent, Sir Francis P. ascending the steep; they saluted each other civilly, and continued their separate routes.

Sold and betrayed in the New World, he turned his steps to the cradle of the old, and was soon scaling the *Tchamalouri*, the highest peak of the *Himalayas*: judge of the joy of *Milord*, clambering up the side of this giant whose head was lost in the blue ether. Chimborazo be hanged! here was a difficulty never yet surmounted, and to him alone the glory would be given. He bounded like a chamois from rock to rock, he wound round projections like a serpent, he hung from points like clinging ivy: his body was one wound. After being roasted, he began to freeze; the eagles flew round him and struck his face with their wings; still he went on. His lungs, distended by the rarity of the air, threatened to burst like the overcharged boiler in a steam vessel; no matter, up he climbed. At last, after superhuman efforts, panting and bleeding, *Milord* tumbled down on one of the last platforms of the peak: what labor, but what triumph! what a struggle, but what a victory! and what pride to be able to boast his conquest next winter in London, to the everlasting confusion of Sir Francis.

Joy and pride soon restored his powers: he aroused himself, and with sparkling eye, radiant countenance, and heaving chest, he prepared to engrave his name on the Virgin Rock. But oh, cruel fortune! what makes the hair lift his hat, and the dagger fall from his hand, and blunt its edge on the rock? There, there, on the hard silex deeply cut, were the confounded characters, '*William—Lavinia*,' with this inscription in English underneath (we prefer retaining the original), *Le 25 Juillet, 1831, deux tendres cœurs se sont assis à cette place.*

The whole was surmounted with a double heart, flames issuing from it, and a dart piercing it. Lord K. felt the same weapon in his own vital organ at the moment, especially on finding about fifty more inscriptions in the neighbourhood, all to the same import, and all in English.

*Milord* for a moment meditated a descent head foremost to the base of *Tchamalouri*, but lifting his eyes in despair, he beheld a still higher steep, such a steep as neither cat nor lizard could climb. Lord K. now absolutely flew; but ah, vanity of human desires! on the upper step of the loftiest stairs ever thrown up by earth to heaven, he saw Sir Francis, who had scaled the upright wall of the opposite side—Sir Francis, I say, sitting on the pinnacle, reading a No. of *The Times*, and breakfasting philosophically on a slice of *roast beef* and a bottle of porter. The two friends saluted each other coldly enough, just as they had done half way up Chimborazo; and then, Lord K. with the cold of death at his heart, but still grave and impassible, sat down, and drew from his pocket a box of potted meat, a flask of ale, and a number of *The Standard*. When the reading and the breakfast were

concluded, both arose, and descended at opposite sides, without exchanging a word, and *Tchamalouri* perfected that dislike which difference in politics had commenced.

*Raymond* concludes that as *Les Anglais* are numerous on the hills, there must be a decent crop in the plains, and he is not disappointed : he finds Italy a garden of English people, with a slight sprinkling of Italian natives.

His *bête noire* is *Lady Penock*, a young damsel of three score, very thin in person, and very reserved. He meets her every where, and she chooses to consider that he is lying in wait for her, and cries out on some of these occasions, '*shocking, shocking*'. He wishes to enjoy the Coliseum by moonlight, but *Lady Penock's* parasol is in the way. He strives to inspect St. Peter's, Pagan and Catholic Rome, all in vain : she is there before him. He cannot enjoy *The Laocoon*, nor *The Communion of St. Jerome*, without taking in the end of her sharp nose. After seeing her rise like a spectre in different places before him, he takes flight to Tuscan, and finds her at the cascade of Terni, at the tomb of St. Francis of Assisi, under the gate of Hannibal at Spoleto, sitting on Petrarch's threshold at Arezzo. The first person he meets at Florence, gazing on Benvenuto Cellini's *Persius*, was *Lady Penock*. She appeared to him in the Campo Santo at Pisa ; and in the gulf of Genoa her barque pitched into the one that was conveying himself. At Turin, he encountered her in the museum of Egyptian antiquities, still, always, and every where, *Lady Penock*. At Grenoble his spirits at last expand ; what does he care now for *Lady Penock* ! the Alps divide them. He is reposing on the pillow of security, when a cry of fire is raised : rushing forth, he hears a female scream in an upper story of the burning mansion ; he seizes a ladder, runs up, breaks a window and door, rushes into the room, finds the sensitive *Lady Penock* in terror of the flames, but more in terror at his determined pursuit of her, shrinking into a corner, and reproaching him for having, like *Lovelace*, set the house on fire, '*pour enlever moi*'. He carries her down in safety, in spite of her modest cries and kicks, burns and hurts himself severely, and after a confinement of three weeks, he is presented with a bill of damages by the considerate proprietor of the broken window and door. (*Mme. De Braimes* nurses him tenderly till he recovers)

The Poet *De Meilhan* is now deeply in love with the sup-



posed *Louise Guerin*. He cannot bring himself to offer marriage to one in her doubtful circumstances ; and the propriety of her deportment has hitherto prevented all less honest proposals. A little party is arranged to visit the castle of *Cœur de Lion* on the banks of the Seine, in the neighbourhood of Rouen :—

The banks of this river offer delightful views : the hills form delicious outlines, dotted with trees, and intersected by strips of cultivation. Sometimes, the rocks issuing through the light soil, present the most picturesque objects : the distant chateaus and farm houses are revealed by the sparkling of their slate roofs. Isles as wild and savage as those of the Pacific, spring from the bed of the river like gigantic flower baskets ; and yet no *Captain Cook* has yet described these South-Sea Islands lying within a half day's journey of Paris.

Louise felt an intelligent and sincere admiration for the various shades of foliage, the water mohair agitated by the light breeze, the abrupt flight of the kingfisher, the graceful undulations of the water lily, whose large leaves and yellow flowers were spread on the surface, the little *Forget-me-nots* of the bank, and all the details by which the course of the stream is diversified.

The strong castle of Richard *Cœur de Lion* reminds us by its position and its architecture of the fortresses on the Rhine. The masonry and the solid rock are united in such sort that you cannot tell where nature ends and where art commences.

The Poet is so fascinated with the lovely widow, who by the way is entirely heart whole, that his mother gives her an invitation to their little chateau, in order to keep her son under her own eyes. In a chance visit to Paris, *Irene* (or *Louise Guerin*, which you please) finds her prince in very doubtful society at the opera ; and her sensitive heart is so wounded that she resolves never to renew the footing on which they formerly stood. In this sad affair poor *Prince Roger* is innocent enough. To divert his melancholy, he had accepted a dinner with a couple of his young friends ; and these youths had, unknown to him, invited a pair of ladies imperfect in household virtues. All attended the opera after dinner, and for the outspoken maxims of these women, punishment descended on the head of the prince, who merely occupied a back seat in the box.

At the country seat of *De Meilhan's* mother, it is announced that Don Quixote is coming to pay a visit ; this is *Raymond*, the owner of the twin luminary in the former days of poverty, *Lady Penock's* admirer, and, in consequence of his accident, the patient of the kind *Madame de Braimes*, at Grenoble,

*Irene's* correspondent ; finally, the *Ideal of Irene de Chateau-dun* herself.

The doomed lovers meet in a most romantic manner at a spring in the grounds, and on being formally introduced to each other, a very interesting conversation ensues. She asks him why he is called *Don Quirote*, and he is obliged, though reluctantly, to acknowledge the cause :—

I am called so, madame, because I am a kind of madman, an original, an enthusiastic admirer of all noble and holy things, a determined enemy of all fashionable felonies, a dreamer of good deeds, a defender of the oppressed, a persecutor of egotists. Because I think a man ought to respect himself out of respect to the woman who honours him by her love ; that she should never be absent from his mind ; that he should avoid whatever would give her uneasiness ; that he should preserve himself pure for her sake. Besides, I love my country with all the love of a *grumbler* of the old guard. My friends call me a Frenchman of the Vaudeville, but I tell them that it is better to be so, than a sham Englishman of the stable, like themselves. They call me *Don Quixote* because I scorn them when they disparage women ; because I sympathise with those who struggle and suffer for a cherished faith ; because I have courage to turn my back on those I despise ; because I have an unhappy penchant for speaking truth ; because in looking on evil I have still faith in good.

Evil thrives in the world because it is well cultivated : why should not good flourish if the same care was bestowed on its culture ? \* \* \* If I was' only loyal and charitable, they would call me *Grandison*, I would be a lost man. So I exaggerate my defects, and am the first to assail rather than be obliged to act on the defensive. \* \* \*

Now the brave and good *Raymond* is really all he professes to be, and more ; but why are his good qualities catalogued by himself ? We consider this an oversight on the part of *Mme. de Girardin*, if she was the author. It reminds us of *Dumas'* self-consciousness of merit on the occasion of the memorable trial. We may surely be allowed a doubt on the subject of authorship, for if *Balzac* had concealed his male identity, where is the penetration so acute as to detect a man's hand in his analysis of the female heart and mind. We do not say this in his praise, nay we intend it for the reverse ; for we hold that no good and true man is, was, or ever will be qualified to describe truly that terra incognita, the understanding and affections of woman.

Now that *Irene* and *Raymond* have come to sight and speech of each other, they are thoroughly unable to avoid an intense mutual attachment, and at once the course of true love begins to be ruffled. The prince on paying a chance visit, after searching hills, vales, palaces, and cabins for his cruel betrothed,

catches a sight of her robe as she makes her escape from his dreaded presence. She is seen no more while he stays, and he, perceiving an estrangement between *Raymond* and *Edgar*, urges *Raymond* to depart and abandon the prize to his friend who was first in the field. He yields with despair in his heart, but *Edgar* is not a bit the nearer to gain *Irene's* affections. He is formally refused, and flies to Havre to secure a passage to the Prairies and Savannahs, to howl out his grief to the wilds, but his mother so works on the compassion of *Irene*, who is given to understand that *Raymond* is obliged to marry some other lady against his will, that she consents to join her in her pursuit of the truant, if yet they may arrest him on French soil. And, how do they find him occupied? Dressed in a Mussulman's flowing robes, sitting cross-legged on a divan in company with other friends similarly attired. A black female slave lying asleep at his feet (her guitar silent by her side), and himself contemplating the ceiling with an indescribable, but far from sorrowful expression of countenance.

Here is the mode in which this transformation was effected. A certain *Arthur Granson*, *Edgar's* friend, has arrived at the conviction that every nation despises its own costume, however picturesque: an Andalusian Majo will make apologies to you for not appearing in a skimpy frock, and round hat. The Arnaut condemning his own picturesque and splendid costume, seriously thinks on shooting you in the next defile for the sake of your riding coat, and if nothing is done, the Turks will throw off in a heap their flowing robes for our confounded sancepan hats, and our other vulgar shapeless habiliments. So feeling that Turkey was menaced with the *Paletot* and *Chapeau Tromblon*, he went to Constantinople, and arrested Abdul Medjid in the middle of his ridiculous tailoring occupations. Meeting *Edgar* in Havre on the point of embarking, he seizes on him by force and arms, clothes him in a rich Osmanli costume, and swears by the sacred camel, and the black stone at Mecca, that he must spend an evening with him in the eastern style. Our flighty, passionate, selfish man of genius, lets himself be seduced into the swallowing of a few grains of *Egyptian Hachis*; and while Mahomet's paradise is unveiled to his orbs, which appear to be counting the ornaments in the ceiling, *Irene* beholds him from a gallery, and finding her compassionate sacrifice not needed, takes the wings of the steam engine, and flies to her beloved little asylum in the Marais.

*Edgar* mentions in a future letter, some recollections of his experience under the influence of the drug ; we present an extract or two :—

In a few minutes I felt an agreeable warmth in the region of the stomach, sparks issued from my body, and I felt myself enveloped in a lambent, painless flame. I became independent of the laws of matter ; weight, opacity, size, all had vanished. I preserved shape, but it was fragrant, flexible, transparent, fluid : bodies went through me without causing me inconvenience, I shrunk or expanded according to pleasure ; I transported myself hither and thither as I willed. I was in a world enlightened from a vault of azure, in the centre of an eruption of fire-works ceaselessly renewed, consisting of luminous flowers with gold and silver leaves, and chalices of diamonds, rubies, and sapphires. Fountains composed of moon beams fell and splashed in crystal basins which sung the most enchanting melodies. A symphony of perfumes followed this first enchantment ; and these sunk in a shower of glittering spangles in a few seconds. The new movement consisted of an odor of the iris and of the acacia, and these pursued, fled, and interlaced each other in the most enchanting manner.

Immediately the perfumes took the form of the flowers from which they emanated, and blew out in a vase of transparent onyx. The iris sparkled like blue stars, and the acacia flowed and heaved in waves of gold. The onyx took a female form, and I looked on the pitying and heavenly face of Louise Guerin. The monotonous harmony of the Tarabouk and Bebeb (*played by the attendants*) came vaguely to my ears, and served as rhythm to this strange poem which has rendered for evermore the epics of Homer, Virgil, Tasso and Ariosto as wearisome as a table of logarithms.

*Irene* and *Raymond* taking possession of their former humble abodes, are startled by the mutual re-appearance of the lights of old. Some trees have been removed which grew in an intervening garden in the old times, and what greets *Irene's* eyes when morning light comes forth, but her idol looking towards her room from his now open window ! She makes little ceremony of throwing up her own ; and now, ye nymphs and beardless youths, bring orange flowers and bridal wreathes ; bring——but stay ! what will *Prince Roger* and *Poet Edgar* think of the false one's conduct, and the treachery of their *ci devant* bosom friend ?

And here let us bewail the precarious state of Paris Journalism, which, in order to preserve the number of subscribers at paying price, is forced to keep their sensibilities at fever heat, by the daily piecemeal issue of an exciting and pernicious tale, every part of which must have its own unhealthy interest, and render the reading victims miserable by suspense

till the issue of the badly written and badly printed feuilleton of to-morrow. Contrast the effect on the reading public, with what the same writers might produce, if they were allowed to construct a careful frame work, and were at liberty to weave a tale abounding in scenes of kind communication among the *dramatis personae*, of innocent stratagems, of hallowed love, of humorous situations, of opposing and tangled interests to be reconciled; and the result leaving the reader's mind in a healthy state, either of satisfaction, or even of melancholy, if this last cannot be shunned. Had we our will of the man who first imagined the possibility of a feuilleton, we would in the first place enclose him in a badly furnished room, but with transparent walls. The scenery abroad should be diversified with close-cropt lawns overshadowed by old trees, a comfortable breakfast room with tea table, &c. ready, a cheerful prospect through a fine country, and a dissolving view of a Theatre where *The Rivals* is about to be performed. Before him should be seated the writer of a villanous Holywell-street penny periodical, in a convict's unpicturesque dress, and this individual should be employed reading bits of the worst written feuilletons that have ever appeared, and always taking up a new one, when he is just near the tremendous crisis in the old one. Children are gambolling in the free air and sunshine abroad, and beckoning him to come join them, but he cannot: the hard crystalline barrier is there, and he must listen to the harsh voice of his tormentor. He sees his friends in the dress circle, enjoying *Sir Anthony's* inconsistencies, and making him signs to come share their pleasantry, but he is powerless, and still the croaking voice flays his ears. Now, his family and a friend or two are taking a drive through the fine landscape spread before him, and wondering he does not join them; and finally, when his throat is parched, and eyes red, and the refreshing tea-cups, and the society of wife and children are only severed from him by the space of a few feet, he must still look on the sensual, grovelling features of the Devil's tool before him, and list to his maddening jargon. (*Forty-eight hours of this regimen would be sufficient punishment.*)

Something like the cause mentioned above has, in the present instance, marred an interesting tale; and to bring about a catastrophe desirable in the eyes of the writers, the heroine is deprived of all title to common sense in the earlier part of

the work. Our extracts and outline will convey no idea of the strong hold which the story takes on the reader, except that he is first interested for the recovery of the *vagrant fair one*, by her affianced, and by and by, it is the very last thing he would desire.

The character of the capricious, talented poet whose passion for the disguised lady is as much a matter of fancy as of feeling, and his fury when he hears of the approaching union of *Irene* and *Raymond* are well displayed. Our space has not permitted us to enter much into the serious or descriptive portion of the narrative, but we are not afraid of referring our readers to the original, which, excepting a few slightly irreverent expressions, and the entire absence of the religious element, is unobjectionable in language and matter.

## ART. VI.—POLONIA REDUX—A STEADFAST ALLY.

*Lettre à l'Empereur Napoleon III, September 20th, 1854,  
Paris, 1854.*

The author of a *brochure* published in France, entitled *A Letter to the Emperor, Napoleon III. 20th September, 1854*, expresses with good reason his surprise that, in the embarrassed state of the affairs of Europe, the sole means capable of assuring a solid peace has not been proposed, and that there has been no question, in the projects of diplomacy, of the re-establishment of Poland,\* with its ancient territorial limits, and political independence. It does not admit of doubt that the re-construction of Poland lurks in the minds of all European nations, and is, even more, their earnest, though secret hope; but the difficulties which beset the execution of such a project cause it to be set aside for a season, and reserved for a favorable opportunity. It is but natural that the spoliators who have outraged the law of nations, and who

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\* Subjoined is a list of the ancient possessions of Poland, containing the dates of the various dismemberments of that country in the space of five hundred and forty-eight years.

A.D.

- 1296 Part of Pomerania, annexed to Germany.
- 1335 Silesia, added to the Dukedom of the Piasts.
- 1479 The Duchies of Novogorod and Pskow, for the benefit of Russia.
- 1484 The littoral territory of the Black Sea, for the aggrandizement of Turkey.
- 1515 Polish Ducal-Prussia, for that of the house of Brandenburg.
- 1660 Livonia, to the profit of Sweden, and later to that of Russia.
- 1686 The Duchies of Smolensk, Tschernigow, and Kiow, annexed to Russia.
- 1770 The Starostie of Spiz (Zips), annexed to Austria.
- 1772 Dismemberments by Russia, Prussia, and Austria.
- 1793 Do. do. Russia, and Prussia.
- 1795 Do. do. Russia, Austria, and Prussia.
- 1807 Do. do. Russia, Prussia, and Saxony.
- 1809 Do. do. Russia and Saxony.
- 1815 Russia, Prussia, and Austria.
- 1846 The Republic of Cracow, for the benefit of Austria.

And, at this day, the territory of the ancient Polish Republic invaded by Russia contains 19,000,000 of inhabitants, the portion seized by Prussia 6,000,000, and by Austria 5,000,000, giving a total of 30,000,000 of men, whose patriotic spirit has never ceased aspiring to an independent national existence.

still find their account in a continuance of guilt, should be averse to mend their evil ways, or to dispossess themselves of the advantages, precarious though these are, which perseverance in their iniquity may yield them. Europe, indifferent, in former times, to the fall of a nation which had existed for ages, its buckler for long centuries against the invasions of the barbarian, and insensible, through ignorance, of its salvation from Mogul, and Tartar, and Turk, by the strong arm of Polish chivalry, pays at this hour the penalty of its culpable apathy in the past towards the destinies of Poland. Henry the Pious, of the valiant race of the Piasts, falling at Liegnitz in 1241; Wladiaslas the Third, of the illustrious blood of the Jagellons, expiring at Warna in 1444; John-Albert struggling in the Bukovine in 1497; Zolkiewski dying in Moldavia in 1620; Chodkiewicz at Chocim in 1621; Czarniecki combatting in the Ukraine in 1664; John Sobieski, the saviour of Christendom, under the walls of Vienna in 1683; how have they toiled and bled for Europe, Europe, half ignorant of, and wholly ungrateful for, their priceless services!

Yet the memory of these soldiers of the cross and of civilization yields in nothing to that of the Cid, of Charles Martel, of Ferdinand, or of Isabella. The perils of the 19th century are the punishment of the indifference of the 18th. Poland is gone; Europe remains. Mogul and Turk no longer threaten; but in exchange for the old barbarians, we have the new. Where is that Polish nation, warlike and inured to fatigue, where is that sole and only nation, whose geographical position and chivalrous spirit might oppose an impassable barrier to that new form of barbarism, which the ambition of Russia now unveils to our fears?

Living nearly in the same climate as the Russians, accustomed to the same privations, a prey to the same intemperate seasons, (ever oscillating between rigorous cold and humidity) the Poles are specially fitted to combat their neighbours, the Russians, whom they cannot but hate with something more than hatred, on account of the repeated invasions of their country, followed by so long a period of oppression. Zealous Catholics, for centuries, the Poles have seen their religion trampled under foot by their schismatic oppressors, their church establishment abolished, their pastors and their most respectable citizens exiled to Siberia, their laws abrogated, their liberties ravished from them, their native language, whose written



literature dates from the 12th century, banned and forbidden. It has been only by ranging the numerical strength of three empires against one, that the Russians have succeeded, by force of intrigues and secret machinations, in destroying the barrier which separates them from Europe, in the hope of speedily retaking from Austria and Prussia, in right of the specious title of King of Poland, assumed at the congress of Vienna in 1815, such portions of the unhappy country as had been allotted to those powers. On the other hand, certainly it will not be by augmenting the power of Austria at the expence of Poland, nor in aggrandizing that German superfoetation, Prussia, nor by the aid of Germany, undermined as it is by Russian influence, that a barrier can be established against the Muscovite empire. That barrier, which Austria and Prussia, themselves the first menaced with danger, have been so unpardonably short-sighted as to destroy, for the sole benefit of Russia, ought to be compact, complete in itself, and thus capable of resisting the colossus of the North, and Poland alone can furnish the materials for its construction. An independent existence of thirteen centuries, a cultivated language in actual usage, and distinct from that of Russia, a distinct religion too, which unites Poland by the sympathies of faith to western Europe, and an oppression before its time unheard of for iniquity, separate her far even from her mortal and eternal enemies. If there were no living Poland to demand its freedom, it would be necessary to invent one.

But we must not cherish the expectation of seeing Poland rise spontaneously to a man. Betrayed by his neighbours, always abandoned by Europe, can we suppose that the Pole, the Joseph of nations, sold by his brethren, would have the folly to sacrifice what little respite from misery may be accorded him, his blood, his life, his children, his honour, and all this only to pay the penalty, in the deserts of Siberia, of his chivalrous devotion to the cause of humanity? No, Poland, abandoned so often by England and France, at first under George the Third, Louis the Fifteenth, and Louis the Sixteenth, and after by the French Republic, which counted Polish legions in its ranks; betrayed by the fortunes of Napoleon the First, forsaken by the Restoration, sacrificed by Louis Philippe, who stirred up the Poles to revolt, in order to secure for himself the throne of France, and arrest by a seasonable diversion the shock of Prussia, then on the point of attacking France, instigated, misunderstood, and abandoned by the *soi-disant*

Republican government of 1848—Poland will rest indifferent to the actual struggle, instructed by the past, and wishing to be spared, in the moment of defeat, a second infliction of the too-celebrated declaration of a Minister of Louis Philippe, "L'Ordre règne à Warsovie!"

Besides, even if she wished it, she is not in a position to make an effectual struggle: upon the slightest manifestation of agitation in Europe, all arms, even those used merely for field sports, are taken from the Poles, with the penalty of death attached to their possession. And at this moment, is it not absolutely forbidden, under pain of three years imprisonment in a state fortress, to enrol in the duchy of Posen for the service of England the Poles, ever ready to rush to arms in the sacred cause of liberty? The consciousness of the injustice of their domination in Poland causes the spoliators of that country to take every possible measure of precaution to bind in irons and destroy an energetic nationality.

They commenced from the moment of their first usurpation, to abolish the churches and the Catholic religion, replacing the latter by their own, whose tenets may be summed up in adoration of the Czar. Again, the national laws, liberties, and privileges, the education of youth, and the Polish language, have experienced their persecuting hatred, despite of the solemn promise made by Catherine the Second, in her own name, and in that of her successors, to respect and protect them, a promise inscribed in the treaties of the period, and renewed by oath at the commencement of every succeeding reign. Behold how Russia, so captiously punctilious in the interpretation of the duties of others, fulfils her own obligations. She depopulates a country. She commenced by transporting to the Caucasus thousands of *families* of that class known in England as "small gentry," permitting the liberty of remaining beside their hearths only to such as consented to abandon the catholic religion for the schism of the Czar. Of ten levies of troops made in the empire, six or eight fall upon the Polish provinces. The rate of enlistment is, in Russia five, in Poland, ten in every thousand. They send these men for the greater part to Finland, to the Ourals, or to the Caucasus, where they serve during a period of twenty-four years, remote from their country, without religious succour, commanded to follow the religion of the *popes* (chaplains) of the Russian regiments, and forbidden to speak their native language. These men

never revisit their families, they are actually proscribed *en masse*, and their children are dispersed in the different Russian provinces, where they are perverted and reared up as Muscovites. The provinces of Poland are so many camps for the armies of the Czar, there arrayed in position as the advance guard against Europe, amounting in number to more than three hundred thousand men, cantoned between the Dnieper and the Oder.

Be it clear, then, that Poland will not declare for the western powers, till it be invaded by the French, English, and Turkish armies. She is a ward, kept in durance by the iron hand of a guardian, spoliator of her fortune, and of a barbarous step-mother. To possess her, you must carry her off by force, and she will then give herself to you heart and soul, and prove her gratitude all her life. In the meantime Russia, to gain Poland, or delude her, will make her fallacious promises, will cause her to speak and act for Russia's behoof, and to her own proper detriment, and you will run the risk of seeing her in the enemies' ranks, in spite of her, and as it were under protest, instead of being ranged on your side of the quarrel. She is not to be despised, and if, with the limited resources of a district of four millions of inhabitants, we have seen eighty thousand in 1830 resist for nearly a year all the forces of Russia, and although hemmed in by two powerful enemies, conquer in pitched battles forces superior to them in number and equipment, and this without an able leader, without foreign aid, what may we not expect from the entire nation restored to its ancient boundaries, and counting thirty millions of men?

Every year, in all the provinces submitted to Russia, the Czars confiscate hundreds of churches and convents for Catholics of both sexes, for the purpose of utilising them for the advancement of their own *culte*, by filling them with monks and nuns of the schismatic sect. The Catholic seminaries are closed, and the vocation to the ecclesiastical state is so beset with difficulties, that it is almost impossible for a Pole to receive holy orders. Among the bishops hardly a tenth of their number has been constituted according to ancient rites. The connexion with the Holy See has been severed, and in that "Kingdom of Poland" established in 1815, the late Emperor Nicholas constituted the *majorats* with the lands confiscated from the Poles, the possession of which demands

as a first condition that the proprietor shall be of the Russian religion, and shall also build a church for the celebration of the Russian rite, in a country where none profess it except the foreign army of occupation. Russia, with a view to possess herself of the Ottoman Empire, blows loud the trumpet of an affected tolerance, while she seeks to exact religious privileges from the Turks, and imposes her hypocritical protection on the christian Greeks. But go and see in Poland the practical application in the case of Catholics of this same tolerance, and you will speedily be able to measure the extent of its sincerity.

Is it not obvious that there exists in the hands of the Emperor of Russia a terrible instrument for the derangement of the plans of his enemies, and to assure to himself a powerful barrier against them, an instrument to which we cannot doubt that he would have recourse in despair of success by other means—it is to re-establish in his own interest against England and France, that same Poland, of which he bears the title of king. Having three brothers, Alexander could, if need were, name one of them King of Poland, or bestow the crown by investiture, as we have seen the heirs of the Empire of Germany, and the son of Napoleon the First, receive the title of King of the Romans, or King of Rome. In re-establishing the rights of the Roman Catholic religion, he would succeed in gaining over the inhabitants. Thus the powerful weapon of which we ought to make good use would be turned against us, and the power of the Czar would be advanced still further in the neighbourhood of the west. The Russians will know that Silesia was an integral part of the old kingdom of Poland, and that many Polish monarchs were simultaneously sovereigns of Bohemia and Hungary. The necessary force would not be wanting to make available these rights, and the Czar of Muscovy would then appear as *Emperor of the Slaves*. The Russians, tenaciously obstinate in their plans of aggrandizement, are possessed of a sufficiently sound judgment to turn to account the chance you leave open to them. If they are convinced that their conduct has alienated a great portion of the population of their empire, they will readily reform it, and the same hands that traced the ukases of persecution will efface them in presence of self-interest. If the Poles are not able to free themselves from that hateful triple yoke, which transforms into enemies, and foreigners to each other a homogeneous race, a nation of brothers,

they will find their lot ameliorated by restricting the number of their tyrants to one, by being united in a single family, and by the consolation that they have been avenged in the expulsion of their two other enemies, Prussia and Austria, repenting at their leisure their share in the ruin of Poland. If the Poles cannot avenge the massacres of Praga, and of Warsaw, and the exile of their countrymen to Siberia, they will at least have avenged the victims of Galicia, of Cracow, of Leopold, and of Posen, and the tortured of Spielberg and Spandau. It is with this view that the Slave populations lend an ear to Russia, that they may the better shake off the yoke of their German masters. In such a case, the position of Europe would be without remedy, and the Slavcs, to the number of one hundred millions, although under a yoke possessing but little attraction for them, established in the centre of Europe, would be its absolute masters. It is then for Great Britain to seize with alacrity this weapon which lies at her feet, and within easy reach, before it be too late, and not to shut her eyes to its uses, infinitely more available than all Lancaster's mortars or mimié rifles. Poland, with the immense and imposing extent of her natural territory, and with thirty millions of inhabitants, can well afford to keep on foot an army of five hundred thousand combatants of the bravest. She furnishes them, even as it is, and at this very hour, to fight beneath foreign and hostile flags. Do you wish to have them against you, or with you? Would it not be the wiser part to restore, by a common accord, to her former self, and to the strength capable of efficient resistance, (thus wresting from ambition its cherished apple of discord) that unfortunate Poland for whose spoils envious neighbours dispute with each other for ages back, which they tear to pieces at the whim of every scheming congress, which has endured some fifteen dismemberments, and as many foreign masters at different epochs? This course could but in a trifling degree weaken conterminous states, and we should be possessed of a powerful instrument to guarantee the peace of Europe; whilst we should see destroyed that fatal collusion which unites and affects to indemnify the partitioning powers, and forces them to shut their eyes to their best interest, that of their separate and individual preservation. It is then, the duty not merely of the British Parliament, but likewise of all the diplomatists and statesmen of Europe, to start the question of the re-constitution of Poland,

reflecting that the destiny of the future is in their hands, and that posterity will be at once impartial and severe in its judgments. The propitious moment is at hand—is now ; snatch it then—it will never return ! Let it be declared without loss of time that you have resolved the liberation of Poland, and its independence to the utmost limit of its ancient boundaries, viz., from the Oder to the Dnieper, from the Black Sea, and the Carpathian Mountains, to the Baltic ; and then, gratified in her desire of an independent existence, and capable of opposing a formidable resistance to the common enemy of repose and of humanity, she will be able to rely on her strength, and to combat for your cause, without being for ever at the mercy of her neighbours. Give to Poland, so constituted, an English or French prince, for sovereign, invested *temporarily* with dictatorial power, for this form of government will be for a time necessary, in presence of autocratic Russia. But hasten, we repeat, be quick, or soon it will be no longer time. The Russian does not lose his, and speedily you may find no more Poles, transformed by fallacious promises which cost nothing, and by a cautious and Machiavelian policy. Put aside the policy of these *soi-disant* great statesmen who following in the suite of the d'Aiguillons, the Vergennes, the Talleyrands, the Pitts and the Castlereaghs, have brought Europe to this pass. Strike a great blow, and declare to the face of the world the independence of Poland, and that you will not lay down your arms till you have assured it. Do not reckon on a peace patched up with Russia. You ought to know what treaties in her hands are worth ; look them through, and you will see whether she has respected even one of them, when her interest has prompted her to infringe it.

We cannot believe that because of the fall of Sebastopol, where the allied armies sustained such terrible losses, or of some doubtful combats, or of the destruction of Bomarsund, which they have not been able to retain, or because of our naval promenades in the Baltic and the Black Sea, Russia will haul down her flag, and withdraw her projects of conquest in Turkey. And, even if she affect to yield, it will be only through the policy of *reculer pour mieux sauter*. In twenty years, in ten years, perhaps in five years hence, she will be seen to attempt anew the realization of her unchanging system of politics, and profit of a time more propitious to fall upon Constantinople, and extend her chances of universal dominion.

What Nicholas has not been able to attain, Alexander will unceasingly endeavour to reach, and his successors again will rest faithful in the national devotion to a rapacious, and pitiless policy. Nothing but the re-construction of Poland can set a term to these continual encroachments. Besides, it is not by destroying some Russian vessels, imprisoned in the two seas, without an outlet, or by ruining Sebastopol or Cronstadt, that England, in this war of the whale against the rhinoceros, will conquer the Russians, but rather in wrenching from these land pirates, whom no treaty binds, the power which makes them formidable to the continent by land.

People have deluded themselves in calculating the pretended advantages, which, after the ruin of Sebastopol, and the destruction of its fleet, it is thought will make Russia retrograde to the reign of Elizabeth Petrovna. But they forget that Russia was not then mistress of Little Tartary, nor of the Crimea, nor of Moldo-Bessarabia, nor of the Caucasus, nor of Finland, nor, in fine, of Poland. Her resources are doubled since then, and you leave her in quiet possession of them. Her influence will not be the less extended in the Danubian provinces of which she is neighbour, nor amongst the Slave populations of the Ottoman Empire and of Austria. Her name, her renown, her tendencies, have penetrated even to the smallest village of these countries. The uneasiness which weighs upon these countries awaits a remedy in the change of dominion. It is not from Austria we can expect an effectual resistance to Russia; Austria which rules over populations of diverse races, and hostile to each other. It is not a whit the more from Prussia, which is in like case, and whose weakness did not hold out six weeks against Napoleon the First. Nor, surely from Germany can succour come, moved as it is in every direction by Russian influence. These powers will always go with Russia, to which power they are bound hand and foot by the iniquitous partition of Poland, effected for their own detriment, as will one day be clear, as we may even now see, and tacitly permitted by Europe, to the shame of governments claiming to be called civilized.

Already Austria seems to lean to the Western Powers, disregarding the reproach of ingratitude which astute Russia would fain address to her, not forgetting the intervention of her arms in the Hungarian insurrection. However, the Emperor Nicholas himself has dispensed her from every obliga-

tion of gratitude, by declaring, in 1849, that it was in his own interests, and to wrest from the Poles all expectation of the re-establishment of their independence, that he took part in the war. If a neighbour should come to help you, when your house is on fire, it is the best of his play, and you may pit his interests against your gratitude; but, further still, if this worthy neighbour assists to put out the fire, only with a view to possess himself of your house at the first opportunity, where is the imperious necessity for thanking him? Gratitude in such a case is just of that kind which a butcher might exact from a sheep, which he preserves from the wolf for purposes of consumption.

If, then, Austria should, by the special grace of God, at length open her eyes to the imminent danger which menaces her own national existence; if she would consent to restore that portion of Poland which she has so unjustly and so imprudently taken to her share; if, in fine, she would wipe out the stain which marks the reigns of Maria-Theresa, of Joseph the Second, Francis the Second, and Ferdinand the First, she would surely lose nothing, to say the least, by adding to her empire the Danubian provinces, which, in assuring to her the free navigation of the Danube, would afford an outlet for her produce, give her ports on the Black Sea, endow her with the commerce of the East by way of Trebizond, and annex to her subjects a population which leans neither to Russia nor to Turkey.

The Ottoman empire would find an important compensation in Tiflis and the Caucasus—inhabited by Mussulmans, be it noted—for the loss of two Christian provinces, which belong to her only in name.

Sweden would resume her sway over the Baltic provinces, Finland, Carelia, Ingria, and Esthonia.

Livonia, of old, and for so long a period, a province of Poland, would revert to this last named country.

Denmark would be, as before, reinstalled in possession of Norway, in return for an army of one hundred thousand men, furnished by these Scandinavian kingdoms to the coalition.

Little Tartary and the Crimea might be occupied, like the Ionian Islands, by England, which would thus become a sentinel posted in advance in the Black Sea.

Prussia, which, far from sympathising with the Western



Powers, has menaced her subjects with three years imprisonment in a state fortress, if they should enlist into the British legion, foreseeing that the Prussian Poles would flock in numbers against the common enemy, would be disembarassed of her provinces in Poland, and could augment her strength by the acquisition of such German territories as Holstein, Mecklenburgh, Hanover, for instance, whose sovereign might be promoted to the hereditary throne of Poland. Prussia would thus procure a compact population, German and Lutheran. Again, would it not be possible, by another combination, to give to the House of Hohenzollern, in place of its patched and incongruous kingdom in Germany, the hereditary kingdom of Poland, in reuniting to this latter its ancient integral portions, Polish Ducal-Prussia, and Polish Silesia, as they existed of old; for it must not be forgotten that the Prussian people, properly so called, are not German, but Lithuanian.

The kingdom of Saxony would re-enter its original limits.

And France would extend her boundary to the Rhine, the natural frontier of her empire.

But, exclaim the trembling cabinet ministers of Europe, the partisans of "peace at any price," it is nothing less than a general *bouleversement* that you propose!—Ah! Messieurs, the partition of a great nation, torn to pieces, and drenched in blood, without justifiable reason, and against every law of nations; this incessant persecution; this revolutionary Russo-German reign of terror, aimed at the legitimate nationality of the Polish people, a nationality so ancient, so respectable, so inoffensive;—what does all this constitute, if not a *bouleversement* fearfully subversive, profitable only to unjust spoliators, contrary to the general interests of Europe, and to the balance of power? Where can you find a more flagrant case of *lèse-humanité*?

The proposed arrangement could be executed with the common consent of all the powers concerned, and the decomposition of an incongruous state like Prussia, could be peaceably operated in the laboratories of the chemists of diplomacy. Instead of a state with a precarious existence, prostrated in a single campaign by Napoleon, a state always inconstant, not daring to pronounce openly against Russia, you would obtain a compact and solid barrier against the attacks of the Colossus. What is this pretended and delusory balance of power in Europe,

this bauble prattled of so often, and always thrust forward by the mountebanks of diplomacy, if they do not find themselves yet strong enough in straining their utmost against the ambitious encroachments of a single power? And what matters to humanity the preservation for a day of a state so useless as the Prussian Monarchy, the mushroom growth of yesterday, swollen to its present bulk by perjury and bad faith, and owing the continuance of its existence only to the same means which have conduced to its aggrandizement? Is it to maintain such a state of things, that Europe ought to sacrifice her independence, her repose, and the future of civilization? No, it is in no way a *bouleversement* that we propose, it is simply a restitution, a restoration, the re-establishment of powers whose greatest interest is to bridle the ambition of Russia. Here, indeed, we see the establishment of a solid peace, the only one which can exist for any length of time. When an edifice is menaced with ruin, it is pulled down with a view to its safe and durable reconstruction. He who wills the end, wills the means. But it is not merely with 80,000 men, with two hundred, or even three hundred thousand men, that we shall be able to attain the proposed object of reducing the enemy—we must make Russia disgorge. The greatest captain of modern times, at the head of a formidable army of 500,000 men was discomfited by the Russians. And let them not say that it was the frost that was fatal to him, that experience has taught us the right season, and the right method of attack. Why, the climate is a steadfast ally of Russia, and will do battle for her always. It is not by attacking the giant in his cave, at Moscow, that we shall vanquish him, but in wresting from him the fruit of usurpations outside his proper frontier. To amputate his long arms, and establish a bulwark against his ambition, you must sever from his empire, Finland, and Esthonia, Tartary, and the Crimea, and the Caucasus, and re-establish the Kingdom of Poland from the Oder to beyond the Dnieper, from the Black Sea, and the Carpathians to the Baltic, and beyond the Dwina. To isolate Russia from the rest of Europe, banish her up to the Icy Sea, to the banks of the Moskowa and the Kitazma, to the *Czarate of Muscovy*, to efface in name, and in fact the *Empire of all the Russias*, a title assumed unjustly, illegally, and counter-historically, this is the right scent, the true road to follow, with a perpetual alliance

offensive and defensive between the neighbouring powers. Either we should not have drawn the sword against Russia, and submitted to her good pleasure, or, once having bared it, we should not sheathe it again, till after having fully attained the end proposed.

The Czars are patient, obstinate, and implacable in their wars and in their hatreds. Hope for no peace from them. Sooner or later, if the means be left in their hands, they will avenge their humiliation, and will make Europe repent of its opposition, and of its imprudent and unreasonable intermeddling. We must amputate the limbs of the wild beast, and not content ourselves with merely paring his nails, if the allies do not wish that the cunning diplomacy and bad faith of Russia should prove to Europe the impotence of their half-measures. Russia has progressed more by her obscure underhand dealing even than by the successes of her arms. Peace has served her purposes more than war.

Hardly delivered from the yoke of the Tartars, the Grand Duke of Muscovy, as was then entitled the predecessor of the modern Emperors, by appropriating the title of *Emperor of All the Russias*, had, by this step alone, succeeded in fabricating pretended rights over those Russian provinces of which the kings of Poland had been from time immemorial the legitimate and uncontested sovereigns. What should we think of the French, if, because they are the proprietors of the lesser Bretagne (or Brittany) in France, they were to claim as theirs the greater Bretagne (Great Britain); or, *vice versa*, if the English were to act similarly in the premises, *mutatis mutandis*; or, if the title of *King of Navarre* should have furnished an excuse to the Bourbons for invading Spain, or if the *Queen of Spain and the Indies* should claim our Indian empire? Never, in fact, did those sovereigns whose recognized titles were King of Poland, Grand Duke of Lithuania, Dukes of Russia (or Ruthenia) of Prussia, of Silesia, of Mazowie, of Samogitia, of Courland, of Livonia, of Tschernigow, of Kiow, of Severia, of Smolensk, &c., nor their successors, the kings of Poland, acknowledge the title of Emperor of *All the Russias*, usurped by the Czars of Muscovy. It was only after England and France had recognized this title, that Poland was obliged to yield in her turn, trammelled by the corruption of some of her chief rulers, and alarmed by the menaces of Catherine the Second, reserving all the while her

rights to the Grand Duchy of Russo-Lithuania. Now, it follows that the Emperor of Russia has the right, as King of Poland, to claim the Polish provinces held by Austria and Prussia. From the title, assumed by triek, of Emperor of All the Russias, there is but one step to that of *Emperor of the Slaves*. In that case, a third of Prussia, as it is now actually constituted, and three-fourths of Austria, will fall within the circumference of the Russian Empire. The rest of Europe, undermined by its influence, and wearied with the revolutions of which it is constantly the cause, will not cost much trouble to conquer, and thus the famous will of Peter the Great will be realized to the letter. What then will become of Christianity, with its various forms professed in Western Europe, persecuted by the new sect—an absurd and immoral union of servitude and abasement—the adoration of the Czar. *Utinam sin falsus vates*, said John Cassimer, King of Poland, in the year 1661, wisely foreseeing the future misfortunes of his kingdom. We may well repeat his words with anxiety.

Human opinion, according as the conviction or the interest of each may dictate, divides the human race into various sects, and various political parties. It would be absurd that any sect or party whatever should seek its interest in the annihilation of Poland, or in the preponderance of the Muscovite Empire. In presence of a common danger, pacific rivalries should be silenced, as quite secondary interests, and yield precedence to the interest of humanity in the mass. Protestant, Presbyterian, and Catholic; Whig, Tory, Radical, Conservative, Legitimist, Orleanist, Bonapartist, Republican; the German, the Austrian, the Bavarian, the Saxon—each and all should unite to preserve the world from the imminent danger which menaces it. When a dike on the coast of Holland is broken down by the sea, all the inhabitants without exception, are bound to brave the inundation, and repel it. Under the circumstances, surely it is not a part of our enquiry which of all these parties above mentioned, will gain by the preponderance of the triple despotism, civil, military, and religious, of the Czar; because every one of those parties, without exception, will promiscuously be found to bend the knee before the knout, Siberia, and Tartaro-Muscovite barbarism. In half a century, one could not know an Englishman from a Bashkir, as far as the expression, or rather suppression

of his opinions might be concerned, and the Parisian would be transformed into a Tobolskian, whilst his country would be occupied by Cossacks of the Seine, or of the Loire, and the language of Germany would be spoken in the mines of Siberia. Let then our petty rivalries amongst ourselves hide their diminished heads in presence of the overwhelming moral and national evil which advances towards us, and let us unite every human force to prevent its progress.

Short-sighted politicians, patient to cowardice, think themselves privileged to cry "victory!" when they have been enabled to assure to their country a peace destined to last for some twenty or thirty years, with a view, one is authorized to imagine, to prepare for hostilities renewed after the period shall have elapsed. This would do very well as far as regards the duration of individual life; but nations do not count their existence by years, but by centuries, and it is incumbent upon us to bequeathe to our great-grandchildren what we have inherited from our forefathers. Away, then, with this selfish system of politics which regards everything from a merely individual point of view, and gauges human destinies with the paltry measure of a contemptible individuality. With such a policy, we can do nothing but let Europe slide down the fatal declivity which leads to barbarism and slavery, to a general ruin, from which England alone may escape for some brief time, thanks to her insular position, but to which she, too, must finally succumb in the long run, once she loses her supremacy, with her Indian empire. Let, then, the voice of reason and of prudence be heard by men of all parties, and let them not resemble poor ants who disquiet themselves about a straw, without seeing the formidable enemy of their race who is close to their insect-city. If each one of us does not yield up his temporary interest, we shall all pass beneath the yoke. Division is our weakness, the strength of unity is against us, grasped in a single hand, impelled by a single will, and in one direction only. *Divisum imperium dilabitur; vis unita fortior.* It is the interest of wise and generous England to extend to an ancient nation, glorious and chivalrous, but cruelly oppressed, the same christian hand which she offers to the Mussulmans. Do the indolent Turks, and the fanatical and faithless Greeks, who way-lay the soldiers of the west in the streets of Athens, possess a better right to our protection, than the brave and loyal Poles? The statesmen of western Europe know well

that it is not merely to assure a material well-being to individuals that they should restrict their exertions, but that they should put forth their strength to fulfil the providential mission of great nations, to secure universal justice and the maintenance of respect for the rights of humanity.

It is not by granting precarious alms to unhappy refugees that we are to pay what is due to the glory of England; these poor outcasts avail themselves of your charity only with a view to preserve an existence which they burn to sacrifice on the altar of their country. Let Great Britain cast her sword into the scale against injustice, and show herself worthy of her name, of her position, and of the homage of the universe. In England, and in the United States of America, public opinion is certainly in favour of the re-establishment of Poland within its ancient limits, and government with us follows public opinion. One might say that Providence has permitted the fall of so many governments in France, to afflict and punish them for their abandonment, in the instance of Poland, of the sacred cause of humanity. Is not France, by position, and character, and destiny, the armed force of Providence, the soldier of God? The greater her culpability, then, for her neglect in the past. But, *now* the throne of that country is occupied by a prince of firmness of purpose, and of indisputable courage, who is proud to follow in the foot prints of his great relative, and who will accomplish, with the co-operation of England, the scheme which Napoleon the First had commenced by the creation of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, but which the disastrous issue of the campaign of 1812 left uncompleted. With such an ally, Great Britain may defy the world, and what may we not expect from two such powers, when they shall anticipate the realization of the ardent wishes cherished by all nations? Is it possible that England and France, and the other civilized nations of Europe will suffer, while humanity proclaims everywhere the sacred rights of liberty, and of equality before the law, and of freedom of conscience, that a horde of barbarians shall advance into the centre of Europe before the face of an appalled and stupified universe, to trample under foot the laws of eternal justice, and exhibit their uselessness? shall it be proclaimed just and lawful in the nineteenth century, that men may be persecuted because of their religious belief, and that it shall be criminal not to acknowledge for their spiritual chief the Czar of Muscovy? Because, forsooth, the Poles

have not at heart the worship of the Czar, or of the sovereign of Prussia, or of the ruler of Austria, though all the while they may be men of honour and probity, good fathers, good sons, good husbands, and worthy citizens, they are to be deemed unworthy of the light of heaven, and exiled in the citadel of Alexander, or in the wilds of Siberia, or spirited away from society into the cells of state prisons in Russia, Austria, and Prussia! But in Russia itself there are a number of sects which obstinately refuse to acknowledge the monarch as their religious chief, and find themselves a prey to the same vexations as the Lutheran Protestants, and members of other christian communities: They are called Roskolniki, Staroverdzi, &c., &c. This machiavelian persecution is tenacious of its purpose, and insinuates itself into the bosom of families, commanding by positive ordinance that, in the case of mixed marriages, where one of the contracting parties shall be of the government religion, the children, of both sexes indiscriminately, shall be baptized according to the rights of the Czarish faith. It advances to its end, without rest or stay, by the most secret ways, and under pretences the most puerile and absurd.

Do you wish to subject humanity to so ignoble a system as this, and to tear from hearts of men the rights and duties which constitute the base of all societies? Do you wish in furtherance of a despot's will, to tear asunder the most sensitive fibres of the human heart, the love of country, of one's family, the relations of father, of wife, and of son, the bonds of faith the most intricately woven, and the most sacred? We declare with a professed conviction, that it is not a derisory and ephemeral peace which should be made with Muscovite despotism, but a crusade of civilization, of justice, of the rights of the human race, against barbarism, against systematic oppression, and for the complete re-construction of Poland. We should be grateful to Providence that the enemy himself, the Emperor Nicholas, has furnished us with so happy an opportunity for waging a war so just. The year 1853 will be the most memorable of which there is record in the annals of Czarism; it was then that commenced the definitive decadence of a monster state, and the restoration of nationalities which it vainly sought utterly to devour.

The calumniators of the Poles, interested in their spoilation, and the leaders of the peace-at-all-price diplomacy, the former to justify the infamous partition, the latter to shut their eyes

to the difficulties of a re-construction of Europe, have cried out against the Poles as turbulent revolutionists. Not so ! If the Poles arise, it is to vindicate their imprescriptable national rights, their place in the free light of heaven. It is to defend themselves, as it is the right of every man to do, from extermination *en masse*, such as is unheard of in the history of civilized nations. It is not the Poles who are revolutionary in Poland, but the Russians, the Prussians, and the Austrians. It is not the instrument employed to extract three bullets from the body of a soldier that should be called revolutionary, but the bullets themselves. It is not the emetic employed to expel a poison which ought to be considered revolutionary, but the poisonous substance which has produced the fever, and endangered the sufferer's life. If some Poles have taken part in revolutions which, in appearance, seemed foreign to their country's particular and restricted interests, it is to be observed that it was always against that country's enemies: If they have served under foreign flags, it was with a view to merit, at the price of their blood, the succour of France, and of the other nations of Europe, and to return, by means of that succour, to their hearths devastated by the orders of the sovereigns of Russia, Prussia and Austria. Go, blame, if you will, the man who throws himself into the water to escape the bite of three venomous reptiles. It is time to put an end to these hypocritical accusations, and to this odious abuse of words of which oppressors, interested in calumniating their victims, are quick to avail themselves. The Poles were treated as revolutionists, rebels, and jacobins, when they were defending their territory (invaded by Russia, Prussia, and Austria) and evinced their willingness to curb the excess of popular privileges, and to strengthen the monarchy, by rendering it hereditary through the constitution of May 1791. They are treated as revolutionists because they claim back, in return for their blood, their country usurped by strangers. Give them something to preserve, and they will be conservatives. How is it possible for them to be conservative, when they possess nothing except the wrongs which foreign oppression has inflicted ? What are they to be conservative of ? Of the abolition of their nationality, forsooth, of the prevention of the religion of their fathers, of the extirpation of their language, of the name of *Russians* with which they are honored in one place, of *Prussians* in another, of *Austrians* elsewhere ? Those amongst them who still enjoy some fortune, some place,



some position, do not wish for such possessions at the price of their nationality, of their faith, of their convictions, of their honor; and we are of opinion, further, that they deserve praise, and not blame; should these men, too, be conservative of the degradation with which the invader has covered them? What is there, on the contrary, more noble than this devotion to calamity, this fidelity to misfortune, this exclusive *culte* of honor and of ancient traditions, this solidarity of the present with preceding ages? Behold a genuine nationality! What true Englishman would refuse to do as much under similar circumstances? His forefathers would rise from the grave to reproach him with his cowardice, and to renounce him in his burlesque disguise, from which they could not see what possible good could arise to their degenerate descendant. Death would be preferable to such a state of things as this.

Nineteen centuries ago the injustice of a savage and fanatical horde, and the weakness of a Roman prefect, condemned the Just to the ignominious punishment of the cross; notwithstanding, posterity has erected altars to the pretended criminal, and the effigy of his gibbet is become the symbol of redemption. And there are yet to be found men who wish that an entire nation should be proscribed and suffer martyrdom, without complaint, without enlisting general pity, before the face of the scribes and pharisees of modern times. But the justice of God will take its course. To doubt it is to doubt the divine existence.

As for you, gallant and worthy Poles, whom we cannot but love and esteem, since we have counted many of your countrymen amongst our intimate friends; whose virtues have taught us to appreciate your nation, as for you, brave people, we say to you, hope, hope on! It is impossible that Europe can continue to sacrifice you longer, you and her own tranquillity, to an inordinate and unbridled ambition, which unceasingly troubles the peace of the world, and menaces Christian CIVILIZATION. She will yet establish in Poland, re-constituted within its ancient limits, a wise and stable *hereditary* government, such as your fathers endeavoured to introduce by the memorable constitution of the 3rd May, 1791, when the Russians, "in the name of liberty, and vindication of the principle of election,"—such was their lying plea—invaded what was left of your territory, to maintain ancient abuses but too favourable to their ambition; precisely as in our day, fearing

the progress of Turkey, on the road to escape from their domination, they have invaded that Empire, "in the name of persecuted Christianity."

And let it not be believed, on the faith of the assertions of the partitioning powers, that Poland has been *Russianized* in this Province, and *Germanized* in that other, because Modlin is officially called Novogeorghefsk, or Gdansk as officially Danzig, or that the Polish provinces have lost their national spirit with their national names. Once remove the foreign influence, and the Poles, become more Polish since the partition, will soon forget the Russian geography, as we may venture to say, of their country. Even the Germans and Russians, there established, will *Polandize*, and demand to change *their* names. We have seen more than one such example, and amongst the persecuted patriots of Poland, are numbered many bearing names of German origin. Besides, the German nation has nothing to lose by fraternization. Does it not possess sufficient territory of its own, a numerous population, immense physical, intellectual, and moral resources, without seeking to introduce into its bosom a foreign element, which, instead of revigorating, can only hasten its decomposition?

The Russian people itself, disengaged from all heterogeneous elements, which have principally for effect to retain it in barbarism and slavery, by rendering it odious to all nations, will find a positive gain in returning to its own national unity, rather than in maintaining all the costly apparatus of factitious strength. Laborious and industrious, the Russian peasant will be no longer torn from his family and his hearth, to perish in the desert and in the snow, in combating for the ambition of his sovereign. The Russian merchant, skilled in business, will occupy himself in commercial pursuits; the nobles will be enabled to enjoy their fortunes in peace, without being despoiled of them by pseudo gratuitous and patriotic gifts, to their individual injury, to that of their creditors, and, moreover, will be free to collect, by travel in countries more advanced than their own, the fruits of experience and progress, which they may, at their return, diffuse around them for the general benefit.

Europe will be amply compensated for the expenses of war, by a solid peace, and the vast territory of Poland will open to the commerce of England, France, and Germany, a new market for their manufactures, a market now only encumbered with the

coarse products of Russia. To gain the country to us, it would suffice to favour the importation of its corn, the staple products of its soil, product indispensable to humanity, and the privation of which is too often felt amongst us. The protective policy and final restrictions of Russia have tied up the Polish provinces by a customs' system, (as formidable as her fortresses), by which almost every thing is prohibited. Poland would open to us a market of 30,000,000 of men. Again, our exuberant population, instead of seeking its fortune in America, to swell there the roll of our antagonists, could establish itself in the immense and fertile plains of Poland, which extend from the Baltic to the Black Sea. Kotschoubey, (metamorphosed into Odessa in 1792), situated on the sea-coast of an ancient Polish province, would then become a Polish port, open to the English, where France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Algeria, and Egypt would send their ships. The German emigrants, instead of being useless, and sometimes hostile to us, would serve our cause, and strengthen still more the bulwark opposed to Russia. We should find our language and our brethren in a land, which has hitherto been less known to us than Brazil or Thibet, and our name and our power would be hailed there with blessings. We witness with transport the approach of the "good time coming," for Poland must be re-established in its integrity, and in all its ancient power. The security of England, and the independence of the European nations, demand it. It is with the armed population of Poland, torn from the plough, and driven to death in the gorges of the Caucasus and in the plains of Persia, that the Czar, the *ignotus haeres* of the throne of the Piasts and the Jagellons, menaces our Indian possessions, seeking, by possessing himself of Khiva and of Afghanistan, to clear the way to the banks of the Ganges and the plains of Indostan. Let us not be so childish as to think that, because we have destroyed Bomarsund and ruined Sebastopol, we can go quietly to sleep. The ambitious projects of Russia, fettered for a time in the Black Sea, will turn to Persia, which she equally covets, and strike out a path by Trebizond to Constantinople. That which she cannot do in Europe, she will try to do, with better chance of success, in Asia, where she intrigues incessantly in the dark.

Let us not rely upon a politic, time-serving course, which has led us astray, to our discredit, for fully a century. Do you

call politic the conduct of Prussia, which, after having excited the Poles in 1790 to a desperate resistance against the Russians then preparing to invade Poland, after having signed an alliance with Poland against Russia, introduced her own troops into the Polish provinces, the last fragments of the Kingdom, to partition the country with Russia, and to occupy Warsaw herself? Was not this the height of perfidy? Do such acquisitions confer a right? Do they not constitute a forcible theft? Should not such examples, issuing from the bosom of regular governments, upset all popular notions of what is just, lawful, or moral? It is to England that belongs the honour of remedying the evil arising from this *bonleversement* of all confidence, the fruitful and natural course of so many revolutions. When crowned kings thrust good faith aside, to follow the interests of self, what are we to expect from their peoples? The sovereign who appropriates to himself the property of his neighbours may expect a similar conduct from his subjects, as well as the reclamation of his usurped acquisitions. It is the balance of accounts, give to Caesar the things belonging to Caesar. Nations, like Caesar, have also their rights; *Salus populi ultima ratio*. Are Englishmen so degenerated that they refuse to protect openly, and before all the world, the cause of humanity, trampled under the feet of perfidy and of despotism? And yet it is easy to see that the good intentions of England are paralysed by ill founded fears of the insufficiency of its resources, and the enormous expenditure which this gigantic struggle necessitates. It cannot be denied that the present war is rather more serious than that which we waged against the Chinese empire, and that the fortifications of Cronstadt and Sebastopol have been found more formidable than those of Shanghai and Canton. We know, too, that the Russians of our time, numbering in their ranks, Poles, Swedes, and Germans, have made immense progress in the art of war, and are somewhat more efficient than their ancestors the Tartars; certainly, we are not ignorant that the Russian army is better equipped than the Chinese, and that those same Muscovites, who close their frontiers against every liberal and commercial import, never tire in following the track of European improvements in military science. Let us not say, with an orator of a neighbouring country, that English blood belongs exclusively to England, and French blood to France. Is not humanity obliged, by a solidarity of interest, to sustain its

general interests against all dangers, as much as each individual belongs to his country? *Quid hodie mihi, cras tibi.* Does not this egotistical phrase tend to leave the weak at the mercy of the strong, in rending the bonds of Christian fraternity? Let us not then lose our courage, or abandon ourselves to a fatal lethargy. Above all, let it not be recounted in the annals of history, that, since France has not repaid the devotion of Poland, exhibited on the battle fields of Europe, Africa, and America, England also, strong in a government based on liberty and justice, has been faithless to her providential mission, in contributing her aid to rivet the fetters, and to retain under an insupportable yoke, a chivalrous people, worthy of the sympathies of humanity.

Again, is it not evident that the complete restoration of Poland is amongst the decrees of Providence? If the nation did not succeed in its insurrection of 1830, it is because Providence allotted to her the sufferings of defeat and disappointment only to render her resurrection in the future more glorious after her martyrdom. In scattering thousands of men of all classes far from their country amongst strange peoples and far lands, has not the Divine Ruler disposed their return enriched with the fruits of travel, and illumined by the lights of civilization which Russia has sought to extinguish on their native soil. The justice of Heaven is patient, because it is eternal, and the passing sufferings of humanity are the steps of an enduring progress.

But, before the destiny of Europe be decided on, would it not be right well from prudential motives, as from a sense of equity, to call to her counsels some Poles acquainted with the moral and physical state of their country, and devoted to its interests? Why should not the Polish nation, unjustly blotted from out the map of Europe, and which has the greatest interest in continuing within bounds the now unmeasured ambition of Russia, be represented in a general congress, where its enlightenment, its strength, and its devotedness, might cast their due weight into the scale of deliberations? Let us adopt the measures indispensable for establishing on a solid and just basis that peace which the universal world may reasonably expect from a full statement of right, and a general display of strength. There exists no means, adequate to circumscribe the Russian empire, other than the complete re-constitution of Poland in its ancient possessions. The Russian people itself,

tired out with the *role* of the modern Attilas and Tamerlanes which the Czars affect at its expense, will only be too happy to find a tranquil occupation in an honest industry employed for its advancement at home, and the advantage of its peaceable neighbours. It will cease to be the scourge of God of those latter times, and Europe will not be in the necessity of keeping up immense armaments by land and sea, at an enormous cost of treasure, to watch the Baltic and Black Sea. Then, and then only, will be re-established the true balance of power, for the tranquillity and prosperity of the human race, and a final peace, thus solidly secured, and the freedom of trade which will be its result, will more than compensate the expenses of a just, honorable, and providential war.

#### ART. VII.—THE WAR AND THE FUTURE.

1. *Speech of Lord Palmerston, at Romsey.* Reported in "The Times," October 6th, 1855.
2. *Speech of Sir Archibald Alison, at Glasgow.* Reported in "The Times," October 13th, 1855.
3. *Letter of Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P.* Addressed to Edward Baines, Esq., Editor of "The Leeds Mercury."
4. "*The Times.*" Monday, November 5th, 1855.

The first act of the tremendous war-tragedy in the East is over! The varied scenes of fearfulness that crowded on each other during the past eleven months have been appropriately wound up in one grand concluding climax of terror and destruction. Mad and desperate assault—as desperate and as fierce resistance—murderous checks and most murderous advances,—the last furious and convulsive agony of the sanguinary siege,—and then the melting away of the foe—the half-astonished, half-exhausted pause of the victors—then lurid cloud after lurid cloud and thunder after thunder from wide-wasting explosions of forts and magazines,—Heaven's artillery meanwhile commingling in the horrid din—and when the burly has sunk and the vision at length has cleared, and men's minds have resumed their powers, the gallant and

undaunted enemy seen to have withdrawn in safety to the opposite shore, and *Sebastopol* at length in our hands,—such have been the tremendous accessories that went to make up the final grand and mighty tableau in the first part of the titanic contest in the East.

While yet there is a pause—while we are awaiting and wondering at the tardy telegraph—while, in short, all Europe is in anxious attention and expectancy—there may be a fitting moment to glance at the dim shadows of the future, and try to shape them out as they may presently reveal themselves to all. To make even a step in this direction it is indispensable that we should have at least a general idea of the position and relations among themselves of the various nations whose destinies must be influenced and ruled by the great events which there is so much reason to believe to be approaching.

England and France stand together even more firmly and cordially than before; the stamp of considerable successes having given as it were fresh strength and ratification to the bond which has so happily united them for the last two years. Both have suffered, and suffered deeply, in the waste of blood and treasure—the blood of their bravest and best, and the stored and harvested wealth of a long peace and world-wide commerce. But life, and vigour and power are unabated with either, and more than all, the high and generous purpose, the firm and strong will, and unflinching and most determined perseverance, these are theirs even more eminently and fully than ever. And whoever may join them, whoever may hold off, or whoever may oppose, onward those two great nations—the leading nations of the world—will most certainly go, until what it may without too much boldness be called, their high and heaven-decreed mission be accomplished, and Europe and civilization be, for at least another half century, secured against the insolent menaces and the fell and grasping designs of the barbarians of the north.

Russia, the other great leading party in the Eastern struggle, has suffered still heavier loss in men and money, and a loss beyond all calculation in moral power and prestige, by reason of her defeats. But she is resolute, most fiercely resolute, and unbending still. And the signal discomfiture of our early hopes and expectations, founded on the stories, predictions, and pretentious calculations of some of our writers, who led the public to believe that Russia was far inferior in resources

and military genius to what, to our heavy cost, we have found her, suggests and enforces moderation and caution in judging of her present condition, and trumpet-tongued reminds us of the golden maxim, "Never despise your enemy!"

Austria holds the Danubian Principalities, and holds aloof from the great debate in arms that is to settle not only their important destiny, but that of the Empire with which they have been connected. Loud-tongued and direly wrathful are the organs of public opinion in England in their denunciations of Austria, because she has not thrown in with the allies in their struggle. Cowardice, duplicity, and slavish obsequiousness and subserviency to Russia, are the least of the complimentary phrases which are used in her regard, and he would be a bold man indeed who, at least in England, would venture to say a word in her defence. In Ireland we are but too apt to borrow our opinions of foreign countries and foreign events from our British neighbours, and therefore in Ireland too there is, at least to some extent, a danger of coming in for some share of the obloquy in which Austria is held, if even a suggestion be thrown out that she may turn out to have been harshly judged and inconsiderately condemned. Even at the risk specified, we avow we are of the latter way of thinking.

Against one leading and favorite charge upon Austria, that of having by her military occupation of the Danubian Principalities, set free a Russian army to go to swell the battalions opposed to us in the Crimea, may well be set the fact that by the step in question she really liberated the left wing of our army, and enabled us to make up something of a respectable force for the Crimean expedition. Had our soldiers been doomed to a campaign in the pestilential marshes of the Dobrutscha, the destruction of life amongst them would have been far speedier and more extensive than in the worst months of the leaguer of Sebastopol, while the seasoned and acclimatized Russians would have lost far less in proportion. And we should not have had in aid of our fast diminishing and outnumbered army, either the protection of lines and entrenchments as in the Crimea, nor anything approaching to the powerful degree of assistance and co-operation we received there from our French allies. The number that perished in one not very protracted reconnaissance of theirs in the Dobrutscha, in the early summer of last year, was unprecedented even in some of the severest trials of their African experi-



ence ; being in fact in a ratio that would have very speedily rendered their army ineffective, had it gone on.

If these considerations have failed of producing their proper effect, or in truth have been completely ignored and passed over by the press and platform denunciators of Austria in England, there is little to be wondered at in the circumstance of an equal disregard of other considerations deduced from the subsisting effects upon the former country of the Italian and Hungarian struggles in the melaucholy and disastrous year 1848. Something, nay, perhaps a great deal, of self-reproach should mingle with the feelings that a recall of those events to memory would excite. In those struggles, especially in that of Hungary, the waste of military resources, including under that term the waste of money—the sinews of war—was enormous, and to this day Austria suffers heavily in consequence, and is likely so to do for some time to come. But the movements in her Italian and Hungarian dominions, which caused this terrible waste had not merely the loudly expressed sympathies of the British public, but were indisputably stimulated to a certain extent, and to a certain degree aided underhand by the British ministry of the day. They were thus rendered the more obstinate, and more weakening to Austria, without diminishing in the least the overwhelming and finally prevailing chances against their ultimate success.

There is a retributive justice in the course of the affairs of nations, as in those of individual men : Great Britain was accessory to the weakening and hampering of Austria, and now in Great Britain's need, she finds to her cost that her policy in this respect was only too successful. Austria is financially and strategically if we may so use the word, unable to assist her. The exchequer of Austria is at too low an ebb to supply the wasteful stream of a war-expenditure, and the unsettled state of things in Hungary, and northern Italy, detain large bodies of troops in those territories, which else might have been available for the purposes of the allies. It should too, be recollected in connexion with this point, that Austria has to guard herself upon her Russian and her Prussian frontiers, the former of 300 miles, and the latter augmented by the frontiers of several smaller German states in amity and league with Prussia, whose duplicity, disingenuousness and undeniable leanings towards Russia, render her dangerous to the peace of Europe, and especially dangerous to Austria.

It cannot assuredly be necessary at this age of the world to go into any detail of proofs to show the connivance of England with the revolutionary party in Austrian Italy, (as elsewhere) and her hostility to Austria. The facts are patent, established and incontestable, and indeed are made rather the subjects of glorification by the organs of English public opinion, than of attempted concealment or regret. In the following brief extracts from a very interesting German work translated by the Earl of Ellesmere, and entitled *Military Events in Italy, 1848-1849*, there are passages relative to the conduct of English ministers, and England herself, towards Austria, which we cannot forbear quoting, coming as they do from a publication and an author thus spoken of by Lord Ellesmere in his editorial preface :

"Among numerous works on the subject of the military transactions of 1848 and 1849, which have appeared in the German language, I have met with few which do not refer to the narrative here translated as one of *great merit and high authority*. A Swiss by birth, the author may claim exemption from the stronger though excusable partialities, which might be expected to influence an Austrian, or a Piedmontese."

With this brief introduction and recommendation, we proceed to give the extracts to which we have referred:—

"Lord Palmerston in 1848, declared himself, in the name of England, in favor of all the innovations at issue in Northern Italy; and bestowed upon the cabinet of Austria the ironical advice, that it should assist the struggles of the states of Italy engaged in the pursuit of reforms.

The chiefs of the party of Young Italy and their subservient agent Charles Albert the Sardinian King, were encouraged in their projects against Austria, by the apparent manifestation of increasing ill will towards her, on the part of some great powers—of England in particular.

Those indeed who had reckoned on advantage to the cause of revolutionary Italy from the elevation of Louis Napoleon to the Presidency of France, found themselves disappointed. The majority of the French nation had suffered too recently and too severely from civil conflict, and had too much reason to tremble for the security of property at home, to allow themselves to be hurried rashly into a great foreign war. It was nevertheless certain that should Piedmont recommence her game against Austria when and how she would, France would not allow either her suppression as an independent state, nor even the transference of any, the slightest portion of her territory as a consequence of her eventual defeat. So far at least the Italian democrats could rely upon France, but *they saw reason to place firmer reliance upon England.*

In England it has been observed by a clever writer, the interests of the Continent are little understood, and the ignorance which prevails respecting them is connected with a cordial and contemptuous conviction of the superiority of her own institutions. A fixed idea exists there, which attributes something of a slavish character to the polity of continental states, against which Englishmen are bound to place themselves in opposition. This haughty and one-sided conception of everything foreign stands out in striking contrast to the qualities for which England has been extolled, her loyalty and good faith, and her notorious attachment in her own case, to prescriptive rights. To hide this inconsistency and to throw a decent veil over practical breaches of faith in her foreign relations, the cant phrase '*non-intervention*' has been coined. This phrase has been accepted with acclamation throughout Europe by those who hold the principle that '*order*' is the *summum bonum*; but who construe the word order, the non-interruption of their personal repose, and who will allow law and justice to be trodden under foot while their own business is not interrupted. England, by her adoption of this principle, has torn up with a rough hand compacts which for centuries have held together sovereigns and their people, and even the various components of federal states.

As regards the conduct of England in the recent affairs of Italy, we are not to believe that it is fully exposed in the official documents delivered to Parliament; nor that her proceedings have been confined to the interchange of diplomatic notes. We may dismiss with proper incredulity the fables of money distributed among the rabble by English agents, current as such tales were in several towns of Italy in the year 1848, and the partizanship of the English government with revolutionary parties abroad will still remain palpable enough in the public proceedings of her functionaries. When Tuscany, Rome, and Naples sent their troops across the Po to fight the Austrians, as they did fight them at Montenara and Vicenza, England was silent on the subject of this breach of the peace. But when the Austrians, after their hard won successes, proceeded to cross that same river, English diplomacy was active in placing obstacles in her way by which the operations of her generals were impeded, and the Italians encouraged to continue the war. When the Piedmontese made a step in advance there was no question of English mediation. But whenever the Piedmontese were defeated the British messenger of peace appeared punctually at the head quarters of the conqueror.

In a time also of commotion, external indications of the sympathy or disfavor of a great power have a stronger effect on public opinion than diplomatic notes. Attention was excited, for instance, to the circumstance that on the occasion of a festivity celebrated at Trieste, in honor of the Imperial family, the English ship of war stationed there quitted the roadstead in order, as it was supposed, to avoid honoring the occasion by the usual salute. This breach of propriety was disapproved of even by the French squadron, who showed their opinion of it by a punctual observance of the prescriptive usage.

Both powers, after the acceptance of their mediation by Sardinia,

concurred in addressing to Austria the modest proposal of a separation of Lombardy from the monarchy, as the preliminary basis of a peace."

Austria then has not reason for bearing any great amount of good will towards England, nor indeed towards France, save that the latter country has to a considerable extent made the *amende* and re-established the most friendly relations. England however has done nothing of the kind; but on the contrary continued her exasperations by insulting language in Parliament, most insulting language in the English Press, and finally by the very dangerous and totally unprecedented step of recruiting for a foreign Legion close to the frontier of Austrian Italy, and thus making a rendezvous there for the most inveterate enemies of Austria, and indeed in a great measure the enemies of order, of law and constituted authority all over the globe.

Prussia need scarcely be referred to, in this summary review of the positions and mutual relations of the European States at the present juncture. There is not a being in the three kingdoms who takes of his or of her own will, or by reason of taxation is *made to take*, notice of the great events passing abroad, who is not aware of the recreancy of Prussia—of her paltering with principle—of her double dealing, and Russian predilections. She is a standing danger not only to Austria, whom she paralyses, upon one side, but to the whole of central, western, and southern Europe, for *none* know the moment when she will openly join the Czar. Meantime she hugs herself in her disgrace, as her so-called *neutrality* gives her the monopoly of northern commerce.

Sardinia is throwing in right heartily with the Western Powers. It may however be doubted if the degree of assistance which she has given or is likely to give, turn out to be of the unqualified value which in some quarters there is a disposition to attach to it. In the first place, it necessitates for the first time since the French war, the re-introduction of the system then found so ruinously expensive and unwise, that of loans and subsidies to foreign countries, to induce them to adopt and actively support *our* views of their interests as well as of our own. In the next place, it operates to desuade Sardinia of the trained and disciplined soldiery without whose aid she would have been convulsed throughout her extent by Red Republic-

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\* "Military Events in Italy, 1848-49." London: J. Murray, 1851.

anism in 1849, and whose presence at home is still deemed by those truly acquainted with her internal affairs and conditions, to be most requisite for ensuring the maintenance of order and legitimate authority.

The momentary value of the Sardinian contingent in the Crimea may therefore, and upon the occasion of the battle on the Tchernaya, undoubtedly *was*, great, as well as on some minor occasions, but how very far preponderating would not the evil be, if the reckless and sanguinary republican faction of northern Italy, took the first opportunity of the absence of her troops, to make Sardinia their pandemonium, and the head quarters and rallying place of the enemies of civilization throughout Europe!

Having thus briefly alluded to the states that are either immediately active in and parties to the great eastern struggle, or at no very distant period are likely to be involved in its vortex, we can be still briefer in our allusion to those yet unnamed, Spain, Portugal, Naples in the south, Belgium, Holland, and Hanover, and other small German states in the centre, and Denmark, Sweden, and Norway in the north. To these latter the contest is indeed of the deepest and most important interest, for they have long viewed with dismay the gradual but sure approaches of Russia towards their borders, and they are intimately convinced that no sanctity of treaties and no solemnity of assurances and obligations will bind and keep back the grasping Russian from overwhelming invasion, the moment he deems that the fitting opportunity is come. They could aid us in much if they chose to take even a passive part with us, as the Baltic fleets of the Allies might winter in the northern harbours, and so be earlier ready for action and *upon* the scene of action in the Spring. But not satisfied that England and France would in future times, long after their own ends might be gained, come promptly and efficiently to the rescue, when Russia, having long treasured up a spite, should suddenly determine to avenge it, the countries in question naturally enough have decided to remain as neutral as the current of events may allow them.

Spain, and her near neighbour Portugal, as well as Naples, have enough, and, in the case of the first and last, more than enough to do with their own affairs without mixing, voluntarily at least, in the Eastern contest. In Spain and in Naples there are rife and active elements of confusion not dissimilar to those which are working in Sardinia, and any convulsion

in other parts of Europe, such as marked the year 1843, would be the signal with them also for disturbance and confusion. The German states of second and third rank are watching the movements of Austria and of Prussia, and have no policy of their own, save to side with the strongest. Holland and Belgium meantime are steadily attending to business, and profiting accordingly.

When the general aspect of Europe is such as we have been summarily but correctly describing, it needs neither political conjuror nor ghost to tell us that the chances of war, of furious war, and war probably general all over Europe, are infinitely stronger than the chances of peace. The three powers at present engaged are, as we have before remarked, most resolutely bent on prosecuting the war to the uttermost. The two great "lookers-on" are being gradually and insensibly but irresistibly impelled by the force of circumstances towards the vortex on the edge of which they are in vain thinking to stay themselves. When once the five leading states of Europe are thus all committed, the minor states will more or less inevitably be drawn in also, some upon the one side, some upon the other; and then will come the harvest and the season for those enemies of society and order, unhappily only too numerous throughout the kingdoms of the continent, and by no means few in Great Britain herself. "*Vae victis*," in the strife that then will happen!

If may appear singular to some of our readers that we have hitherto omitted all mention of Turkey, and yet when her real condition and circumstances are considered there will not appear anything very strange in the omission. Turkey is in fact to be regarded more in the light of the stake in the tremendous game now being played out in the East, than in that of one of the players. If Russia by any sudden and disastrous change in the fortunes of the war shall ultimately prevail, Turkey is without defence, and if only to compensate for Russian losses, will be laid hold upon. If on the other hand that which now seems likeliest, (but which yet may be defeated by fortuitous, and very possible circumstances,) should occur, namely, the final achievement of victory by the allies, the new arrangements for that most ominous, (and in the case of a so-called "independent Empire," anomalous,) state of things, a "Protectorate" of Turkey, will involve, not only the truly serious and dangerous difficulty as to the relative positions and

influences of the Protector, in the solving of which difficulty the rights and feelings of Turkey may be made small account of indeed, but even under the most favorable settlement, a practical abnegation of independence of action and reality of power.

It has been said in prose and in immortal verse, that the step is short which conducts a deposed monarch from the throne to the scaffold. The distance is not long that intervenes between the necessity of propping up a decayed empire, and the decision of her supporters that it is time they were relieved of the burthen by her utter extinction.

As a further element for consideration in the judgment we are endeavouring to form of what the coming year may bring forth to Europe, and an element of quite equal significance and importance to anything we have as yet been dealing with, it is proper and indeed strictly requisite to look to and consider the expressed opinions of the statesmen, and public men of mark, who have enunciated their opinions and views on the subject at those festive and other meetings, which it is a recognised practice in these countries for public men to avail themselves of to make their sentiments known, when the parliamentary theatre is temporarily closed against them. The prime minister himself has thus spoken, on two of those occasions :—

“It is, gentlemen, the fashion with many to say that war is the greatest of all calamities. Now war is undoubtedly a great calamity; but there are evils greater than war: there are evils that spring from the success of grasping ambition, and from triumphant violence.—So have thought the people of England, so have thought our noble neighbours, the people of France. These two great nations, standing as they do, at the head of everything that dignifies human nature, casting into the shade all former jealousies and rivalries, looking for no gain, territorial or otherwise, for themselves, have united their arms and undergone all the burdens of war, to establish the liberty of the world upon a solid and permanent foundation, and have not hesitated at any sacrifices, made not wantonly, nor for abstract principles, but for the soundest political consideration. And their efforts have won the sympathy and the applause of every free people, and lover of freedom and justice throughout the world.”

In the foregoing extract, taken from a speech made posterior in date to that from which we are about to quote, there is a brief and manly vindication of the war itself from the un-

\* Speech of Viscount Palmerston at Buxary, Friday, October 8th, 1853.

justifiable and even monstrous allegations concerning it that we shall presently have to bring before the reader's consideration ; proceeding from other public men, still attracting much of the public gaze and attention, but already much fallen, and from their strange and unworthy conduct as we fear it is rightly to be called, likely to fall still more, from the eminence in public opinion to which one great act of their lives somewhat suddenly but not undeservedly raised them.

The following then is the more detailed extract we speak of from the Premier's *ex-parliamentary* declarations :—

" We have now a great triumph, (cheers) ; we have struck a mortal blow at an enemy whose aggressive policy threatened the whole world, and particularly the interests of this country (loud cheers) ; Sebastopol has succumbed to the valor of the allies, and right has so far triumphed over wrong. And now one word as regards the future. Final success must attend our arms, (cheering) ; our security for that arises from the undaunted valour of our troops and our allies, (cheers) ; we have a security also in the good faith of the Emperor of the French, who is with us heart and soul in this contest, (loud cheers) ; we have an additional security in the alliance of the Kingdom of Sardinia, which is not so great territorially as either France or England ; yet history reminds us that small states have played an important stake in the world, and have exercised no inconsiderable influence on its destinies, (hear, hear) ; we remember the important part played by Holland, by Venice, by Genoa—smaller states in territory than Sardinia ; and therefore, not despising the lessons of history, but on the other hand taking courage from the fact of this Sardinian alliance, we say that, while the compact is highly honourable to Sardinia, it is of this additional importance, that it has formed itself into a league against tyranny, (hear and cheers) ; well then, with this prospect before us, with the valour of our troops in unison with the troops of the Emperor of the French, nations that have laid aside ancient antagonisms and who are now actuated by no other feelings but an honourable rivalry as brothers in arms, fighting for the common cause, bound together by the indissoluble ties of friendship, and acting in the truest spirit of good faith—and above all, and before all, relying on the justice of our cause—it is impossible to believe that the war can be brought to any other conclusion than that which will secure to Europe safety against the future aggressions of Russia—a peace that shall not only be honourable and satisfactory to the allies, but shall redound to the honour and interests of this country, and justify the great sacrifices by which such a peace shall have been attained, (much cheering)."

Upon a still more recent occasion, that of the Guildhall

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\* Speech of Viscount Palmerston, at Melbourne, Wednesday, 12th September, 1855. "Times" of 14th September.



dinner, of the second week of the month in which we are writing, the month of November, the noble lord has if possible more emphatically reiterated the sentiments and purposes expressed by him upon the two occasions already noticed. The Guildhall cheers and the universal laudation of the English newspapers tell him that he has hit the right key to popularity in the present temper of the English people, and without seeking to make any question of the noble premier's sincerity of conviction and spontaneity of resolution in the premises, we may be well assured from all his former career, that he will not easily be moved to abandon a course of policy so greeted, encouraged and supported, and thereby tending so directly to secure him in his high office.

If anything had been wanting to prove that English opinion is altogether in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war, it was supplied by the very strong marks of disfavor, with which the appearance and attempt at speaking, of Lord John Russell at the same dinner at the Mansion House, were greeted. His conduct at and after his return from the last Vienna Conference, the tergiversation of which he was so plainly proved guilty, the double-tongued counsel which he almost in precise words confessed he had been giving, counselling peace at Vienna and preaching war in the House of Commons, utterly destroyed whatever prestige remained from his former long career as liberal leader and minister, and never public man was more promptly or contemptuously silenced than was he, who so often before had in that very hall been cheered to the echo, and praised almost as the Heaven-born minister of the day.

The devices by which he is now trying to bring himself once more as he hopes before the favorable notice of the public, will scarcely tend to raise his character again with reasoning and right minded observers. As in 1851, when his sudden appeal to extreme religious feelings and prejudices, and his immediately subsequent *hedging* in the opposite direction, won him the immortal notice of Mr. "Punch" as "*the boy that chalked up 'no popery' and then ran away*"! Lord John Russell has *come out* in Exeter Hall, at a meeting of the "Young Men's Christian Association," with a long and labored eulogy of the Established religion of the state, at the expense of "popery," and re-hashed up anew all the stories that have for two centuries been the staple of the philippics, spoken and

written against Catholicism as the reputed foe of enlightenment and progress. For nearly two hours he detained his audience with these diatribes, and after thus working up and inflaming their minds to the utmost of his power, he concluded in the true "*running away*" style, by recommending them to practise and preach the utmost and most absolute tolerances, and above all, "not to allow the flowing waters of christianity to be embittered by the gall of sectarian and polemical controversy!"

*The Dublin Evening Mail*, one of the staunchest and most uncompromising advocates, not only in our city but in the empire, of Protestantism and Ascendancy, rightly treats of this exhibition in the following manly and sensible remarks:—

"Having been hissed the other day at Guildhall, he (Lord John Russell), has betaken himself to Exeter Hall, and again written 'no Popery' on the walls. He is now all for the Bible as the only rule of faith and morals, and—now that POPE's bulls are a little out of fashion—as the most valid passport into popular favour. It is true, the little man, *more suo*, looked over his shoulder while he was hurraing for Protestantism and liberty, and he did not fail to whisper an aside or two in propitiation of Mother Church and even of the Peace Congress. 'The nature of man is so prone to evil that strong restraint is required,' or we shall have 'revolutions tearing up the foundations of society,' as they did in France; and yet with 'the English Bible, SHAKESPEARE and MILTON' in every man's hand, we may hope that England and America will 'unite in the glorious task of peaceful contest and bloodless victory.'

The performance was in the manly English style, all about freedom of opinion, the tricks of the Jesuits and sound Protestantism, with scenery and machinery to correspond. The place was Exeter Hall, and the chorus consisted of the Earl of SHARRSBURY, Lord PARMURE—champion of the Free Church of Scotland—with the Reverends R. BICKERSTETH, and MONTAGUE VILLIERS. The doxology too, was sung as the overture to this disgusting farce. We regret deeply that the respectable men whose names we have mentioned should have soiled themselves and the cause of which they have been consistent advocates, by standing by while it was thus dragged through the mire."

It is not likely that these unworthy devices will benefit their author. The English public is gullible occasionally, perhaps we may say very often; but it would exceed all the ordinary bounds of probability to imagine that they could be gulled again by one who so barefacedly played upon them before. Lord John Russell is therefore not likely to recover by this

trick the ground in public favour and honor, which he lost by the not more disgraceful, though far more dangerous trick of working for a dishonorable peace, while he spoke in public for a manful and resolute continuance of the war.

We come now and with much reluctance to the extraordinary and not for their own sakes alone, but for the honor of English public men, most regrettable and deplorable declarations and publicly expressed opinions of Messrs. Bright and Cobden on the war. It speaks well for the constitutional government and free institutions and habits of England, and still better for the patience and good temper of Englishmen, that such opinions and expressions as those we are about to review should be permitted to be made public, without bringing down not merely the strong and general reprobation which they have provoked and incurred, but direct and condign punishment upon their authors and propagators. In no other country in Europe, and certainly not in the so called free states of America, would it be permitted that such terms as Messrs. Bright and Cobden have ventured to employ in speaking of a war with which the national voice and will have so thoroughly gone, be permitted with impunity. In no other country but Great Britain would it be allowed that encouragement should thus be publicly given to her enemy, and so far as the influence of the speaker or writer may extend, discouragement to our friends and above all to our gallant and devoted and much enduring army in the east. Better things were once hoped for from the gentlemen named above, at least by the large class who joined in and supported the free trade movement at the head of which their names were most prominent. But even the most ardent of their admirers have now been cooled down, and have begun to regard them with very different feelings indeed from those previously entertained. And there can be no cause for wonder at the total change when we read and consider the nature and tendency of such remarks and expressions as these :—

“ We are now engaged in a war, 3000 miles away from home. He would tell them there were not in the Crimea now as many men in the British Army as were first sent out there—that with all the exertions made, and all the expense of bounties for enlistment, we had not been able to keep up the strength of the army there at what it was at first ; while the soldiers were not equal to what they were at first by a great deal, in point of quality. If all the nation were of one sentiment, if they were all unanimously bent on foreign wars, did they think they could go on with such wars, having such material

as we were now obtaining?—If he were in favor of such a policy he would certainly have a different internal policy to support it. He would do as Russia, Austria, and Prussia did ; and have a fair conscription in all classes. He would have every man taking his honest share in doing the country's work, and then if they thought the sustentation of Turkey and the humiliation of Russia were objects worthy of that sacrifice, the war might be carried on with becoming vigour. The men who got their guinea, or two guineas, for writing a column in the public newspapers were the men who had to bear the heavy burden of responsibility for this war policy. The newspaper editor was omnipotent—he wielded a sway over the spirit of the country, and while the paper he directed sold in doubled and in trebled numbers, the minister was driven to acts that might hereafter form a disastrous page in the history of the country. In conclusion, he would urge consideration of the fearful sacrifice of life and expenditure of treasure against the further continuance of the war. He doubted if these Russian soldiers were not as precious in the sight of the Omnipotent as were the soldiers of France and England, and therefore when he looked at this question, he thought not alone of the streams of English and of French blood that had flowed, but he looked to the suffering and misery inflicted by the slaughter of 500,000 men during the last two years. He had none of that blood upon *his* hands. It was not upon his conscience. He declared solemnly that there was nothing that could be described that he would not willingly undergo rather than be held responsible to history and to his Maker for the *atrocities which had been perpetrated during this war.*"\*

Examining this most extraordinary effusion, paragraph by paragraph, or rather assertion by assertion, we hesitate to say whether, in our view of it, there appears more ground for indignant reprobation of its darker tendencies, or contempt and disdain of its exceeding and monstrous folly. It begins with an announcement to all the world, and in particular to the vigilant and persevering and powerful enemy we are at this moment contending with, of the so-called *fact*, that our army is now weaker than ever, and that we are at the end of our resources, so far as its proper and efficient maintenance and regular supply are concerned. Supposing this to *be* the fact, is it wise, is it patriotic, we had almost asked is it *loyal*, thus publicly to proclaim and confess it? Is not Russia quite obstinate enough, does she not appear quite determined enough to persevere in the war, without needing the additional spur and incentive of knowing our increasing weakness? Were she inclined to come into terms, and relieve the world from

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\* Speech of John Bright, Esq. M. P. at the Public Dinner at Rochdale, given to William Sharman Crawford, Esq., on the 3rd. of Oct. 1855.

the horrors of this most devastating and dangerous war, could anything be more calculated to nerve her old purposes anew, and encourage her to bear up yet a while longer against her heavy burthens, than this open proclamation that we were beginning to be unable to maintain the efforts by which, for a time, we have baffled her; and that instead of her having to accept terms of humiliation and abasement, she may presently, if only firm a little longer, dictate her own terms to the humbled and defeated British Empire.

But it is *not* the fact either that "we have been unable to keep up the strength of the army in the Crimea at what it was at first," nor that our soldiers are "not equal by a great deal in point of quality to what they once were."

As to the relative strength of the army of Great Britain in the Crimea at its landing in September of last year, and in the present month, November, of this year, the army list for the month and the War Office returns enable a decisive answer to be given to the assertion of present numerical inferiority. There were, according to Lord Raglan's despatches, and the unofficial but equally trustworthy statements of the *Times*' Commissioner, not more than 27,000 British troops landed at Old Fort in the Crimea on the 14th September, 1854, including all arms. At the present moment there are at the least 60,000 men under the British colors in and around Sebastopol.

Mr. Bright's statement being thus so utterly and absolutely unfounded as to *quantity*, let us see if it be more correct as to *quality*. In this point we fear he must be allowed to approach nearer to the truth. The sad and most unfortunate history of the attack on the Redan, on the last day of battle when Sebastopol was won, but not by British arms, shews that he is borne out to a certain extent in the disparaging judgment he has expressed in reference to the present composition of our army. There is no doubt whatever that in the kind of panic that came over the War Department, not only at the discovery of its own inefficiency and want of sufficient preparation, but still more at the Parliamentary disclosures of, and philippics against, that inefficiency, and the almost ruinous and most disastrous blundering that accompanied it, re-inforcements were hurried out to the theatre of war without a proper examination of the materials of which they were composed, and that accordingly raw, unfledged, undisciplined, and un-

seasoned boys were sent out to add rather to the inconspicuousness and losses of the allied forces, than to their potency in the field. There is also no doubt that, owing to the inglorious, and indeed pecunious, economy forced upon successive ministries during the last 20 years, the military force of the country was at a dangerously low ebb when the war broke out, and that owing to this cause there was no reserve of trained and hardened soldiers to supply the first heavy needs of the campaign.

But this is an evil becoming less and less every day. The Militia Regiments of the three countries are every day bringing forward for the supply of the line, a larger and larger proportion of men well advanced in training; and the three months intervening between the present time and the first possible opening of the spring campaign is the time, it will add effectively to the numbers of trained volunteers thus formed. We are indeed in a far better way at present than we were this time twelve months as regards the supply of useful reinforcements, for between the militia regiments now nearly all well up in their drill and military habits, and the foreign legion whose ranks have so rapidly filled, something like that army of reserve and supply, the want of which was so deplorable at first, has come to be established.

Passing Mr. Bright's suggestion and recommendation of the "Conscription" system as practised in "Russia, Austria, and Prussia," to be adopted in England—a good clap-net for a popular orator, but not of much value in any other point of view, especially in the immediate exigencies of the war, when a levy of clerks and commercial travellers and idle and effeminate loungers of our parks and watering places would scarce prove of much utility—we come to that part of his speech which most surely betrays his lack of sound argument, inasmuch as it is at once totally beside the question, and is an *ad captandum* appeal of a most unfair, unjust and wilfully perverse pandering to the passions of his hearers.

There is the insinuation without a single alleged proof, or indeed without the least attempt at proof, that the English public as incited and represented by their newspapers, consider the Russians as outcasts not merely from humanity, but from the general scheme of Almighty benevolence to man! Where has Mr. Bright found this disposition? In what words, in what newspapers, in what public assemblages has he read or

head expression given to anything like this? Why should he calumniate his fellow countrymen by insinuating what he evidently dare not openly to charge?—can he point to one single expression, vote or act of any person or body of persons representing any part of the community of these countries, that would at all indicate their looking upon the Russians in any other light than as fellow Christians, equally with themselves objects of the great Creator's love, and sharers in the benefits of the great atoning sacrifice upon the cross!

Yet the meaning and tendency of the pharisaical concluding portion of his speech is to this effect without the possibility of denial. Else why did he not charge the slaughter he deplores upon him, whose criminal ambition and tyrannous obstinacy occasioned—necessitated the war?—Why did he not pronounce the name of Nicholas, the true slayer of the myriads whom he mentions as having perished during the last two years? Else why did he emphasize that his *own* hands, his *own* conscience, were guiltless of this ocean of blood? It is not a question between the degrees of criminality of John Bright, the late Emperor of Russia, and the British public. Yet he ostentatiously and with superlative egotism exonerates himself, is silent on the conduct of the Russian Emperor, and leaves it to be directly inferred that he charges the British public, and the British public alone, with not only the wide wasting desolations of the war, but also, we suppose, the wanton aggressions on Turkey that occasioned it, and with each of its melancholy and revolting incidents, including, no doubt, the Sinope slaughter, the murder of wounded British officers and men at Inkerman, and the firing on the flag of truce at Hango!

But it is time to leave Mr. Bright and turn to the other prominent leader of the "peace-at-any-price" party. We allude to Mr. Cobden, whose letter to Mr. Edward Baines, the "senior editor" of the *Leeds Mercury*, comes properly under review next. There is more of appearance of cool argument, and less of violent and *ad captandum* appeals in this document than in what has emanated from Mr. Bright; yet we think it will be found but an appearance after all; and that the coolly written document is quite as unsound and unfair as the hastily spoken and passionate speech.

Mr. Cobden commences in the same way as his ally and *collaborator* Mr. Bright, by asserting the total insufficiency

in every respect of the re-inforcements sent to our army in the East, subsequent to the battle of the Alma and the sitting down before Sebastopol. In illustration of this part of his subject he gives a few statistics from the Appendix of Evidence to the Report of the Committee of last session in the House of Commons "On the State of our Army before Sebastopol," and compares the terrible totals of eleven, sixteen, nineteen and twenty-three thousand sick and wounded for the months of October, November and December, 1854, and January, 1855, respectively, with the meagre amounts specified as the totals of *recruiting* during the said months, and also the months of February and March, beyond which latter date the returns extant do not go.

It is perfectly true that these amounts, averaging as they do no more than 6,000 "finally approved" recruits per month for the three branches of the land service, cavalry, infantry and artillery combined, do make a miserable shew if put in comparison with the fearful totals of sick and wounded mentioned before, and so far Mr. Cobden might be supposed to have proved his case. But is the comparison fairly put? are all its elements fully supplied? And if not, can it have any real value, or even relevancy? These questions we are prepared to give reasons for answering distinctly in the negative.

In the first place, the comparison is most unfairly put, inasmuch as even if it really presented the state of things in the two respects in question, in the winter of last year and the early spring of the present, (which we hesitate not to deny, and for reasons presently to be stated,) yet it should have been accompanied, were he disposed to act with candour, by an acknowledgment that the state of things so presented belonged to the *past*, and was not therefore to be assumed as grounds for judging of the present.

In the next place, the successive arrivals of *fresh troops*, regiments in the full strength of their war-complement, and regiments well trained and highly disciplined, such as the 39th, the 46th, the 90th &c., besides large and frequent draughts to supply the losses of the regiments actually in the Crimea, are not brought into account at all by Mr. Cobden, although in the majority of cases these supplies were perfectly independent of the raw recruits, who figure in his tables as gathered at home during the period he has chosen to speak of. The fresh Regiments were entirely independent of the recruits just



mentioned, and we are in a position to state with certainty, that at least in the case of the Brigade of Guards, the reinforcements they received up, at any rate, to the month of March, were composed of men on the muster roll of the regiments composing it long before the commencement of the war, and drafted from the battalions at home to those upon service.

Up to the month of December not less than 1500 had joined the Brigade of Guards from England, all men coming within the category last described. And the reinforcements up to and beyond that month to the line regiments in the Crimea, were in a very considerable measure supplied from their yet unexhausted number of trained soldiers in their depôts at home.

Mr. Cobden has also failed to take into proper account the number of convalescents that returned to the ranks during the months stated, yet their number should certainly have been deducted from what he has set down as the unredeemed losses of the army.

He was wise in his generation, if not over candid, in not attempting to push his statistics farther, as the reinforcements for the army began to be multiplied as the season of fine weather, this year was approaching; and the recruiting at home began rapidly to be swelled by the large drafts of volunteers from the Militia regiments at home. Let it be recollected that up to the latest period to which Mr. Cobden pushes his statistics, not one of the Irish, or Scotch regiments of militia, and not more than at the utmost one half of the English regiments of the same force, had given their "quota" as it is called, viz. :—one fourth of their strength or complement. The fact is incontestable and for certainly a valid reason—namely, that they had not been embodied at all, until the months of December, January and February. In the case of one Irish regiment, the Royal Meath Militia, there was no embodiment until so late as the month of July in this year, and it is said that this case by no means stands alone. However, an extreme point like this is not necessary to our argument, which is, that the statistics of "recruiting" given by Mr. Cobden for the months he has chosen, by no means furnish the data for calculating the progress of that operation in the months subsequent to his period, so very large a proportion of the militia force of the country having since that time began to add, and add immensely, to the supply. It is not an uncommon thing to hear of regiments of that force having given within the

last six or eight months not merely their "quota," which as we have stated before is fixed at the proportion of one-fourth of their full strength, but even to have nearly doubled that quota; and as the latter is an annual thing, the approaching spring of 1856 will see the process renewed.

It must be almost unnecessary for us once again to remind our readers that we have not denied that a large proportion of the present "recruiting" for the line, is made up of what Mr. Cobden calls "boy-recruits"—"wanting the bone and muscle of men;" but as we have before stated, the original blame of the want of a trained and seasoned army of reserve in sufficient numbers to enable those boys to be left at home till fit for hardship, rests not with this or that ministry, but with the British public, whose organs in and out of Parliament have for the last 20 or 25 years enforced a disastrous parsimony in the management of our military means.

The enormous emigration from Ireland during the greater part of the last nine years has also to an extraordinary degree diminished the supply of men. At all times a great source of strength in this respect to Great Britain, she was in time of war found to be almost inexhaustible. But her fine youth have been allowed to expatriate themselves without an effort made to remove or alleviate the ills and sufferings that drove them from home, and short-sighted public men in England have rejoiced over their departure and sought even to stimulate it. They are gone—their loss cannot be replaced for years, if ever—

"A bold peasantry, their country's pride,  
When once destroyed, can never be supplied."

So sings the poet, and whether the aphorism be true or not, whether there may be merely rhyme and not reason in it, we have the stubborn fact, that for the present at least that "bold peasantry" are gone, and England's recruiting sergeants in this her sore need, find that their place is empty and knows them no more.

Passing from the region of what he calls fact, to that of speculation, Mr. Cobden, like his friend Mr. Bright, turns his attention to suggesting the means of filling our ranks without again having to look to raw recruits solely for the maintenance of our military honor and national prestige. He thus deals with this part of his subject:—

"And how is it, I would respectfully inquire, that the purport of what I have narrated should be better known and appreciated every-

where than in England, and that while, to quote the words of *The Times*—the truth of which I can confirm from recent personal experience on a restricted field of observation—‘in every café and promenade in Europe the conversation has been of the sorry figure which England has made in the present war,’ not one word of warning has been addressed to the country, or a single appeal made to the people, for a supply of efficient men to fill the vacant ranks of the army, which the people, and the people alone, could fill? How is it, on the contrary, that while the most unmeasured censures have been heaped on the Parliament, Government, aristocracy, and military commanders, our press, platform, and even our pulpits, have during all this time, teemed with more fulsome laudation of the people of England than was ever before lavished on a community in the same space of time? I will not be tempted at present to pursue this inquiry; it would lead me aside from the practical question to which I beg to invite your attention and that of other leading advocates of the continuance of the war.

“How is it proposed to raise men (not boys) to fight that which I am told is the ‘battle of European civilization and liberty against a despotism which aims at nothing less than universal empire?’ If this and kindred phrases which have rung in our ears for the last two years mean anything but sound and fury, Englishmen have undertaken not merely the work of one nation, but of half Europe. We cannot, if we would, depute this great self-imposed task to a legion of foreign mercenaries; for our recruiting agents abroad (I blush to say it) have everywhere been threatened or imprisoned, not only the United States, but Prussia, Switzerland, and even diminutive Hamburg, having refused to allow their citizens to engage, even at our expense, in what we insist on calling a struggle for their independence. We cannot for very shame again confide this duty to ‘thoughtless boys;’ besides, even those raw recruits fall short, at the hour of our utmost need, to the extent of from 20,000 to 40,000 of the number voted by Parliament. How, then, do you propose to bring the bone, muscle, and manhood of England into the field?

“There are two methods equally successful, by which regular armies are raised in foreign countries. The one is by a conscription, as in France, where a certain number of men of a prescribed age are taken every year by lot from among all classes, and where the unlucky person who draws the fatal number from the balloting urn, be he peer or peasant, must either serve himself, or find an approved substitute, at an expense varying from £80 to £200, according to circumstances. The other is the plan of the United States, where the legislature votes the number of the army, and voluntary enlistment supplies the men;—this mode has never been found to fail. On the breaking out of the war with Mexico five times as many men offered their services, in many parts of the Union, as were required. All ranks and professions pressed forward:—the newspaper editor exchanged the pen for the sword; the lawyer threw up his brief; the doctor abandoned his patients; and the farmer his land—all to enlist into the ranks. The present President of the United States, then of mature age, and with a leading practice as a barrister, gave up family and profession, and volunteered into the

ranks. The plan is, in fact, our own, with this material difference in its working, that in America the popularity of a war is proved by the willingness of the people to take part in it. There is still a third system which has been recommended for adoption in this country—that of increasing the bounty until you tempt men from other pursuits into the army. But it is liable to the objection that in these days of cheap locomotion you would not be sure of keeping your recruit after he had pocketed the bribe. ‘We find,’ says Lord Hardinge, ‘that the more you raise the bounty the greater the number of desertions ; they make a trade of it.’”

Despite of Mr. Cobden’s sneer, the battle in which England and France are so worthily and heartily engaged is “the battle of European civilization and liberty against a despotism which aims at nothing less than universal Empire.” None but himself, Mr. Bright and one or two kindred spirits, will be found (out of the ranks of the red republicans who will make any assertion, as they will do any act, to confuse or conceal the truth,) to deny the continually encroaching and grasping policy of Russia ever since she began to take a part in European affairs. Poland and Finland attest it in the North ; the littorals of the Black Sea, the Sea of Azov, and the Caspian, bear it witness in the South. Bomarsund and Sebastopol have demonstrated the mighty preparations for a further and for Europe a most threatening and perilous advance. But it would be veritably inexcusable to waste time in discussing the value of Mr. Cobden’s and Mr. Bright’s hallucinations upon this point, in opposition to the plain facts of the case and the almost unanimous convictions of the rest of the community—nay, we may add, the plain confessions of Russians themselves, who have both in speech and book proclaimed that “Universal Empire,” was the destiny of “Holy Russia”!

The proscription under terrible penalties of all expression of opinion upon subjects of public import, however remote,—the precariousness of enjoyment of wealth and station in a land where the proudest noble may in half an hour be turned into the streets with a scavenger’s broom, or carted off as a numbered and badged convict to the howling wilds of Siberia—the universal espionage that destroys all social confidence and security—the terrible knout or *PLITT* which, to use American phraseology, are of the “institutions of the country,” and inflicted without discrimination of age, condition or sex—the tyranny which enslaved nobility in its turn wreaks upon its own slaves, the peasantry, and artizan classes ;—the glittering wealth covering sordid rags and revolting filthiness—the pro-

face, heartless, tasteless, and thoroughly barbaric ostentation, all tell of a state of things utterly antipodean, as we may say, to what in Western Europe is understood as civilisation and valued as freedom. This state of things the dominion of Russia would assuredly bring upon us in more or less intensity perhaps according to particular circumstances, but assuredly upon all in turn, had her aggressions been allowed to proceed unchecked. But fortunately, at the eleventh hour, just as the grand stroke of her game, the seizure of Constantinople, and the acquisition thus of a fulcrum for the lever that was to disturb the foundations of constitutional government in Europe, was about to be played, the two greatest among the threatened nations awoke from the kind of astonished and palsied trance in which they had hitherto seemed to regard the audacious progress of the northern aggressor, and taking good heart and good counsel and uniting and pulling together, as none had either hoped or feared or in any way expected they would or could be brought to do, they have met and stayed him in full career—nay, have driven him back already with heavy discomfiture and loss.

The scope of this paper does not embrace an examination into and discussion upon the merits or otherwise of the various modes of recruiting and maintaining a military force in practice in the different military nations, so that we need not delay upon that part of Mr. Cobden's letter, which treats of conscription, volunteering, and what may be called for distinction, *bounty-fed* enlistment. As to the first, it is evident that to introduce it into England, a country so averse to change in its habitudes and manners, as also to any direct interference of government in the personal affairs of individuals, would require something like a revolution, and a revolution in England, even upon a small scale, would be rather a dangerous experiment. As to the second, the American system of volunteering, it practically exists at this moment in England; as men can engage for a very limited term of service not only in the militia, but under certain provisions in the line itself. But Great Britain cannot hold out to British subjects the rich temptations which the United States can do to the citizens of that republic. She has had no Texas to annex, no Mexico to despoil, no rich lands, no plunder of wealthy cities, churches and public establishments, no new regions for daring adventurers to explore and seize possession of; and therefore she

cannot hope to see, as Mr. Cobden describes it in America, (which has had all those temptations to offer and has more of them yet in reserve,) the "newspaper editor exchanging the pen for the sword, the lawyer throwing up his brief, the doctor abandoning his patients, and the farmer his land," in their eagerness to volunteer for the golden prizes before them.

Upon the third system mentioned by Mr. Cobden, that of increasing the bounty to recruits "until men are tempted from other pursuits into the army," we shall only remark that before running the risk by such a measure of thereby increasing, as Field Marshal Lord Hardinge expressed it, "the temptation to desertion," it would be well to try the plan of giving the recruit in good faith and to the full the present amount of bounty promised in recruiting placards, and not let the young soldier (as at present) get possessed with the feeling that he has been tricked, when he finds out, *after* attestation, that heavy stoppages are to be made out of the sum promised, to pay for articles that he thinks ought to be supplied to him free of cost.

Mr. Cobden, with not a little dexterity, evades assisting us to a decision upon the merits of the three plans he mentions, and takes refuge in renewed declamations against the war:—

"You will not expect me to say which of these plans should be adopted for carrying on a war which in my conscience I believe to be more unnecessary, rash, and aimless than any in our history; and which, for the visionary objects avowed by its advocates, has no parallel since the Crusades. But, unfortunately, opposition to a war by no means separates us from its consequences. The safety of the country, the prosperity of its people, the burdens we may be called upon to bear, the probable duration of hostilities, and, above all, because involving all, the effect which the policy and conduct of the war may have upon our character and honour as a nation—all these are matters of as vital importance to the opponents as the advocates of a war; and hence the right they may fairly claim to call in question not only its policy, but the mode in which it is carried on."

It is certainly fortunate for Great Britain, and in spite of Mr. Cobden, we must say for the best interests of European civilization, that "the opponents of a war" cannot separate themselves from the advocates, so far as the consequences of it are concerned. Otherwise we should have a small section of her citizens even more ostentatiously, and in its effects upon the unthinking far more perniciously, separating themselves and followers from the rest of the public, and ere long weakening and distracting the action of the Government.

The next point that comes into his mind is not more happy and fortunately has not one jot more of likelihood about it.

"I shall say nothing upon a point which must have engaged the anxious consideration of thoughtful minds—namely the effect which will be produced on our alliance with the French people if the blood of their peasantry, with whom the war has never been very popular, should again and again have to be expended to purchase fresh triumphs for our war party.

If the avowed objects of this party are to be persevered in, we are now only at the commencement of the war. If the whole of the Crimea were in our hands to-morrow, we should still be at the beginning of the struggle. The Government of Austria must in its heart (if it have one) be rejoiced to see three Powers, not one of whom it trusts, but all of whom it fears, exhausting themselves in a destructive war at a remote distance from her frontiers. Prussia and Germany are almost to a man for neutrality,—an armed one if necessary; and they who still say there is a difference between the Governments and peoples on this subject, know nothing of what has been passing lately in those countries. We shall therefore be left to complete the task which, in conjunction with our French ally, we have imposed on ourselves. Every step we take on Russian territory must be over earthworks and at the point of the bayonet, for the Russians have never fought great battles with an enemy on their own soil without the defensive aid of redoubts and intrenchments."

The question is here begged (and begged in despite of the most unequivocal declarations and assurances to the contrary), that it is the purpose of the Allies, after having driven the Russian armies out of the Crimea, to follow them up into their own proper territory and battle with them inch by inch upon their own soil. There is but one contingency in which it is at all possible that any move should be made in the direction indicated by Mr. Cobden. If Sweden were (as certainly she is reported to incline towards doing), to throw in her fortunes with the Allies and join the Alliance against her potent and most dangerous neighbour, she might require of us, and doubtless would do so, our assistance in recovering her noble province of Finland, wrested from her at so comparatively recent a period.

We give Mr. Cobden all the benefit of the rumour at this moment so busily stirring, to the effect that General Gortschakoff's mission to Sweden was mainly to secure her alliance; and upon the only terms that it could be asked of her, namely, assistance, offensive and defensive, against her encroaching neighbour. We give him this benefit although he is by no means entitled to it, as at the time he spoke there was no

mention or suggestion at all of this mission, and therefore none of its purport, secret or open, nor of the degree of success that may have attended it. And notwithstanding this concession, we say that the intention of the Allies is not and cannot be to invade the soil of Russia—understanding by invasion what is usually meant by the word, and not the mere attack of Cronstadt and other defences of the coast. And our reasons for this assertion simply are, that neither would any object commensurate with the risk and cost be secured thereby, nor would the thing be practicable.

Odessa, Nicolaieff, &c., in the south, Cronstadt, and even St. Petersburg in the north, are no doubt places of vast importance to Russia, but they are *not Russia*, and their loss would not place her in a very much worse position than the loss of so much of her fleet, and the total obstruction of her sea-commerce has already placed her with so little of injury to her vital strength. The practicability of invasion would depend on the amount of armies, and means of supplying to the wants of those armies, which the Allies could provide. France tried the experiment with not only the tasking to the uttermost her own great resources, but those of the various nations whom she held in her subjection under the name of friendly alliance. And as France even when thus supported, so utterly and most disastrously failed, there would be little hope of success now, when she is limited to the supply of men and material within her own dominion, for we cannot consider as of much account the trifling aid which the already sorely strained military resources of Great Britain could afford to so gigantic an enterprize.

The Swedish alliance *may* be at the moment we are writing, or may a little later become, a *fact*; but it is *unlikely*—first as involving the necessity of such extensive assistance on our part, and next as the physical difficulties of the season of the year, the climate in her high northern latitude, added to the unpreparedness of the allies for any great military demonstration in the north this winter, render it impossible that we could come to her aid effectively before March at the earliest, while during the intervening four months she would be exposed to all the anticipatory vengeance of Russia. The force of the latter power at this moment available on the shores of the Baltic is stated to be as follows. We take the facts from the *Augsburgh Gazette*.



The first division of Grenadiers, with the battalion of Chasseurs-Carabineers, in all 14,000 men. Six reserve Regiments of Grenadiers, each 3000 strong, in all 18,000 men; 22 Finnish battalions of the line at 600 each, in all 13,200 men—the number of these battalions increasing every day. Three Finnish battalions of Chasseurs, under General Ramsay, at 1,000 each, in all 3000 men. This makes nearly 50,000 men. In addition there are 3000 men of the naval crews, and the number of batteries corresponding with these divisions. General Arbusoff has under his orders at St. Petersburg an army of 120,000, together with the reserves of the Guard. Further, there are immediately available in case of an attempted landing or invasion, at least 100,000 of what are called militia, besides irregular troops. The number of the latter we do not find stated, but it is said to be considerable.

It is not likely that Sweden would choose the beginning of her long winter to make a declaration that would expose her to be assailed by such a force, with the certainty that her new allies could not assist her till the tardy spring came round. The only possible case then for an invasion of Russian territory is at least six months off.

In his anxiety to conjure up a danger which is at least only problematical, Mr. Cobden overlooked a far nearer and very real danger. It is as to the ultimate arrangements supposing the allies to prove successful in their endeavour at driving the Russians out of the Crimea. At the present moment we shall do no more than allude to this pregnant topic, and proceed with our notice of Mr. Cobden's letter :—

“ Before I conclude, I would express a hope that the time is not far distant when the thoughtful portion of the British public who in the end determine our national policy, will be awakened to a sense of their responsibility. Let it be remembered that we have invaded the territory of Russia; that we are now the aggressive party; that we have not to this day defined, even to our own comprehension, the terms which would satisfy us and induce us to withdraw; and that it is hardly probable under such circumstances that acceptable proposals for peace should come from Russia. Let it always be borne in mind that no terms of peace are possible which do not involve the withdrawal of our armies from her territory, and that no injuries which we might in the meantime inflict on her (some of those already committed on her coast will not, I fear, redound to our credit as a civilized and commercial people) could have any permanent effects to compensate for the losses, miseries, and obvious dangers to ourselves from the indefinite protraction of the war. And by whom is the prolongation of hostilities advocated? With the exception of those in office, to whom peace will bring a day of reckoning, is there

a statesman of trust or authority in this country who is not in his heart in favour of peace on terms believed to be now practicable ; or can there be found one commanding intellect now employed (unless under the shield of an anonymous irresponsibility) in inciting the country to a perseverance in the war ? And for whose benefit are hostilities to be continued ? Not for that of Turkey, for every day of their continuance diminishes the chances of her resuscitation—not for the interest of the governing classes of Europe, for they all desire peace—nor for those of the ‘democracy,’ whose eminent chiefs have denounced the war as an aimless waste of human blood in which they have no interest—not even for the benefit of our ally, for we know that the French Government was favourable to a pacification after the Vienna Conference ; and report says, I believe truly, that it is now again disposed for peace. What human interest then, can possibly be served by the continuation of hostilities ?

We have been told, indeed, that war, which the world had regarded as but at best an inevitable evil, is in itself a beneficent antidote to the selfishness of a mercantile age—and that the manly virtues would become extinct, unless invigorated by the siege and battle field. There are minds so wanting in moral continence that they abandon themselves to every popular emotion or frenzy of the hour,—who, when all hearts exulted at the signs of international peace, declaimed of the horrors of war,—who, now that the demon of carnage has sway for a season, sing of the ‘canker of peace,’ and who would be ready to mop and mow with madmen to-morrow if Bedlam could be but one day in the ascendant. Such are they who now ask us to believe that the spectacle of human passion and suffering which has been enacted during the last year in the Crimea, and which has converted that fair scene into an earthly pandemonium, is necessary for the social regeneration of mankind ;—that the purer feelings and affections of our nature find a healthy development in an atmosphere so foul and unnatural that domestic life cannot breathe it ;—that an employment where men bring every faculty to the task of destroying others, and preserving themselves from destruction—that *there* is the school to unlearn selfishness and to train us to the disinterested love of our species ! We are asked to believe these things. Yes, when we are prepared to pronounce the New Testament a fable, and Christ’s teachings an untruth, we will believe them, and not till then.”

The invasion of the Crimea was a necessity, the stringency of which is only the more proved by the events of the last year in that province. A fortress that proved so formidable and so wonderfully supplied and stoutly garrisoned as to delay the combined armies of England, France, and Turkey, aided by their magnificent fleets, a whole year before its walls, and even yet is scarce more than half won, could not have been left unassailed with any safety to Constantinople, and once assailed could not have been retreated from with any safety, not merely to the honor, but to the very existence of those armies. No one can pretend that had not the Anglo-French expedition

gone originally to Turkey, Menschikoff's insolent mission to Constantinople in 1853-54 would have been followed up by an attack of the Russians upon that city; and the security given to it by the coming of the allies, would only have endured as long as their occupation of Turkish soil. The moment they withdrew, the danger from the Russians would recommence, and the only way of establishing anything like a lasting security was to seek the Russians in the stronghold whence they threatened the Turkish capital, and destroy that stronghold, and with it their power of mischief. This the allies with true wisdom decided upon undertaking, and this they have already in a great measure accomplished.

The eminent Democratic chiefs of whom Mr. Cobden speaks as denouncing the war and calling it an "*aimless waste*" (significant words from *them*) of human blood in which *they* have no "interest"!—no doubt denounce it for that reason, but are exceedingly anxious to waste human blood in republican insurrections all over Europe. There never was so stupendous and so perilous a mistake made by any class of men as that made by the class to which Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright belong, the wealthy manufacturers, in having sympathy with and making much of the continental propagators of insurrection under the specious plea of extending popular rights. No class so much as the business-classes and especially the wealthier of them, suffer so heavily in intestine broils—they are marked out long beforehand for plunder; and like the fat-necked bourgeoisie of Paris in her Revolutions, they find out too late how they have been fooled and duped, and have either to fruitlessly bemoan their own blindness and folly for the rest of their lives amid the wreck and ruin of all their worldly goods, or are only too happy to abandon all the frivolity and cant of theoretic liberalism and take refuge under the yoke of absolutism.

We shall not follow Mr. Cobden through the entirely irrelevant and most uncandid observations with which he concludes the long political manifesto we have been reviewing. From the unnecessary strength and bitterness of his expressions, we confidently deduce the conviction that he is uneasy in his mind as to the course he and his colleagues are taking, and like all men in the wrong is trying to vent his self-displeasure in attacks upon others. It would better become him to re-consider the whole matter in the temporary retirement of the remaining two months of parliamentary recess, to take thought of how he formerly stood with the British public and, divesting his

mind of the false shame which we make no doubt from the evidence of his letter itself, has restrained him from avowing his mistake, to manfully and candidly and therefore most honorably, retract his false opinions and unfounded attacks, and go with the movement that otherwise will assuredly go on without him, and leave him stranded and forgotten.

It may be thought we have occupied too much time in dealing with his letter. But individually, and as a type of a most potent and influential class, he is of far too great note and importance to be slightly passed over. His and their openly avowed sympathies with foreign liberals (so called, but really and in heart enemies of order, property and law) and their much too openly avowed crotchets about the war, and wishes for a dishonorable peace, make him and them to constitute another item of serious national, and from the position of England, perhaps of European difficulty, in the troublous and doubtful times that are upon and before us.

From all that we have been considering we deduce the conviction that war—perhaps a protracted, perhaps a general war, is unhappily still before us; and we must also confess to the impression, painful and dismal as it is, that upon not very remote contingencies it depends, whether to the horrors of external war may not be superadded the worse ill and miseries of civil contest in several of the states of Europe. Aggressive and irritated Russia, if by force, or any diplomatic folly, or treachery, she happen to succeed, will certainly not consent to stay her hand, save for a very brief season, ere she resume her old traditionary career of grasping encroachment, and acquisition. If she be defeated and compelled to ask and accept peace, the bonds with which her robber-hands are to be bound will have to be drawn by those who may begin to pull different ways. In other words, the interests of France may no longer coincide with those of Great Britain, nor the interests of Prussia and of Austria with those of either of the allies.

What is to be done with the Crimea, supposing it fully rescued at last from the grasp of Russia? Is it to be given up to feeble and incapable Turkey, already powerless in so much of her own actual dominion? Is it to be held in joint occupancy by Great Britain and France? Will they resign themselves to a permanent drain of men and treasure to retain a possession from which neither can allow the other to reap any real advantage? Or will either consent to be excluded altogether?

Supposing this difficulty to be solved, what is to be done in the case of Constantinople itself? What is to be the nature, and what the terms of its inevitable Protectorate? How are the Danubian Provinces to be finally settled and guarded?

These are questions to be repeated over and over again, and pondered deeply, and their solution prepared for a forethought, and not left to be dealt with in the hurry and confusion of their sudden presentation. They augur ill for a speedy peace and a coming future of quiet and ease. The prospect before us is therefore dark enough; and yet all that clouds it is not stated.

There is a small cloud on the Western horizon, "no bigger than a man's hand" as yet, but that ere long may overspread the whole political firmament and bring with it a new and wasting storm. The United States of America, after several indistinct but warning symptoms of an inclination rather towards the cause of Russia than to that of England, seem inclined to declare themselves openly in the same sense. The thoughtless and reckless craving (to be found in all countries, but more particularly noticeable and confessed to in America) for a novel and stirring excitement—the promptings of old animosities, revived by recollections of 1812-14—the promptings too of commercial and manufacturing rivalry and international jealousy—the tactics and tricks of candidates for office, from the highest to the lowest—notably and almost pre-eminently including the efforts of presidential candidates, now that the term of General Pierce's Presidency wants but a few months to run out—the influence, we regret to say it, and regret on more grounds than one, of the Irish immigration, throughout the ranks of which a dangerous spirit of bitterness towards England on account of sufferings from her policy, unquestionably prevails—and finally that of which there can be no doubt—the machinations and intrigues of Russian agents, who are busy at work in all parts of the globe where there is the least chance of conjuring up a combination, hostile to England—all these motives combine to create and maintain a state of feeling throughout the United States, most dangerous to the long continuance of friendly relations, or of peace itself, with Great Britain.

That we may not be supposed to speak without book, we will here quote a most significant and instructive article on the subject from a recent number of the *New York Morning Herald*:—

"Nearly a fortnight ago we published the list from the *Times* of October 12th of the vessels of war sent from England to Bermuda, but although the news at that time attracted curiosity, yet it did not excite particular attention on this side of the Atlantic. . . . Now, we are entirely satisfied, from special letters from Paris and corroborating evidence from English newspapers, that there is mischief in this. . . . The case may involve issues and contingencies of the highest moment—such as may entangle us and the whole western hemisphere in a war with the maritime powers of Europe.

It appears that this concentration, within striking distance of the island of Cuba, of a British Squadron, numbering not less than 20 vessels of war (to say nothing of the French West India Squadron) is in consequence of the American Government having replied to 'some communication made to them by the British Government in a manner insulting to England in the highest degree,' nor are we left in the dark concerning this communication. It is doubtless a renewal in some shape of the tripartite overtures to the administration of Mr. Fillmore, which Lord Palmerston may have imagined would prove acceptable to that of Mr. Pierce after the apparently indignant rejection by Marcy of the Cuban Manifesto of his ministers. . . . The question then arises, what is Marcy driving at in thus startling the whole country with his warlike re-opening of the Cuba question. Does he, or does Mr. President Pierce, seek to embarrass England and France on the Cuba question, by way of a diplomatic diversion, to the advantageous settlement of the Danish Sound (Elsinore duties) difficulty? We think not. Or does our Cabinet really believe that the golden opportunity has come for cutting the knot of the Cuban entanglement with the sword? No! The true explanation lies in the necessity to our cabinet aspirants of a little *active war-capital* for the next Presidential election.

The manifest destiny of Cuba is, sooner or later, the annexation of the island to the United States, and this is the popular belief in all quarters of the Union. Up to this the Pierce administration, with all its fine promises, has on this point lost ground, as on others, while meantime the Presidential Election of 1856 is approaching so near that some desperate expedient is required to recover the lost confidence of the people. Mr. Pierce would unquestionably accept another nomination, and Marcy aspires to the succession. Again, our minister in London, Mr. Buchanan, the especial champion of the Cuban annexionists, is quite ready to co-operate in any bold Cuban movement which will strengthen his claim on the progressing democracy. In this view we are prepared to believe that neither the administration nor Mr. Buchanan would hesitate to get up a war cry, and such a one as would overwhelm in the democratic national convention the slavery and all other questions, and bring the re-united democracy to the support of the administration and its most available war-candidate.

It was on the War-question of 1812 that Madison was re-elected: it was the *Battle of New Orleans* that brought Jackson into power, —it was the *military service* of General Harrison that made him President,—it was the policy of *Annexation of Texas, peace or war*, that elected Mr. Polk,—it was the *Mexican war* that carried General Taylor to the Chair, and to that war also we are indebted for the

**Presidency of General Pierce.** In a word, though the most pacific nation in the world, the people of the United States are ever ready to unite in support of an administration (though feeble) which may involve us in a war"!!

The tone of this article is significant and instructive. There is not only the utmost directness and frankness in avowing the designs upon the island of Cuba, but there is the plainest and most uncompromising bluntness in exposing the unworthy motives that animate the American administration in their war demonstrations, with, at the same time, an admission that the latter are likely to be successful for their bad purposes, and successful because of the strong bent of the American public mind in favor of war. It may directly be deduced, without any liability to the charge of uncharitableness or unfairness, that unprincipled as, especially after the statement of the *New York Herald*, we cannot help saying the conduct of the American government appears to be, that of the American community appears to be at least quite as bad, and that the danger of a dispute with the United States has more of likelihood about it than considerations of common sense and of the true interests of that great country and of those of Great Britain would have at first led us to expect.

The conduct of the American cabinet in the matter of the attempted enlistment in the United States of Irish and Germans for the so called "foreign legion," to be employed with the British army in the East, displays a very hostile spirit. Buccaneering expeditions have been proposed and recruited for, and arranged in various parts of the United States, with but at best the tardy and, so far as prevention was concerned, the utterly ineffective opposition of the American government. But the moment a levy has been talked of for England its slumbering vigilance seems all at once awoke, and almost before the scheme has begun to take shape, it is revealed, denounced and stopped, and those engaged in it threatened with all the penalties of the law.

The angry spirit does not stop here. The United States' attorney-general, Mr. Cushing, has committed his official and professional reputation to the assertion and maintenance of the dangerous opinion that Russian ships can (for such is the effect and meaning, if not the very wording of the opinion) even at the very moment when about to be made prize of, be sold with their cargoes to any American who may be on board, and thus be secured from capture!

Next to the actual fitting out of American privateers to cruise against and prey upon English commerce under the Russian flag—a measure for which there is great anxiety in several ports of the Union—this declaration of Mr. Attorney-General Cushing's appears the most daring and monstrous. It is utterly impossible to reconcile it with any principle of international law, or any recognized practice between nations. It could not, of course, be yielded to or acquiesced in for one moment; nay, there would be room for wonder that such a proposition could be gravely or sanely advanced, did not we bear in mind what the *New York Herald* so plainly declares of the motives under which the "statesmen" of America too frequently act; especially at the approach of a presidential election. Mr. Attorney-General Cushing knows well that a change in the office of President involves a total change in all subordinate offices, each new President remorselessly dismissing the nominees of his predecessor, in order to have the means of satisfying in some degree the expectations and demands of the ravening herd who assisted him to his elevation, but are determined not to forego their own reward. To prevent this change, then, Mr. Cushing, like his colleagues, makes common cause with the out going President, and seeks if possible, to out-herod all competitors in violence and outrageousness of assertion and doctrine.

It is most painful for an Irishman to contemplate the part our poor countrymen play in such contingencies in America. The "know-nothing" movement shews that there is no real good will towards them in the land of their adoption, but when the great period of the State Elections comes on, they are courted and made much of, and flattered into believing that matters are otherwise, and that at least, certain parties in the American community are disposed to extend towards them the hand of brotherhood. The appeals also to their old traditional prejudices against England, and to their bitter recollection of the neglect of her Legislature to make adequate efforts to save life in Ireland when the terrible famine of 1847 struck her and more than decimated her people, do not fail of completing what the kind of courtship they are subjected to, has begun, and accordingly the "Irish vote" is unerringly to be found on the side of him who brawls loudest against everything that is British. This game is now again being played with them, and there can scarcely be a doubt of its being again successful.



If then the growing differences between England and the United States shall, as there is not a little reason to fear, come to a head, and eventuate in a total breaking off of friendly relations and a recourse to war, we regret to think that this will be a result in a very considerable measure, owing to our countrymen who have left us and taken up their domicile in the latter.

The extremes into which our expatriated brethren, at the other side of the Atlantic, allow themselves to be hurried, cannot be better illustrated than by the following brief extracts from the "*Citizen*," an Irish Paper of New York, reputed not to be amongst the most violent of the organs of Irish-American opinion. It required that the moral sense should be blinded to have praise bestowed upon such sentiments as the following, quoted approvingly by the "*Citizen*," from American diplomatic correspondents :—

"After we shall have offered Spain a price for Cuba far beyond its present value, and this shall have been refused, it will then be time to consider the question, does Cuba in the possession of Spain seriously endanger our internal peace and the existence of our cherished Union? Should this question be answered in the affirmative, then by every law, human and divine, *we shall be justified in wresting it from Spain, if we possess the power.* And this upon the very same principle that would justify an individual in tearing down the burning house of his neighbour if there were no other means of preventing the flames from destroying his own home. Under such circumstances we ought neither to count the cost nor regard the odds which Spain might enlist against us."

The following is the "*Citizen's*" view of the war :—

"This glorious war, had it no other salutary fruit, reveals at least this truth—that England is weak and impotent, no longer an object of terror—no longer capable of coercing the suffering nations—no longer able to enthral Ireland, if Ireland chooses to be free.

Glorious war! blessed conflict! that takes the bayonet from the breast of prostrate France; the English leopard from the heart of Ireland, that tears Victor Emmanuel's royalist army from the throat of republican Italy, and hurls them all into a bottomless gulf at the other end of the world, in an obscure, valueless nook, to perish miserably beneath the eyes of the peoples they have oppressed."

A long tirade against the Emperor Napoleon follows, in which every questionable or debateable act of his life is carefully raked up and brought against him. The unfavourable chances of the war are then put forward in the broadest light :—

“Should he conquer even these (a highly improbable contingency) the boundless plains of Russia, and the entire resources of its mighty population present themselves before the invader. Alexander, therefore, is not likely to be driven to an appeal to external aid.

Not so, however, with Napoleon. He will not be left to his own choice in the matter. The nationalities will rise, without waiting his permission, and he will be forced to take part. With only One-hundred and eighty-seven thousand men in France, (by that time probably less) he dares not side with Austria or King Bomba, he *must* side with Hungary and Italy. If he does so, Austria, Prussia, Russia, at once are leagued in active war against him; and he, with no adequate army to oppose, will be at the mercy of the French people, as they have been at his.

Desperately he is trying to distance the revolutionary element. He appears little in public now, for “mobs” surround his carriage, crying: “we are starving—is this the cheap bread and prosperity you promised us?”—and now instead of prisons and gendarmes he is obliged to reason with the mutineers and speak them fair. In Italy he is endeavouring to raise a monarchical spirit of Italian nationality; and most strenuously he is trying to induce the English government to banish Victor Hugo, Mazzini, Ledru Rollin and Kossuth. But the British aristocracy dares not attempt it. Under these circumstances, and as a last resort, he will be compelled to throw himself into the arms of revolution. Then the “Holy alliance” will march against him, and the second (final) act of the great drama draws to its conclusion. In that the legitimist Powers will appear as the Biter Bitten. They supported Napoleon because he crushed revolution—and lo! he is the very man who summons revolution to crush them! Just retribution, even-handed Nemesis of nations! If England stirs against him, he can beckon Ireland. If Austria moves, he can call on Italy and Hungary. If Prussia stirs, he can summon Poland and the Rhine.—If Russia advances, he can roll a democratic Germany upon her legions.

But will they wait? Shall they bide the time that will serve a tyrant, instead of seizing the opportunity that will serve themselves? We hope they will choose the latter, nobler alternative. Then will be Ireland's turn to swell the chorus of oppressed nations, and, even as she is the oldest martyr, to be youngest of the regenerated peoples and the first of their avenging pioneers.”

We are happy to think that these wild opinions and intemperate, and still more idle and silly expressions are not shared by the whole body, or perhaps even the majority of our countrymen, denizens of the United States. There, as at home, and everywhere else, and in all societies large and small, the noisy and the extravagant will and do easily outclamour the sensible and the thinking, and succeed with others as unthinking as themselves, in getting to be considered as organs of the general opinion, when in truth they but pervert and misrepresent it.

There is one sign of grace about the "*Citizen*" which, after having had to speak as we have felt it a duty to do, of that paper, we feel all the more bound to give it credit for, qualified and solitary as it is. There is a distinct repudiation of the red republican evil celebrities of Europe.

"It is said, (the "*Citizen*" writes),—

"That the CITIZEN would merge the nationality of Ireland in the filibustering schemes of Kossuth, &c. Now, we fear this must be wilful calumny; for the Citizen does not identify itself with these men, and is in no sense responsible for their acts, however much we may wish to see the cause of European freedom which they advocate, come to a prosperous issue. We maintain, and always have maintained, that the cause of Ireland rests on a distinct basis of its own, and that it ought not to be mixed up with revolutionary schemes in other countries, though it is the duty and the wisdom of Irishmen to look out for the signs of the times, and seize upon any opportunity offered by insurrectionary movements or war elsewhere, to secure the freedom of their native land."

The talk about Irishmen "seizing their opportunity"—"getting her turn"—"shaking off the thrall," &c., is sound and fury, signifying nothing. It is just the cheapest thing in the world to be brave, and defiant, and warlike at three thousand miles distance, and the whole matter would be utterly contemptible, or below contempt itself, if unluckily it did not happen that a considerable portion of what is called the "*Irish vote*" at the State and Presidential elections of the American Republic, were not influenced by it to throw in with the wild and restless spirits who put forward and support the war candidates on those occasions.

The American difficulty may indeed blow over, but there can be no certainty that a contrary result may not very speedily happen, and the relations between Great Britain and the United States become so embroiled as to compel the former to divert much of her attention, and no small portion of her armaments from the Old to the New World. We do not hesitate to say, that no concession in reason, or even to the very verge of reason, should be even hesitated about, which could tend to obviate a war so unwise for both parties, so certain to be mutually injurious, and we may say considering the origin of the United States, so unnatural as a war between her and Great Britain.

It would be well too if attention were turned to the means obviously at hand, of mitigating the rancour of Irish feeling

abroad, and improving on the better state of feeling here at home, by a closer attention to Irish interests, and a more favoring ear to Irish claims on the part of the British Government and Parliament, and we will add the British Press. To do the statesmen that are at the head of affairs in England no more than a scant justice, we believe there are several of them who would be inclined to the policy we speak of, but the present Parliament is in spirit and *grain*, essentially an Anti-Irish Parliament, and shows this upon all possible occasions. The Press too, and in particular that journal which may almost be said to be the whole Press in itself, the *Times*, never refers to Ireland, but in terms of bitterness and contempt. The occasion for the reference passes away, and the article and its expressions are doubtless soon forgotten by their author, but not so by the objects of their bitterness. We fear that only too much of what was and is every day hastily written and said in derogation and ridicule of Irish matters and Irishmen, is treasured up in silent but rankling remembrance, and that it may yet on some occasion of misfortune, be found to have borne disastrous fruit. However remote the contingency may be, it ought to be provided against, and it can only be provided against, and at the same time can easily be so, by a change of conduct in the particulars referred to, and the adoption and manifestation in England of a kinder and more friendly tone towards Ireland. The latter has well shown how disposed she is to maintain with her best blood and every effort she can afford, the cause that England has made her own in the present conflict of nations; and it would not need any sacrifice save of obstinate prepossessions not founded on truth and justice, and of an unworthy captiousness and censoriousness on the part of those who influence and guide public opinion and affairs in England, to make the present attachment and adherence of Ireland to the English side of the present and any future quarrel as certain and reliable as they are desirable and necessary.

We have postponed to the last the consideration of what would indeed be the greatest calamity and danger were it to come about. We allude to the possibility of a breach of the existing friendly relations and hearty alliance between Great Britain and France. Their existence is one of the happiest events of modern times, and should be considered so, not only on grounds of polity, and considerations of the real interests of both those great Empires, but upon those of simple

humanity itself. Nothing possibly could be more inconsistent with true humanity than the bloody contentions and malignant hates that have marked the international history of the two countries throughout the course of centuries, and nothing could be more monstrous than the supposition and assertion tacitly acquiesced in, if not absolutely adopted as an article of political faith, that England and France were, are, and always must be, natural enemies.

If the existence of this friendship and alliance be as it most indisputably is, a circumstance of great benefit to both and good omen to the cause of civilization, and to true and rational liberty and humanity itself, so would their dissolution be one of the most unfortunate and deplorable events that ever historian has had to put on record, or nations to lament.

Yet the tenure of this existence is one most liable to accident, as well as to the more ordinary and obvious chances that result from the infirmity of human purposes and the devious and so often conflicting views that men and bodies of men will take of their respective interests. Not only the external relations of the French Empire, but the whole constituted order of things at present established in France, and the very framework of her society, may be said to depend upon the life of the Emperor Louis Napoleon. He has proved himself the only man who could arrest and enchain the fell spirit of anti-social and anti-christian Red Republicanism, and set up again the shaken and tottering bulwarks of law, property and order. The system he has established may acquire solidity and become engrafted into the habits, manners and fundamental institutions of France, but time is required, and if the master-hand be removed ere that consummation can be realized, the re-action against it will be wild and fearful indeed. The hellish doctrine of assassination with a view to social change has been openly preached and put into hideous practice by the Revolutionary Apostles of Europe; and there could be no doubt, if even the attempts at Napoleon's life that have been made had never occurred, that he is looked upon as what in truth he is, the great obstacle to the hateful designs of those most criminal individuals and their misguided and wicked followers, and may be at this moment marked out for slaughter, whenever a safe opportunity chances to arise.

Were so great a misfortune to occur as his death, either by the hand of the demoniacal assassin, or by one of those

mysterious visitations of Providence to which all of us are at any and every moment liable, France would necessarily and inevitably be thrown into such a state of confusion as to paralyse all steady action of what government might remain, if any worthy of the name should survive the shock. And if the lawless disturbers and enemies of order and constituted authority of whom we have been speaking were to get hold of the reins of power, as might only too probably happen, the clamour they have already made wherever they could raise their voice, against the present war, gives us the certainty that they would oppose its continuance and withdraw the fleets and armies of their country.

But supposing that the most deplorable chance we have been just contemplating, and which we trust, is as unlikely as it would be deplorable, should not occur, yet is there danger. The accounts from the seat of war, guarded and cautious as they are upon so perilous a subject, yet are beginning of late to make mention with ominous frequency, of jealousies and heartburnings, and to a certain degree of dissensions between the two great allies. The somewhat over exuberant good fellowship between the soldiers of the two armies, which marked their intercourse at first and for some time, has been latterly giving place to mutual surliness, quarrels, and even fights, and even between the officers the same apparent heartiness by no means exists. These matters are little spoken of in public, and hushed up as much as possible, but yet the truth concerning them has come to be pretty generally whispered abroad; and as the tendency of all broils, if their causes be not at once removable, is to increase, we may, it is to be feared, have to witness some unhappy outbreak. The causes meantime seem more inclined to multiply than to diminish.

The common disasters of the bloody eighteenth of June, when both armies were beaten back from Sebastopol, lead, as such occurrences always will do, to ill suppressed and very exasperating recrimination. Several minor occurrences both before and after tended to increase this effect. Then came the successful storming of the Malakhoff by the French, and the severe and most sanguinary repulse of our troops from the Redan. This made matters ten times worse, the French soldiery taunting our men on every occasion with the different result of the two attacks. The occupation by the French military force sent in the expedition to Kinburn, of that fortress,

and their refusing to admit the British soldiers and seamen, and in one case, even the British Admiral, the gallant Sir Edward Lyons himself, came next, and has almost brought to a head the ill-will and acrimonious feelings so long gathering before.

These jealousies and contentions, however, though highly dangerous, and most earnestly to be deprecated, would be of comparatively small importance, if a difference of interests and a discrepancy of views as to the ultimate settlement of the great objects of the war were not a chance very prominently upon the cards. We have alluded before, and only alluded, to the points on which such differences and discrepancies might, and doubtless will arise. We do not like to dwell upon them now, for even their speculative discussion is calculated to raise and keep up something of a feeling of irritation, which will be an evil quite sufficient for the day that shall unhappily see it openly declare itself; we could not, however, omit the allusions we have made to them, when endeavouring to attract the serious attention of our readers to the prospects of the war and the doubtful future before us.

That no miserable recollection of old and gone-by feuds and hatreds, no deplorable dwelling upon and fostering of recent causes and occurrences of mutual provocation and bad blood, no success of the secret intrigues that the indefatigable agents of Russia in all parts of Europe are undoubtedly at work upon, and above all, that no passion, folly or wickedness of those who guide and influence the policy of the two great leading powers of the world, Great Britain and France, shall break their most happy alliance, and once more set roaring and internecine war between them, is and must be the prayer of every one in every country of the globe, who values the blessings of rational liberty, peace, and civilisation, and has the cause of humanity at heart.

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[We have inserted this, and the preceding paper, in close proximity, as we consider that there is a very important, and most interesting field of speculative political philosophy opened by them before the reader. They represent the feelings, the hopes, the fears of different nations: the former is the

work of a Frenchman of great and deserved reputation; the latter by an Irishman, and one who has watched long and earnestly, in and out of Parliament, the various changes of European politics, bearing upon the position, the stability, and the welfare of the United Kingdoms.

We recommend these two papers, *Polonia Redux*, and *The War and the Future*, to every reader—not, indeed, because they appear in THE IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, but because they show facts plainly and clearly—facts which every man who loves the honor of our nation should know—facts which are important to all who desire to form sound opinions on The War, on its policy, and on the Future—a future which may bring peace and security if advantage be taken of Poland reconstructed; but a future which may bring disaster and ruin, if the wild passions of rival nations and the half-forgotten dreams of old enmity be recalled.—ED. I. Q. R.]



**QUARTERLY RECORD**  
**OF THE**  
**PROGRESS OF REFORMATORY SCHOOLS AND**  
**OF PRISON DISCIPLINE.**

...the fact that the *in vitro* and *in vivo* results are in good agreement, and that the *in vivo* results are in good agreement with the results of the *in vitro* studies.

1. The first of these is the fact that the  
2. Government has not been able to secure  
3. the necessary funds to carry out its  
4. policy of non-interference in the  
5. internal affairs of the country.  
6. The second is the fact that the  
7. Government has not been able to secure  
8. the necessary funds to carry out its  
9. policy of non-interference in the  
10. internal affairs of the country.

1. The first step is to identify the problem or question that needs to be answered. This involves understanding the context and the specific requirements of the task.

2. Next, it is essential to gather relevant information and data. This can be done through research, consultation with experts, or by analyzing existing resources.

3. Once the information is gathered, the next step is to analyze it. This involves identifying patterns, trends, and key factors that influence the outcome.

4. After analysis, a plan or strategy should be developed. This plan should outline the steps to be taken, the resources required, and the expected results.

5. The final step is to implement the plan. This involves executing the tasks, monitoring progress, and making adjustments as needed.

6. Finally, the results should be evaluated. This involves comparing the actual outcomes with the expected results and identifying areas for improvement.

## QUARTERLY RECORD OF THE PROGRESS OF RE- FORMATORY AND RAGGED SCHOOLS, AND OF THE IMPROVEMENT OF PRISON DISCIPLINE.

In placing before the reader this second quarter's Record it is but right, towards him and towards ourselves to state, that it is merely, and simply a condensed account of the various publications upon, and the various facts connected with the important social subjects indicated in the title, which have been brought before us during the past three months. We are very much gratified at being enabled to state, that those capable of judging our former Record, have given us the most satisfactory proofs that they approve our plan of this Quarterly Summary or Record.

The most remarkable, as it was the earliest, of the publications in this quarter, bearing upon the Reformatory School Movement, was the admirable and powerful letter addressed, on the 18th of last December, by Mr. Recorder Hill to Lord Brougham. Referring to the *nature* of the children to be dealt with in these Schools, Mr. Hill writes:—

"I would first solicit attention to what I may call the natural history of the order of children and youths forming the bulk of those whose cases are most difficult of treatment. Our countrymen in Constantinople tell us how that city is infested by troops of ownerless dogs who have to gain their livelihood by the exercise of their wits; and a very slight effort of the imagination will bring before us the annoyances which must be produced by this multitude of four-footed outlaws. If we substitute in our minds young human beings for these dogs we shall prepare ourselves for apprehending the characteristics of that portion of our urban population which has been called the 'City Arabs.' I do not mean to say that all or even a majority of the class who will be found at Reformatory Schools are absolutely without friends and relatives (some would be less to be commiserated were that their condition), or that they are entirely their own masters. Still the ownerless dog is a fair type of the species. Like him they have received but little kindness—like him they live more or less by their wits—like him they are untaught—without occupation—restless—capable, from sheer necessity, of bearing hunger and cold—their instincts quick—their affections languid—their religion a blank!"

On the nature of the instruction which it is desirable to impart to the pupils the Recorder thus remarks:—

"Every successful Reformatory Institution of which I have any knowledge has made the cultivation of land a leading object of attention, and much of each day has been spent by the pupil in the garden or the field, to his great improvement in body, mind, and spirit. The handicrafts ancillary to the cultivation of the land offer themselves as an excellent variety of occupation, whether in regard to the exhilaration which attends a change of employment, or for engaging the willing industry of those to whom out-of-door labour is for any reason unfit, or to whom it is unwelcome. Every lad ought to be able to mend his clothes and his shoes, not necessarily that he may become either a tailor or a shoemaker, but that he may always be able to keep himself in a state of neatness, and thus to preserve under the most adverse circumstances a decent appearance.

"At the instance of the Minister of Marine, a ship's mast and tackle were erected on the play-ground at Mettray, and a veteran seaman was engaged to teach the lads, who had a taste for such gymnastics, so much of seamanship as could be learnt by the aid of this apparatus. And the success of the experiment is greater both in France and Belgium, where the example has been followed, than could have been anticipated. It is found that lads thus exercised can soon make themselves useful on board ship, and they are consequently in demand for the navy. A maritime people, like ourselves, ought to improve on this hint. Indeed, the subject has already occupied the attention of persons well qualified to form a judgment upon it, who think that the interest both of our Navy and Merchant Service demands immediate attention to this source of supply. Girls of course must be taught the operations of domestic economy, and such is the growing scarcity of good servants, as compared with the demand for them, that girls well trained to household duties will readily find admission into respectable families, quite as soon indeed as it would be proper to let them depart."

The following observations on the importance of commencing with a few inmates only, will be found worthy of attention by all who intend to connect themselves with Reformatory Institutions :—

"However large the ultimate number of pupils is intended to be, let me urge upon the conductors the great importance of beginning with a few. The best quality of a school, or indeed of any other institution, is one which is neither visible nor tangible. Even the mind is not always quick to detect it. I refer to what may be called the tone which prevails through the whole body—the spirit which informs its members from the highest to the lowest. Now I am of course supposing that spirit to be all it should be among the governors and the teachers, but their efforts may be paralyzed by any great and sudden influx of minds in a state of perversity. At first the staff of teachers should outnumber the pupils in order to produce an overwhelming influence on their minds, and this expense must be patiently borne until it is found that the aspirations of the inmates are raised and their habits to some extent reformed. Then slowly, and with trepidation, let others be added until the intended

number is complete. But let every symptom of deterioration in the moral sentiment of the school be carefully watched and made the signal for stopping the influx until the tone is restored to its former level.”\*

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\* At the Warwickshire Epiphany Sessions, held at Warwick, on Monday, January 1st, 1855, the subject of Reformatory Schools was introduced, and the following Report of the proceedings, taken from a journal most ably and usefully, because judiciously aiding the movement —“*Aris's Birmingham Gazette*,” of Thursday, January 8th, is a very excellent appendix to Mr. Hill's letter just quoted :—

“In the course of the business, Lord LEXES said, that as the Visitors of Warwick Gaol had alluded to the subject of Reformatory Schools, he might venture to bring before the notice of the Court the Institution at Saltley, near Birmingham. It was unnecessary for him to say one word in favour of the principle of Reformatory Schools; their necessity was now generally acknowledged, and the arguments in their favour had acquired greater force since a difficulty had arisen as to sending convicts to the Colonies. It was highly important that the county of Warwick should possess a Reformatory Institution, and he would urge upon the Court the desirability of adopting the School at Saltley, as was suggested by Mr. Adderley, by adding buildings to it as was done at Mettray, in France. There were already some vacancies at Saltley, which the county might fill up at a cost of £12 per annum each; and the Birmingham Committee were also willing to receive any number of girls into their new Institution in Camden-street. The noble Lord then read, for the information of the Court, the following extracts from letters addressed to him by Mr. Adderley, M.P. :—‘Saltley Reformatory, near Birmingham, has been certified by Government, and can, therefore, under the Youthful Offenders' Act of last session, have boys up to sixteen years of age committed to it, after fourteen days' confinement; the parents having the cost of maintenance, not more than five shillings a week, inflicted on them, and the Treasury bearing the surplus of cost of maintenance. The Reformatories of one-third of the kingdom now refer their vacancies to the ‘Inspector, J. G. Perry, Esq., Home Office,’ that he may be a centre of information to all Clerks of the Peace, who can ascertain from him how many vacancies, and where their Sessions may fill up by committals. I will engage to find some at Saltley for any three boys sent from these Sessions at Warwick; and any number of girls at the Girl's Reformatory just opened. But I should be glad that Mr. Perry should be informed of any vacancies so filled up. The net cost of a boy is £12 a year; and any subscriber may send a boy if he can find that sum. Subscribers form their own Committee of Management, wholly independent of Government, and visit and make rules without any control. The Institution at Saltley is in debt; the whole expense, which is very heavy at first, having been borne by a few Birmingham subscribers, excepting great assistance from Mr. Bracebridge, Lord Calthorpe, and others. If any of the gentry of the county choose to enlarge the Institution, still as a *voluntary Institution*, with Government aid, they have only to become subscribers, and take their share in the management, or build additional houses adjacent, as at Mettray, putting all under the same staff of officers. The best age to send boys is from eight to fourteen. At Saltley they would rather not take them after thirteen. Nothing can be done to make Saltley a County Reformatory, in the sense of an Institution supported by county rates. There are no such

On Friday, the 5th of January, 1855, the Second Annual Meeting of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution was held at Dee's Hotel, Birmingham, the Right Hon. Sir John Pakington, Bart. M.P. in the Chair. Of this excellent Institution the Right Hon. Lord Calthorpe is President, Mr. Recorder Hill fills the Vice-Chair, and W. Morgan, and C. Ratcliffe, Esqrs. are the Honorary Secretaries. The Committee consists of 31 members, amongst whom are that indefatigable advocate of Reformatory Schools—C. B. Adderley, Esq. M.P.; Dr. Jephson; Lord Lyttelton; Lord Leigh; the Rev. Chancellor Low; Joseph Sturge, Esq., and the Hon. and Rev. G. M. Yorke.

At the meeting, Subscriptions to the amount of £43 : 10s., and Donations amounting to £361 were announced. Amongst the Donors were the following :—Sir John Pakington, £10; Lord Leigh, for Saltley Reformatory, £52 : 10s. Lord Leigh for Girls' School, £52 : 10s. Dr. Jephson, for Saltley Reformatory £50; Dr. Jephson, for Girls' Reformatory, £50. J. C. Bacchus, Esq., for Girls' Reformatory, £20; Miss Burdett Coutts, for Girls' Reformatory, £100.

It was moved by Mr. Recorder Hill, seconded by Lord Lyttelton, and supported by Mr. Adderley, that the Report, and Treasurer's account be received and adopted, and that the same be printed and circulated under the direction of the Committee. Great praise was given to the Hon. Secretary—Mr. Charles Ratcliffe; and to the Hon. Surgeon of Saltley, Mr. Tarleton, a special vote of thanks was voted, moved by R. Spooner, Esq., M.P. and seconded by Rev. W. H. Bellairs.

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things as Reformatories yet in England, except those supported by voluntary efforts, and under the management of subscribers. I tried in vain to get Lord Palmerston to introduce a bill to make Public Reformatories. All the Youthful Offenders' Act of last session does, is to enable Government to inspect private Reformatories, and, if approved, to give them a certificate; after which, Magistrates, Recorders, Judges, &c., may commit any criminal boy or girl, under sixteen, to them for several years' education (after fourteen days' imprisonment); and the cost of maintaining such children is inflicted on the parents or guardians up to five shillings a week; the rest to be paid by the Treasury. The Institution remains *private*, and in the hands of the subscribers, just as much as before. Saltley, for boys, and 45, Camden-street for girls, are both *certified* by Government, and may, therefore, be so used by any Magistrates or Judges, with the consent of the subscribers. Money aid is much wanted; for though I gave the land—five acres—and built the house, yet a debt is incurred by increased buildings, and by the salaries of masters, tailor, shoemaker, schoolmaster, and matron."

The Report is as follows, and we insert it in this Record, uncurtailed, as it is in itself a very comprehensive, ably drawn, and useful record.

“At the close of the second year of the operations of this Society, your Committee have to lay before the subscribers the results of their efforts to redeem young children from criminal and disreputable ways of life. Mr. Ellis has had the superintendence of sixty-one boys since he came to Birmingham, of whom twenty-three are now in the Institution, seven have been sent to other Institutions for which they appeared more suitable subjects, twenty-five have left with the prospect of being respectably established in life, of whom seventeen are known to be at work, and the remaining six have returned to criminal habits of life.

The Superintendent has had the assistance of the Matron, Schoolmaster, Farm Instructor, Tailor, and Shoemaker, besides the Visitors appointed by the Committee.

Under the direction and with the co-operation of the different trade instructors, the boys have been occupied throughout the year in learning and in labour, with the following results:—The tailors have made 139 garments, of which 119 have been used by the boys, and twenty by different customers; forty-three garments have been repaired. The value of the work and materials, including the Instructor's salary, has been regularly charged, and this branch of the industrial department shows a small profit of 2*l.* 13*s.* 1*d.* upon the operations of the year.—The shoemakers have manufactured thirty-six pairs of boots and shoes for customers, and fifty-five pairs for the Institution, exclusive of 113 pairs of police boots for the Corporation of Birmingham. They have also mended eighty-one pairs. Total, 285. The apparent profit on this department is 27*l.* 18*s.* 1*d.*, but as the value of the stock in hand was greater at the close of 1853 than last year, the real profit is somewhat less.—40*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.* have been expended on the land beyond the amount realised by produce, but the Committee consider that it has received such valuable permanent improvement from the labour spent upon it, that a larger result may be expected next year. There are at this time 10,000 cabbages planted out, ready for the market next spring, besides ten bags of potatoes, and six fat pigs in stock. 453 dozen of cabbages were sent to Birmingham market last year, also seventeen pots of potatoes, ten pots of beans, six bushels of wheat, and a quantity of vetches. This is exclusive of twenty-six bags of potatoes, six pots of beans, and 200 dozen of cabbages consumed on the premises.

During the year a considerable number of persons from various parts of the country have visited the Institution, and several prizes have been offered and awarded to the inmates for proficiency in reading, drawing, spelling, geography, horticulture, and writing and composition, as well as for general good conduct. From the numerous testimonies recorded on the Visitors' book your Committee extract only the following:—

*(From the Recorder.)*

‘Sunday, Oct. 22, 1854.—I have this day visited the Reformatory,

and observed a great progress made since I was last here in the summer of 1853. The labour of the boys in bringing the garden into cultivation, and in levelling the play-ground, is highly meritorious. Mr. Draper examined the lads as to their understanding of their Scripture lesson for the day. Their answers evinced intelligence, and a knowledge of the Bible beyond my expectation. I desire to give four prizes of half-a-crown each to such four boys as shall be selected by the Boys' Committee as having most distinguished themselves for general good conduct between the present day and the next Quarter Sessions.

M. D. HILL.

*(From six Students of the Diocesan Training College.)*

'After nearly twelve months' experience in endeavouring to impart religious instruction to these lads on Sunday afternoons, we were glad to be able to remark that the attentive behaviour of many of them is superior to what we have experienced in many Sunday Schools. It is a pleasing fact that some of these boys manifest an earnest desire to comprehend the truths of Christianity, and appear to possess a wish to act in accordance with its holy precepts. After much intercourse with them we feel bound to record our conviction that, had many of them been brought under more humanizing influences in early life, their intellectual capabilities would have placed them on a level with many of the brightest ornaments of society. Very few of the lads appear to be deficient in religion, but many know nothing whatever of the value of it. We look forward, however, to a time, which we trust is not far distant, when, in addition to religious *teaching*, of which we have had a considerable amount, a moral and religious *influence* will be brought to bear upon each one individually.'

From these testimonies it will be apparent that great good has already resulted from the labours of your Committee. One of the inmates who left the Institution during the year has been respectably married, and is established in business as a slater. Another has obtained a situation as an in-door servant at a neighbouring villa, at fair wages, after a trial of three months, during which he gave so much satisfaction that his master has entered into an agreement to employ him for the term of three years. A third has gone to America with every prospect of becoming a respectable man, the cost of his passage having been paid by his father, who some time since emigrated to that country. A fourth has been removed from the Institution by his friends, after receiving the benefit of much valuable counsel and instruction, and is now honourably fulfilling a term of apprenticeship in Birmingham.

To all the boys somewhat severe tests have at different times been applied. On one occasion several coins were placed on the mantel-piece of the common room, and left there for many weeks, avowedly for the purpose of strengthening in the mind of every boy the determination of resistance of temptation. As the room is always open to all the family it would have been easy to steal the money without detection, but the whole of the boys successfully withstood the temptation.



At Christmas they received permission to visit their friends, and for that purpose obtained authority to leave the Institution for different periods of time, some being absent a few days only, and others a week or more. All of them returned at the stipulated time. The Secretaries thought that this absence at home afforded good opportunity for ascertaining how far the boys might be safely entrusted with money, and therefore gave to each of them a card, by which they were authorised to receive contributions to the Patriotic Fund. Each card was endorsed with a request that contributors would state in writing their names and amount of contribution, and as a commencement Mr. Radcliffe gave every boy one shilling towards his subscription list. The money received and collected has been all faithfully accounted for, and three pounds have been thus added to the Patriotic Fund.

Mr. Collins, one of the pupil teachers at the Diocesan Training School at Saltley, has satisfactorily officiated as Schoolmaster devoting two hours on each week evening to that duty. His recent removal from the College on the completion of his term of study has rendered a fresh arrangement necessary, and your Committee have measures now in progress for the purpose of supplying the vacancy.

In constructing a yard for live stock, your Committee have considered it necessary to erect a strong boundary wall, with the double object of sheltering the animals, and affording protection against persons of bad character who formerly resorted to the neighbourhood. Within the yard, pigsties, coal-shed, and tool-house have been built, and a play-ground formed.

As an encouragement to the boys, a quantity of land has been appropriated to each of them for garden ground, with the intention of their cultivating produce, which may be purchased by the Committee for the use of the house. These gardens are highly prized, and the state of perfection into which they were brought in July last, when the first anniversary of the opening of the School took place, was highly commendable.

At the last annual meeting your Committee made reference to the earnest desire which has been manifested for a Reformatory for Girls, and they were instructed to make such arrangements as would enable them to open a Girls' School with the least possible delay. Their attention has accordingly been unceasingly directed to this object, and the long delay has been at length rewarded by success in securing the services of a suitable Matron and Governess, who will seek to unite wholesome discipline with the genial influence of home.

A lease of the house No. 45, Camden-street, has been taken for a term of seven years at the reduced annual rental of 35*l.*, and the establishment has been opened since the 6th of November last.

The thanks of the Society are due to many friends for acceptable gifts to the Saltley Reformatory, which are enumerated in the appendix to this Report.

Both these establishments are now duly certified according to law for the reception of youthful offenders, so that Magistrates and

Judges may commit children to them after fourteen days' imprisonment, and order payment by the parent or guardian of each child of a portion of the cost of maintenance.

This legal recognition of parental responsibility is a direct result of the operations of your Society. Its formation two years ago in Birmingham encouraged the friends of Reformatory Schools to hold a Conference in this town last winter, and a Committee was then appointed to urge legislative action upon the Government. At the opening of the session of Parliament the Committee waited upon Lord Palmerston, and received great encouragement to expect the speedy introduction of a measure by which Reformatories might be established all over the kingdom. Great delay, however, ensued; but towards the close of the session their unwearied importunity obtained from Government the Youthful Offenders' bill.

This measure states that it is expedient that more extensive use be made of Reformatories established by voluntary contributions, and provides for their inspection by a Government officer. Any person under sixteen years of age convicted or summarily sentenced to at least fourteen days' imprisonment, may, by direction of the convicting Judge or Magistrate, be sent, at the expiration of the sentence, to a Reformatory School for any period not less than two nor more than five years; and power is given to the Treasury to contribute towards the cost of maintenance of any child so ordered to be detained. The Court by which the offender is sent to the Reformatory is further authorised to charge the parent, or step-parent, if of sufficient ability to bear it, with a sum not exceeding 5s. a week for maintenance.

By this Act many important facilities have been given which were greatly needed efficiently to carry out the Reformatory system; and your Committee cannot but congratulate their subscribers upon the evidently extended interest which has been awakened and is now prevalent throughout the country. Of this there can be no better proof than is furnished by the circumstance that an important literary organ (*The Irish Quarterly Review*) has announced its intention of devoting an article in every number to a record of the progress of the movement.

At a very important and influential meeting of the Magistracy of the West Riding of Yorkshire, held at Wakefield a few weeks since, a general opinion was expressed in favour of the establishment of numerous small Reformatory Institutions, under the superintendence of gentlemen resident in their vicinity; and it is understood that at least one Reformatory for about thirty boys will be immediately opened in that county.

The School at Hardwicke, near Gloucester, has been extended to accommodate thirty boys.

Within the last few months a large house at Bristol, called the "Red Lodge," was purchased by Lady Noel Byron, for the purpose of being employed as a Girls' Reformatory, where there are at the present time, under the care of a suitable Matron, several children received from various parts of the country, the whole under the superintendence of Miss Carpenter.

In the present week the Town Council of Liverpool have voted a sum of 2000*l.* in aid of a private subscription there for establishing a Reformatory for training juveniles in agricultural and other pursuits on land, and for providing a floating hulk on the River Mersey for training boys to a nautical life. And the Justices of the Peace for the county of Warwick have appointed a Committee to prepare a scheme for discussion at the next Sessions.

Private Reformatories already exist in five counties, and the encouragement of the Legislature has already led to the preparation of similar establishments in Yorkshire, Cumberland, Lancashire, Norfolk, Hampshire, and Devonshire, besides the consideration of projects not yet fully matured in Warwickshire, Denbighshire, Northamptonshire, Worcestershire, and Staffordshire.

Middlesex, which contains one-third of all the young criminals in England, obtained a special Act for itself, and its Reformatory is already in process of formation by means of county rates so appropriated.

By the time all these establishments have been added to those of Birmingham, Stoke, Hardwicke, Bristol, London, and the great original Institution at Red Hill, even if the now enlightened spirit of private liberality shall have proceeded no further, there will be room for a very general introduction of the improved treatment of juvenile crime.

This will be greatly facilitated by her Majesty's Inspector (J. G. Perry, Esq., Home Office), who has exerted himself to give the country the utmost benefit of the existing provision by notifying to Clerks of the Peace and others, that if they will apply to him as a centre of information previously to the holding of each Sessions, he will become the medium through which as many vacancies as possible may be placed at the Recorder's or Chairman's disposal.

It is, however, much to be hoped that, both in giving further facilities and in making the Act clearer as to the proceeds of committals and recovery of costs, supplemental legislation will not be neglected during the present session of Parliament.

In the last annual Report your Committee called attention to the fact that the annual expenses of the Establishment at Saltley would in future amount to a much larger sum than the existing subscription list, and they regret that the deficiency has not been made good by additional subscriptions.

This is probably to be attributed to the prevalent belief that under 'The Youthful Offenders' Act' the State has assumed the responsibility of maintaining all juvenile criminals either in prison or in Reformatory Schools. But from the detail already given it will be seen that this is not strictly true. The great majority of the boys at Saltley do not come under the operation of 'The Youthful Offenders' Act;' and numerous cases will continually arise demanding the aid of your Society for which no legislative provision has been made. It must be distinctly borne in mind that the pecuniary aid afforded by Government will be applied only to the maintenance and instruction of those children who are actually sentenced under the Act to be placed in the Reformatory at the end of their several terms of imprisonment.

A large number, whom vicious habits, induced by neglect or destitution, have rendered unfit for association with children of the honest poor, will thus remain unprovided for. These will inevitably form a part of the criminal class if the means of reformation be not placed within their reach.

Your Institutions are therefore arranged for the reception of both these classes, and the results of the undertaking depend on the zeal with which voluntary efforts are sustained. It is certain that multitudes who belong to the "perishing and dangerous classes" must remain in their present forlorn condition, and their moral degradation will be completed if unassisted by the hand of Christian philanthropy.

Under these circumstances the subscribers will be prepared to anticipate that the Committee feel it necessary to make a very urgent appeal for increased pecuniary aid.

Your Committee feel that the words of a recent article in the *Edinburgh Review* truly express the sentiments which, in closing this Report, they desire to impress upon the minds of their constituents:—"The evil we are called upon to deal with, gigantic and clamorous as it is, is, like all other social evils, and more readily and surely than most others, curable on the application of the proper remedies; and the difficulties of the case lie not in the nature of the thing to be done, but in our want of resolution to grapple with and do it; in our national inertia, in our incurable habit of seeing lions in every broad path, and objections to every comprehensive scheme, in our morbid tendency always to forego a great good rather than encounter a little evil or run a little risk."

"The Recorder moved the adoption of the report, and in doing so, the learned gentleman, after remarking upon the fact of the Right Hon. Baronet, who filled the chair, having been the consistent friend of the Reformatory movement, both in and out of office, proceeded to observe that it was not possible for him (Mr Hill) to convey to the assembly the delight, comfort, and the relief from oppression which the Reformatory at Saltley had given to him as the Recorder of this borough; nor could he give expression to the gratitude he felt to the gentlemen who came forward, as it happened, during his absence from England, to establish that great Institution—great as it would be in future years, and great as it already was in the establishment and consecration of a mighty principle. But the more important the existence of the Institution, the more important was their support of it. They would consider what the Institution was. It was founded in a town which, from a variety of causes, might be looked upon as the place in which the Reformatory principle had, if not its origin, at least its earliest development. If, therefore, the Institution was permitted to languish, or, what was revolting to him for a moment to contemplate, even as a bare possibility, if it should be suffered to fall to the ground, they knew very well, so hastily do men form their opinions, that such a fall would be attributed to the fallacy of the principle on which the Institution rested, and not to the lukewarmness of its professing friends. They had been told of a debt; but he was not much startled at the amount of that debt, considering the magnitude of the undertaking; but he should be—

if not frightened, at least discouraged, if the debt were suffered to continue, and more so if it were increased, as the increase of such liabilities might become overwhelming, and drive the friends of the Institution from their posts. He was glad the report alluded to the mistake made by some persons who supposed that the Legislature had now done all that was needful, and that private pecuniary aid might be withdrawn. The report distinguished between two classes of young persons, one of which the state acknowledged as its children, and the other which at present had no public or statutory acknowledgment at all—he meant those whom benevolence took by the hand before they were so advanced in crime as to become objects of the Youthful Offenders' Act. Now, as their principle was that prevention is better than cure, it was quite clear they could not begin too early; and those, therefore, who brought them young children before they had fallen into actual crime, but were still in a state which tended towards it, were exercising a wise discretion, and acting upon a large and sound benevolence. Yet these, at present, must be maintained, not at the expense of the public, out of the rates and taxes, but by the voluntary efforts of benevolent persons. Probably, if they were in time able to show to all the world that reformation was practicable to a large extent, giving what a tradesman would call a large per centage of profit, they would at some time or other obtain public aid, from the resources of the country—from the consolidated fund, or from some local fund raised by taxation—in order to take charge of those young persons, so far as the cost cannot be recovered from their parents. But at present the case was not so; and, therefore, if it was thought that the pecuniary work to which they had put their hands was accomplished, and that subscriptions might be withheld, a greater error had been committed. The friends of the Institution earnestly called for an enlarged measure of pecuniary support. Well then, again, with regard to the other class—those who, by the solemn recognition of the Legislature, are the children of the state, and are to be supported by the state—he must be permitted to say to members of both Houses of Parliament who, he was glad to see, were present, that though the language which had gone forth to the uttermost parts of the earth had raised the character of the English Parliament to a height which it had never attained before, vain were those words if they were not to be followed by acts worthy of the statute. He was grieved that the so-called maintenance and support—were doled out with so niggard a hand. The sum paid for the lads did not approach the actual cost. This, as any person of intelligence must be aware, extended beyond the purchase of clothing and food. Establishment expenses had to be defrayed—such as rent, which they would have had to pay, but for the liberality which had been exercised towards that Institution—and the expenditure for teachers, which must necessarily be large. It might be supposed by many, that because the subjects of instruction were comparatively few, the expenses were small; those who entertained this opinion forgetting that what the higher classes called essentials in education were secondary matters in a Reformatory Institution. The object with which a boy was sent to one of

these institutions was, that he should be taught to grow up into a good man—knowing how to fulfil his duties to God, to his country, to his relatives, and to himself—to become “a true man” as our old lawyers called it—a man who honestly, fairly, and fully discharged his duty to society and to individuals, and who strenuously fulfilled the duty of maintaining himself by the labour of his hands. But this training required a powerful staff of teachers, and was, and would be costly; but that it was efficient, the learned Recorder pointed as one proof to the statement in the report as to what the boys had done in accounting for subscriptions to the Patriotic Fund, under circumstances not the most favourable to them for the avoidance of temptation. He also mentioned that they had voluntarily deprived themselves of food for one whole day in order to swell the amount of their contributions to the fund. He thought it must be admitted from these facts, that some real and good effect had been produced. There were many thoughtful and reflective men who, having studied the subject, were afraid lest these new institutions should be scenes of indulgence, and of a false and spurious humanity. He could only say that if such mistakes were made at Saltley, they were not made with the will of himself or those with whom he acted, but contrary to their express prohibition. None of them, he was sure, entertained a notion that that great and difficult change—the change from bad to good—was to be produced by any other means than effort, accompanied by suffering, frequently long-continued, with the discouragement of temporary failures in the individual sought to be improved; or that anything short of a manly discipline, such as scouts all petty and effeminate indulgence, could produce the permanent effects to which they looked forward. They were no enemies even to the infliction of pain, when they were assured that that which he might call an outlay of capital would produce a good return. They did not shrink from the infliction of pain, any more than a surgeon shrunk from an operation when he knew that the patient's life might be saved by the suffering of the moment. But what they did oppose, and ever should oppose, was that horrible system, which he hoped was falling into desuetude, soon to depart from our criminal system, which gave pain, to be followed, not by good, not by reformation, not by improvement, but by a deeper decline into guilt, until at last they plunged into offences which no earthly judge could dare to pardon.

The Red Lodge Girls' Reformatory School, Bristol, has issued a Report for the quarter ending December 31st, 1854. This institution is under the management of our honoured friend, Miss Mary Carpenter; and she brings to it all the advantages to be derived from her great ability, her earnestness, and above all, from her faith. The following are the most important passages of the Report:—

The condition of girls who have been once placed in the criminal class, is indeed far worse than that of boys; their self-respect is gone, they are cut off from all means of gaining an honest livelihood, and the greater susceptibility of their natures and love of excite-

ment renders them ready adepts in crime, and makes them delight in what thus exercises their faculties, and ministers to vicious indulgence. This statement will be borne out by all whose experience has unhappily given them the means of forming a judgement; it is proved by the fact, that while among 44 boys who have been received into the Kingswood Reformatory School, only 2 or 3 appeared to have learnt the *art* of stealing, and it was the exception rather than the rule that any pilfering tendencies were discovered among them; of the 15 girls, more than half were well trained and experienced pickpockets, and all but one exhibited dishonest propensities which it was for a long time very difficult to check.

When the Kingswood School was commenced in September, 1852, it was determined by the founders, Russell Scott, Esq., and Miss Carpenter, to try the experiment which has been successfully carried out in many Continental Schools, of receiving boys and girls into the same establishment, the size of the premises appearing likely to allow needful separation. The difficulties, however, which constantly arose, and which at last appeared insurmountable, made them after a time decline repeated applications to admit additional girls. But these frequent inquiries showed the necessity of providing some suitable asylum for these unfortunate children, where they could be faithfully guarded and patiently watched for a sufficiently long time to eradicate their deeply-rooted evil propensities, thus carrying out the wise and Christian views of the Legislature. In September last, when a change of staff at Kingswood set at liberty the Matron who had proved successful in her management of the girls there, the Red Lodge was to be sold. This house was formerly occupied as a Ladies' School, and is in a healthy and at the same time retired situation in the outskirts of Bristol. Lady Noel Byron, having heard of it as peculiarly adapted to the purposes of a Reformatory School, effected the purchase of the house and garden, offering them to Miss Carpenter, on the following conditions;—

1st. That Miss Carpenter should undertake the whole management and responsibility, subject only to the Government Inspectors.

2nd. That the rent should be £30 per annum, Lady N. Byron to be relieved from taxes and all other pecuniary liabilities.

The house was entered by the Matron and one girl on the 10th of October; during that month it was undergoing repairs, and on the 28th the Kingswood Committee resolved on removing the girls altogether from that place, to the Red Lodge, with the consent of the parties responsible for each child. The present number of girls is 10, the School having been now certified by the Secretary of State as a Reformatory School for girls, the number is likely rapidly to increase.

The Red Lodge Girls' Reformatory School is especially intended to reform and restore to society girls under 14 years of age who have been sentenced for dishonest practices to detention in such an institution. It will also be open to receive other girls, who are, for a similar cause, cut off from society, an equal payment being made for them. The object of all the regulations and training will

be to prepare these children to become useful members of society, and to fit them for another and a better world, and while regular intellectual instruction will be given, industrial occupation will take a prominent place in the daily routine; and in all, as well as in the direct Scriptural instruction, the fulfilment of duty on religious grounds and in a right spirit will be made the paramount object, in order that Christianity may become a daily influence amongst the inmates of the establishment.

No funds are provided for the future maintenance of the School: reliance has been placed on the benevolent help of friends to supply the necessary pecuniary means of commencing and carrying on a work of such vital importance to the unfortunate girls, who must, if not rescued from their present condition, become a bane to society, and who are certain, if not reformed, not only to lead a life of vice themselves, but to draw many others into the same evil way. Most gratefully is the aid which has already been given received and acknowledged. The subjoined account of expenditure for the first three months will show that in providing accommodation for a dozen girls, as well as in the ordinary expenditure, the strictest attention has been paid to economy. But the government allowance for convicted children will not do more, owing to the high price of provisions, than cover each child's share of household expences; and though there will be some addition from the proceeds of the girls work and from grants made by the Committee of Council on Education, under whose inspection the industrial department of the school is placed, yet it is evident that assistance must be sought from friends to the cause, both adequately to furnish the house for the reception of about 50 girls who may easily be lodged there, for taxes, rent, clothing and salaries. These last must always be large, owing to the need of a large moral force. Aid is therefore respectfully but earnestly solicited from friends in all parts of England, for every where may be found those who will share the benefits of the institution. The funds will be faithfully administered with a deep sense of the responsibility so imposed, and with warm gratitude to those who thus aid in the work, as well as to Him who is the Source of every good and perfect gift, and Whose blessing is earnestly sought on the undertaking.

MARY CARPENTER,

*Superintendent.*

BRISTOL: Dec. 1854.

*Superintendent*—Miss Carpenter. *Visitors and Voluntary Teachers*—Mrs. John Helicar, Mrs. Lewis, Miss Lewis, Miss Evans, Mrs. Herbert Thomas, Miss Venning. *Mr. Andrews, Singing. Honorary Physician*—Dr. Budd. *Honorary Surgeon*—H.R. Coe, Esq. *Matron*—Mrs. Philips. *Mistress*—Miss Tremlett.

*Expenditure from October 10th, to December 31st.*

Repairs and necessary fittings, £80 : 3 : 9; Cleaning of chimneys, windows, &c. £1 : 18 : 9; Furniture, £21 : 8 : 3½; Bedding for 12 Girls and one Teacher, £14 : 1 : 2; House linen, £3 : 14 : 3;



Books, Stationary, &c. £3 : 18 : 5½; Rent, one quarter, £7 : 10; Salaries and wages, £14 : 19; Food for teachers and children, £15 : 19 : 1¼; Clothing £3 : 5 : 7; Fuel, £3 : 4 : 6; Soap and Candles, £2 : 1 : 3½. Total, £172 : 4 : 2¼. Taxes, gas and water are not here included. About £10 worth of clothing and furniture has been received; all such donations will be thankfully accepted. The above statement is made to show the necessary present and future expenditure; it will be included with the donations and subscriptions in the first year's report.

Than Glasgow, few cities are more cursed by the terrible evils of juvenile criminality. But it has its noble House of Refuge for Boys, and of its last annual meeting we insert, condensed, the following Report, from *The Scottish Guardian*, of Friday, January 12th, 1855 :—

The annual meeting of the directors and friends of the above Institution was held in the House on the evening of Monday last. Amongst those present were the Lord Provost, Bailies M'Gregor, Graham, Wright, and Thompson; Sheriff Bell; Councillors Playfair, Gourlie, and James Taylor, Deacon-Convener Craig, &c. Rev. Drs. Gillan, Lorimer, and Runciman; Dr. Davie, John Burnet, Esq., Dr. Ritchie, Wm. Brodie, Esq., J. D. Bryce, Esq., Michael Rowan, Esq., John Smith, Esq., W. P. Paton, Esq., Hugh Tennent, Esq., Robert Smith, Esq., John Kincaid, Esq., &c.

The gallery of the hall was filled by 224 boys, all of whom wore the aspect of health and happiness. Tea was served to the visitors down stairs. On the gentlemen joining the boys in the hall, the Lord Provost was called to the chair, and the Rev. Dr. Runciman, opened the meeting by conducting devotional exercises.

The House is designed to be a christian home, where all its members, by means of a solid education, industrial training, and moral and religious instruction, are fitted to discharge aright the duties of citizens. Parental kindness, combined with firmness and decision, constitute the main feature of our discipline.

But ours is not a place where gloom and asceticism prevail, and where all do *right* because they cannot do *wrong*. On the contrary, the fullest scope is given for the development of individual and independent character, as well as the social benevolent feelings of our nature. The usual boyish games and sports are entered into with the greatest glee. Their plots of gardens and play-ground in the summer, with the variety of a sail down the Clyde, and a visit to places of interest in the vicinity, afford abundant scope for pure and healthy recreation. While an interesting library, with an occasional lecture on scientific and other subjects furnish in the winter months ample enjoyment. Thus everything is natural and without constraint. The state of the House resembles as much as possible, in the plainness of its food and the character of its employments, the position which the boys are to occupy when they enter the world, so that no re-action is likely to ensue. They are trained to hardy and manly labour. They rise summer and winter

at half-past five o'clock, and are ready for work at six. At eight they breakfast, and immediately afterwards meet in the chapel for worship. The remainder of the hour is devoted to play. At nine the trades lads join their masters, while the rest attend school from half-past nine till one, when they again join their workshops. At two they dine, at play till three, when the boys who were at work in the forenoon attend school till six.

In the summer time, after the evening worship, at half-past seven, their time is principally spent in the play-ground and at their gardens, till half-past eight, when they assemble in their dormitories, and join in devotional exercises in their respective rooms, conducted entirely by themselves. At nine the bell rings, and all retire to rest. Thus there is no *ennui*. Each portion of time has its own appropriate duty or pleasure, and none so long as to cause weariness or aversion.

A considerable number is entrusted to the town on messages, and, except in a single instance, the utmost fidelity has for years been the result.

### I. THE SCHOOL.

In the great work of reformation, we give a high place to education. Ignorance is not a negative quality merely. It never stands alone. At least we do not find it so. It may be considered in a great measure as the term which appropriately expresses the positive qualities usually denominated vice; for an ignorant community is always a vicious one. And this is true pre-eminently of juvenile delinquents. We therefore seek to open the minds of our boys to the beauties and pleasures of regions hitherto unknown to them. Reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, and Scriptural knowledge, constitute the principal elements of their education; while on this is engrafted general and scientific knowledge, communicated both at the school and by lectures. Thus, the more a boy's mind is opened to appreciate knowledge, the more we find him losing a relish for his former vicious ways.

The time at school is divided into two divisions—fore and afternoon. The younger portion, and those farthest behind, attend in the forenoon, being the longest period, whilst the latter, being farther advanced with their education, attend in the afternoon.

The school is divided into *four* fore and afternoon classes, with their sub-divisions; and marks are kept to show the position of each boy in his class, as well as specimens every quarter submitted of his writing and progress in other branches.

There are at present only 6 boys reading between the alphabet and "Tenpenny" Spell, or Testament. From the Testament to the Collection, there are 106; and from the Collection to the History of Scotland, being our highest class, there are 110.

There are writing, from strokes to large hand, 40; from large to small hand, 55; and in small hand lines, 112. There are altogether in writing, 207. In the simple rules of arithmetic there are 150, and in the compound rules, or further advanced, there are 60. 100 are learning English grammar, and 106 geography. A Bible lesson is daily given by the teacher.

## II. THE WORKSHOP.

We do not educate the *head* alone. The hands well employed form a powerful adjunct in the work of reformation. We deem this indispensable. We regard the principle contained in the declaration of God's Word, that "man should eat his bread by the sweat of his brow," as converted from the category of a curse into a blessing of paramount importance.

The departments of industry at present conducted in the house, are tailoring, shoemaking, weaving, farming, wood-splitting, and joining, the latter being but recently introduced. The most of these, it will be seen, are regular trades. The necessity of this arises from the importance of giving the boy that trade for which, from choice and qualification, he is most adapted. Being thus a free agent in the choice of his calling, he both progresses in while in the house, and generally follows it afterwards. We have to regret that, from want of accommodation, the range of our occupations is yet too limited.

As formerly, we have to thank a large circle of the friends of the Institution for their continued support, by giving orders for clothes, boots, shoes, and fire-lighters. During the year we executed a considerable portion of the police clothing, the clothes of the gaol officers, of the Hutcheson's, Glen's, and Wilson's schools.

In the tailoring department there are employed 62 boys, under the care of six masters. They executed, during the past year, 260 coats, 970 vests, 1268 pairs trowsers, 684 jackets, 249 pairs drawers, 2 ladies' habits, 127 caps, 234 mantles, 123 pillow slips, 77 mattresses, besides hemming a large quantity of blankets, bed-covers, towels, and making 7421 repairs. (Specimens of their work were then exhibited.)

In the shoemaking department there are 60 boys, under five masters. They executed during the same period 103 gentlemen's boots, 284 ladies' do, 425 men and boys' blucher boots, 947 men, women and girls' shoes, and 3199 articles of repairs.

Besides weaving our own sheeting and shirting, the weaving department, which employs fourteen boys, have executed a considerable quantity of gala tartans and pullicates through the year. It may be proper to remark, that in each of these departments, we make it an invariable principle not to interfere with the regular prices charged for the same article in the market. Besides affording our boys the means of acquiring their trade, good workmanship and a genuine article are the chief grounds on which we expect support.

In the wood-splitting department, we have 60 boys engaged. During last year we have disposed of upwards of 300,000 bundles. In the summer, we imported a cargo of excellent Norway red pine, of which we have yet on hand what will kindle many a smiling fire. May we ask our west end friends present to convey this small, but to us important news, to the *ladies*, and kindly solicit their patronage on our behalf? A note addressed to the House will receive immediate attention.

At our small farm we had an average of 20 boys engaged through

the season. We raised or rather sold 1669 doz. cabbages, 76 bags of potatoes, 1323 doz. turnips, a considerable quantity of onions, leeks, and carrots, besides all the vegetables used in the Institution.

Did we possess a farm of sufficient dimensions we would, beside giving wholesome and invigorating employment to the mind and body of our boys, thereby fitting those anxious to emigrate for colonial life, raise produce of every kind sufficient for our simple wants, and materially contribute to the maintenance of the Institution. The experience of *three* years has established the point beyond a doubt. The boys employed at it, though free to escape, never do so, whilst their health and character contrast most favourably with the other inmates.

### III. MORAL AND RELIGIOUS TRAINING.

We believe that as certainly as the Creator has endowed us with moral faculties, He has pointed out the right means of training them. The chief of these, we believe, is the Bible. Accordingly, every boy in the Institution daily commits to memory a verse of Scripture. The seven are gone over on Sabbath evenings, and lessons deduced from them by the boys themselves, as well as explanations given by the Governor. By this means, while the memory is not neglected, the judgment and understanding are called into active exercise. The verses are made proofs for establishing important doctrines or practical precepts, and the Proverbs which they have been committing during the past year are peculiarly appropriate for this purpose. That admirable compendium of divine truth, the Shorter Catechism, is daily taught, and has been acquired by most of the boys.

I find that during the past year, there are 220 boys who have had no bad marks for their verses, though frequently and unexpectedly examined. Besides those who have committed 364 verses, 7 boys have stood a searching examination on the whole of the Proverbs, consisting of 31 chapters. 225 boys have given portions of the sermons they had heard, chiefly in their own words, from 5 to 10 minutes in length. 136 have likewise given in a similar manner portions of the library books they have been reading. These examinations are entirely voluntary. The books are interesting and instructive, consisting of history, travels, biography, books on science, religion, &c. Our thanks are due to Mr. Playfair for a valuable collection of magazines, &c. The library is now, though limited, on a favourable footing, and affords mental aliment of the most important character to the boys.

On the 1st January last year, there were 229 boys in the House. 25 were at different periods of the year sent to situations, or otherwise disposed of; 5 went away irregularly; 3 died; 10 were sent to Canada; making in all 43, who, for a longer or shorter period, enjoyed the advantages of the House. During the same period there were admitted 36, making the number in the House on 1st January, 1855, 222 boys.

It would obviously be unfair to take the conduct of these 40 as an average specimen of the manner in which the boys conduct

themselves when they enter into the world, having been comparatively so recently sent out.

We have therefore taken those who have left for the last three years, and as far and impartially as we could, traced up their history. The following is the result :—Of 126 who have left during that period, 92 are doing well, 11 tolerably, 12 cannot be traced out, 5 died, 6 have turned out bad.

Of those regularly sent out of the house, after a rigid investigation, we can discover but *two* cases who have fallen into the hands of justice, and through the judicious conduct of the magistrate, one of them is apparently rescued from the ranks of crime; for I had a letter from him recently from Dublin barracks, where he had listed, and is now in her Majesty's service. The other has done well for the last six months. Of those marked tolerably and bad, though they have not fallen under the lash of the law, we cannot speak favourably of several of them, but we trust that the training which they have here received will not be lost even on them. The great majority, as already stated, have become good and useful members of society. The following are some of their occupations, viz. : 19 sailors, 2 soldiers, 11 tailors, 13 shoemakers, 11 farmers, 2 mechanics, 3 ironfounders and moulders, 4 wrights, 5 message-boys, 3 shop-boys, 3 brassfounders, 1 baker, 1 carver and gilder, 1 office-boy, 3 carters.

Three of our sailor lads were in the Three Bells when she rescued the crew of the San Francisco, and got prize-money. One of them gave the money to his father, another got his put into the savings bank, and all of them got themselves rigged in true sailor fashion."

Edinburgh is not inferior to Glasgow in successfully conducted philanthropic efforts. It has nobly seconded the friends of juvenile reformation in Scotland in all their earnest struggles to tame the "City Arab" and to reform "the Home Heathen." The seed sown by Sheriff Watson in Aberdeen has produced most excellent fruit, and considering, as we do, that Ragged Industrial Feeding Schools are but minor experiments in that policy of prevention for which Mr Recorder Hill, and his worthy relative Mr Frederick Hill, have so long contended, we believe that they may, with great propriety, be classed as Reformatories, and amongst such institutions we may name, as one of the most useful, The Original Ragged Schools of Edinburgh. At a meeting of the friends of these schools, held in Edinburgh, Tuesday, January 16th, 1855, Lord Panmure presiding, the following letter from the Lord Advocate, and the subjoined Report from the Managers of the Institution, which we copy from *The Edinburgh Guardian*, January 22nd, were read :—

### “THE ORIGINAL RAGGED SCHOOLS.

The annual public meeting in connection with this Institution was held on Tuesday in the Music Hall. Among those present were the Right Hon. Lord Panmure (who was called to the chair), the Hon. B. F. Prinrose, Sir James Forrest, Sir David Dundas, Sir William Johnston, Professor Miller, Alex. Murray Dunlop, Esq., M. P., &c. In opening the business of the meeting, the noble chairman said—I can congratulate you on this occasion upon the continued and increasing prosperity of the Original Ragged Schools; and, without any comparisons—which are said to be odious—with other institutions having for their object the same benevolent purposes, I must say that I attribute the great popularity, the great success, nay, the blessing with which God visits our labours, to the principles for which my reverend friend and you contended for at the beginning—namely, that the Scriptures should be used in their fullest identity with this Institution. (Cheers.) On looking over the Report I find that the number of victims which have been rescued from the streets continues to increase. I find also that the effects upon the jail of this city continue to be strongly and admirably felt. In looking over the treasurer's accounts, I gather that, by your assistance, the funds of this Institution are still flourishing; but at the same time I gather from all I see, and from all I hear, that much as has been done in the way of rescuing from crime the juvenile population of Edinburgh, much more yet remains to be done, and that your exertions, therefore, for the ensuing year must not only not be relaxed, but if possible doubled. The main feature upon which we have to congratulate ourselves on the present occasion is, that the importance of the good results of such institutions as this have, since our last assembling in this hall, forced itself upon the notice of her Majesty's Government. There will be those who will speak to this subject hereafter. Lord Panmure then alluded to the share Mr. Dunlop had taken in getting Government to recognise the principle, that in criminal matters prevention was better than cure. In connection with this subject, the chairman read the following letter from the Lord Advocate:—

‘Edinburgh, January 16, 1855.

‘MY DEAR PANMURE.—As an important criminal trial will prevent me from discharging the duty of addressing the meeting to-day, I shall feel very much obliged if you will kindly state this to the gentlemen who have taken charge of the arrangements.

‘On my own account I regret not having the opportunity of shortly expressing my deep interest in, and sympathy with, the Original Ragged School, and my conviction of the soundness of the principles on which it has been founded. But the cause will have many more powerful advocates than I am.

‘But I was desirous of making one explanation to the meeting on a matter of practical importance, and in some degree personal to myself.

‘My excellent and most benevolent friend, Lord Murray, at a meeting of the United Industrial Schools the other day, was kind enough to defend me against an imputation of remissness or delay in

certifying the rules of the Ragged Schools of Aberdeen under Mr. Dunlop's Act. He suggested that our friends at Aberdeen were unnecessarily impatient, considering the unreasonable load of business thrown on the office which I have the honour to hold.

'Obliged as I am by the defence made for me, and the terms in which it was expressed, I fear I cannot avail myself of it. As an illustration of the labours of my office, it has no better foundation than many similar statements from less friendly quarters.

'The truth is, I have met with difficulties in the practical working of the Act which have not yet been surmounted; and I am anxious that these obstacles should be known to the different associations throughout the country.

'On first addressing myself to my duty of certifying rules under the statute, the difficulty naturally occurred, in what manner vagrants, committed under the statute, were to be detained as required by its provisions. I was aware that, in most, if not in all of these institutions in Scotland, there is no adequate accommodation for lodging the pupils; and, on the other hand, attendance as mere day scholars would not carry out the objects of the act. I had therefore resolved that in all cases in which the managers of any school undertook to provide lodgings for vagrants committed under the act, and to superintend these lodging houses, I would certify the rules. Accordingly, in the only two instances in which deputations waited on me, and where, in consequence, the necessary attention was made, I certified the rules, and was in course of preparing a circular, with similar information to all the other societies. I should have certified all indiscriminately, on compliance with this provision. Doubts, however, have since arisen, in which I have come partly to participate, whether the act can be sufficiently satisfied without detention within the building itself. On this subject, I have had much communication with Government, and shall spare no exertions to render the act as effectual as possible. Meantime, as long as public funds are not provided for this important object, it only remains for the friends of these institutions to exert themselves more vigorously than ever, in order to obtain the benefit of this most salutary act.—Believe me, ever, yours very sincerely,

J. MONCRIEFF.

Remarking on this letter the noble chairman said—There is one point to which his Lordship refers in the close of that communication, which I trust will soon be remedied—viz., the fact that these institutions are entirely supported by the voluntary contributions of a benevolent public. Now, I apprehend that my honourable and learned friend, Mr. Dunlop, has taken the first solitary step in this matter, and has made these institutions the receptacle of parties committed by the Magistrates; and I trust, ere long, that as the Government, in the administration of justice, has taken advantage of institutions erected by the benevolence of the public, so it will see the equity of stepping in and aiding the public with means at least for the erection of the buildings, if it does not contribute to support the inmates of such institutions as these. I merely throw this out as a hint. I think this will be a step in the right direction; and whilst I should be sorry to see the benevolence of the public at all checked by the

interference of the Government ; still, on the other hand, I would like to see extended to these most valuable institutions the countenance and support of the Government of this country. (Hear, hear.) His Lordship concluded by calling on the Rev. Dr. Guthrie to move the adoption of the Report.

The following is the substance of the Annual Report :—‘ The directors have the satisfaction of reporting that the schools under their management are in a state of high efficiency. The number of children on the roll at this date is 268, 192 having been removed during the year ; and the average daily attendance has been 244.’ Referring to the Reformatory Schools Bill, the Report proceeded :—‘ In conformity with one of the provisions in the first clause of the act (the rules of the institution having been approved by the Lord Advocate), application was made to the Secretary of State to sanction these schools for the purposes of the measure. Our request has not been complied with ; but we hope that, ere long, the objection which unexpectedly obstructs the application of the measure will be removed. The receipts during the year amount to £2495, inclusive of a sum of £582 in bond on 31st December, 1853 ; and the expenditure to £2163. The directors have also £412 in hand on the legacy account, and £1781 under the head of farm account.’”

After the reading of the Report the meeting was addressed by the Rev. Dr. Guthrie, Sir J. Forrest, the Rev. Mr. Graham, of Newhaven, Ex-Bailie Fyfe, (who announced himself as rather in favour of the Maine Liquor Law,) Mr Dunlop, M. P. Professor Miller, and by Sir R. K. Arbuthnot.

A most influential meeting was held in Exeter on Friday, January 5th, 1855, for the purpose of establishing a Reformatory school, in connection with the Refuge already existing. The High Sheriff presided, and the speakers were Sir T. D. Acland, Bart., M. P., J. Sillifant, Esq., Viscount Ebrington, M.P., J. Milford, Esq., the Rev. Canon Rogers, Sir J. Dukworth, Bart., Sir Stafford H. Northcote, Bart., L. Palk, Esq. M. P. and George Bengough, Esq. to whom, and to Mr. Barwick Baker, the Children’s Friend School, at Hardwicke, Gloucestershire, is so deeply indebted for foundation and management. Most admirable speeches were delivered by Sir T. D. Acland, by Viscount Ebrington, by Mr. Sillifant, and by Sir Stafford Northcote, who read the following Report :—

“ The Joint Committees appointed at the General Meeting held at the Castle on the 2nd October, report that they have made inquiries as to the best mode of proceeding, in order to give effect to the resolutions adopted at the meeting.

Their attention was in the first place directed to the acquisition of a site suitable for an establishment, combining in itself a Refor-



matory School for youthful offenders of both sexes, as well as a Refuge for Female Discharged Prisoners. Some difficulties, however, were found to present themselves, which induced them to depart in a measure from this idea.

A Reformatory School for boys ought to comprise a certain quantity of land suitable for agricultural labour. This quantity should be small at first, but the means of increasing it to suit the growing wants of the school, should be at hand.

On the other hand, it was strongly impressed upon the committee by those who have taken an active part in the direction of the Refuge, that the establishment for females ought to be within easy reach of Exeter, and of those ladies who have hitherto taken so kind and so efficient an interest in the existing institution.

It will be obvious that to obtain a site at once contiguous to Exeter, and suitable for agricultural occupation, must necessarily involve a large expenditure at the outset. Even 20 or 30 acres in the environs of the city could not be purchased for less than 3000*l.* or 4000*l.*, and no site was brought under the notice of the committee upon which available buildings existed, or which admitted of extension beyond 30 acres in case of necessity.

It further appeared to the committee that all previous experience in the working of Reformatory Farm Schools tended to show that it was of the utmost importance to commence on a small scale, with very few boys, and only to enlarge the number of inmates and the size of the establishment by gradual augmentations, in proportion to the success of the management, and the influence obtained over the first set of offenders. They considered also that it was better to begin in plain, inexpensive, and unobtrusive premises, not widely differing from the orderly dwellings of the labouring class, than in buildings of more architectural pretension, which would convey to the minds of the inmates and of their neighbours the idea of their being more comfortably lodged and better attended to than the honest labourer.

Lastly, the committee found that the demand for an Institution of this nature was becoming very urgent, several instances having come to their knowledge of children who would have been sentenced to a Reformatory School had one existed in Devon, and more than one case having occurred since their appointment, in which children have actually been sent to Reformatories in other counties, who would have been kept here had there been a place to receive them.

Under these circumstances, the committee arrived at the conclusion, that it was desirable to begin without delay by renting for a time premises suitable to the wants of a farm-school, having land attached of which the quantity might, if necessary, be extended hereafter. The Refuge for Discharged Prisoners being at present situated on premises in Exeter, of which the committee have a lease for five years more, it appeared desirable that a farm-school should be established on hired premises for the same period of five years, at the expiration of which a different arrangement might, if necessary, be made.

The committee have reason to believe that a farm-house and a sufficient quantity of land might be obtained within two miles of Exeter for a rent of about 50*l.* a year, with the power of increasing the building and the quantity of land in the event of the increase of the Institution.

They have ascertained also that the services of a schoolmaster and his wife, who would act as the matron of the Establishment, may be obtained for about 100*l.* a year more ; and they consider that the assistance of a bailiff, and of such labourers as may be required, may be had at an expense not exceeding 50*l.*, as they believe that some contributions towards the salary of an agricultural instructor might be obtained from the Education Committee of the Privy Council.

Looking, therefore, to the Government payment of five shillings a week for each inmate, and to the value of the productive labour of the boys, the committee are of opinion that a subscription of from 200*l.* to 300*l.* a year, with a very moderate outlay in the first instance for stock and implements, may be regarded as sufficient for the maintenance of a moderate establishment. They have the gratification of adding, that this view having been mentioned to a few friends, subscriptions to the amount of more than 100*l.* per annum have already been promised for a period of five years, and there can be little doubt that if the scheme is approved by the meeting, and authority given to the committee to carry it into effect, the requisite amount will soon be raised.

The committee have to report that the proposal to establish a Reformatory Institution has been received in a manner which encourages them to hope for decided success, and although many persons have abstained from contributing to it until they should be aware of the precise nature of the plan, a favourable disposition towards it has been evinced in many quarters, and it is probable that a more systematic canvass than has yet been attempted will be productive of considerable funds.

The committee of the Refuge for Discharged Prisoners have in their hands a sum of about 900*l.* ; a further sum of 287*l.* had also been promised to them for building purposes before the public meeting of the 2nd October ; and since that time about 1,600*l.* has been subscribed for the enlarged scheme proposed at the meeting. Thus, about 2,800*l.* may be regarded as the amount of the capital at present raised for the purpose of the two Institutions.

It is the opinion of the committee that the sums thus collected should be united in one account, and invested in the names of trustees, who should apply one half of the interest to the maintenance of the Refuge, and the other half to that of the Farm School, so long as the two establishments are kept separate.

The annual subscriptions to the Refuge will of course be applied to the exclusive support of that branch of the Institution, which should continue to be managed as hitherto by an executive committee chosen by the subscribers. The special subscription which has been opened for the support of the Farm School should in like manner be applied to the exclusive use of that establishment ; and an executive committee should be elected by the subscribers to that

fund for the management of the Farm School. The joint committees appointed at the public meeting of the 2nd October should be re-appointed, and should be constituted guardians of the funds contributed for the general purposes of the whole Institution, including both the Refuge and the Farm School. No part of these funds should be withdrawn from investment, or applied to any purpose whatever except by the directions of the joint committees, and with the assent of the subscribers to both parts of the institution.

This plan has been submitted to a general meeting of the subscribers to the Refuge, and has been accepted by them.

The joint committees should continue to use their best endeavours to obtain an amount of subscriptions sufficient for the establishment and maintenance of an Institution likely to be adequate to the wants of the western district, and should direct their attention to the possibility of enlisting the sympathies of the neighbouring county of Cornwall in the undertaking, and obtaining assistance from thence, as well as from Devon. It is particularly desirable that an appeal for aid should be made to the Council for the Duchy of Cornwall."

We take this extract from *Woolmer's Exeter Gazette*, of Saturday, January 13, which in addition to an elaborate report of the meeting, contains a most able editorial article upon the Reformatory question.

At the Lancaster Quarter Sessions, held Monday, January 1st, The Right Hon. M. T. Baines addressed the jury at considerable length, urging upon them the great importance of adopting the Reformatory principle. He said :—" The subject is one by no means new to me. In the earlier part of my life I had much experience in the administration of the criminal law; and very recently, I have had the honour of presiding as Chairman over a Select Committee of the House of Commons, by whom this whole question was very fully and minutely investigated. *Upon several points my mind has arrived at the clearest conviction. First, that the state of our juvenile criminal population is a social evil of the most dangerous character ; secondly, that our past course of legislation, with reference to the treatment of such criminals, has been wrong in principle ; and thirdly, that we may hope with confidence for very different results, if we are prepared to adopt a different system.*"

Mr Baines also referred to the absurdity of short imprisonments when reformation was contemplated, and expressed his entire approval of the recognition made by the **YOUTHFUL OFFENDERS' ACT**, of that principle, the utility of which was first proclaimed to the country by Mr Frederick Hill—**PARENTAL RESPONSIBILITY.**

A very powerful editorial article, commenting on Mr. Baines' address, and in support of Reformatories, appeared in *The Lancaster Guardian* of January 6th.

In *The Midland Counties Herald*, of Thursday, January 18th, we find the following satisfactory paragraph :—

**"THE HULL MAGISTRATES AND REFORMATORY SCHOOLS.—** The subject of Reformatory Schools has been before the magistrates of Hull for some time past ; and at a special meeting of the body, held on Wednesday last, the following resolution was past :—" That the Justices of Hull having been long convinced of the great value of Reformatory Schools, are of opinion that the establishment of an institution of that kind in Hull, as soon as practicable, would be attended with the best results. That a committee be now appointed to take into consideration and report upon the most effectual steps to be taken, with the view to effecting the establishment of a Reformatory school in Hull."

Whilst Judges and Magistrates are expressing their full concurrence in the Reformatory principle, the Corporation of Liverpool have, with a wisdom worthy of those who should govern so great a population, called a special meeting to consider the question, and on Monday, January 1st, they confirmed a vote of £2,000 for the establishment and support of two Reformatories ; one to be on land, where the inmates will be trained to agricultural pursuits, and trades ; the other, for boys only, in a hulk on the river, where they will be trained as sailors, and where Mr Recorder Hill's plan can be most appropriately adopted.

In moving the allocation of this money, Mr T. D. Anderson said

" It was a well-known fact to those who had studied the subject, that the great majority of adult criminals had commenced their career of crime as juveniles. (Hear, hear.) A learned judge had stated upon the bench as the result of his experience, that he had seldom or never met with any adult criminal who had not commenced his career under the age of twenty. There were several corroborations of this fact to be had from the annual reports of that excellent institution, the London Reformatory for adult male criminals, in which it was stated that out of 100 criminals to which he believed the institution was limited at a time, 82 had commenced their crimes under the age of fifteen. (Hear, hear.) He would not trouble the council with statistics upon this point, although he could give a great deal of evidence in corroboration of it, but he did not suppose it would be disputed, and therefore he would not tire the council with dry details upon it. With regard to the sort of reformatory to be established, the committee recommended that it should be adapted for the training of juveniles in agricultural and

other pursuits on land; and that a hulk should be provided in the river into which these boys who were inclined to go to sea or to be trained as sailors might be drafted. The committee felt that the latter would prove a most beneficial and most useful part of the reformatory system. (Hear, hear.) He might here state that the shipowners' association last year, in answer to a question put to them by the magistrates, as to whether they thought the shipowners of the town would be inclined to take the boys—(could he call them tainted with crime?—he thought he could hardly do so)—out of the hulk as apprentices into their ships, stated as their opinion that after they had undergone a certain course of discipline and training, they believed the shipowners of the town would be quite ready to take boys from the hulk. The committee feel that it was essential that the reformatory should be at such a distance from the town as to prevent the juveniles from all intercourse with their old associates; and they also recommended that it should be commenced upon a moderate scale, but upon such a plan as could be extended at a future time. He would therefore only ask the council at the time to make the same grant as they did before, 1,700*l.*, and an additional amount of 300*l.*, making the whole amount 2,000*l.* He did not suppose there was a member of the council who would wish to treat this subject in the lowest point of view, namely, as a finance question, although it would not be difficult to show the great advantages that would result from it even in that respect. (Hear, hear.) But he believed that every member of the council would take a much higher view of the question, and look to its moral, social, and religious aspect—feeling it to be their duty, as guardians of the town, to do something for the masses of neglected juveniles around them. As an instance, however, of the saving which such an establishment might produce to the town, independent of the much higher good and benefit, they might look at the case which occurred some months ago, of a young man about 19 years of age, who was convicted at the assizes of November twelvemonths of manslaughter, for stabbing a policeman. He had been convicted 15 times before he was last convicted. He had been led away by evil companions, and he stated himself he knew the time when he might have been saved, if he had had only the moral courage to say 'no' to his tempters, but he was led away by his evil companions, and was at last transported. Now, it was computed that every convict who was transported from the country cost the country 150*l.*"

"Mr. Bramley Moore said, having taken a warm interest in the subject some years ago, and brought it before the council himself, as far as the establishment of a hulk was concerned, he could not allow the present opportunity to pass by without expressing his satisfaction that the thing was now going to be tried, however imperfectly it might be done. Although some defects might arise when the experiment was commenced, the committee would very soon have an opportunity of improving their system. His own opinion was very strongly in favour of a hulk, because he was perfectly satisfied, if they could get boys on board a hulk, and teach

them seamanship, and make sailors of them, they would not have a boy capable of going to sea remaining on board that vessel for more than six months; and they would have the advantage not only given them of the reformation so desirable to make them good citizens and useful members of society, but they would, at the same time, disperse them all over the world, where they would naturally get inculcated with habits of industry, so that they would never be seen again as criminals in the sessions-house of Liverpool. (Hear.) Therefore, he had very great faith in the establishment of a hulk. It would be within the remembrance of many in that room, that eight or nine years ago, he brought the subject forward at the council, but at that time, he was sorry to say, he failed. He had no doubt, that if the project had been carried out, a great many who were now cumbersome and expensive to the corporation and the public, would have been useful members of society; and very likely many of them serving their country where they were very much needed at the present moment. (Hear, hear.) To detain them above two years he was quite sure, would be quite unnecessary, and a thing which, in fact, would seldom arise. They all knew by experience of the training of boys at Greenwich, that long before the boys were fit to go, there were a great number of applicants ready to take them. With regard to the girls, the object could only be carried out on shore, through the instrumentality of some building, but he had great doubts of the advantage of keeping the boys on shore. (Hear, hear.) A hulk would be really the most useful by far, as regarded the male portion of those sought to be reclaimed. The whole system of their gaol establishments was altogether, in his opinion, upon a wrong basis. (Hear, hear.) Instead of reforming offenders, and letting them come out, after a time, useful members of society, capable of gaining an honest livelihood, the operation was quite the reverse. (Hear, hear.) They were just taken in for a time, and then turned out adrift without a shilling in their pockets! and the first thing they did, was to go and commit some robbery. We did not take advantage of the experience of other countries, where they all knew that matters were very differently carried out. Gaols in other countries, were reformatories. He had the satisfaction of visiting a number of gaols during last autumn, and there was one with which he was particularly struck in Canada, where there were several hundred prisoners; and on going through the different compartments of the gaol, he was struck with amazement when he saw the manner in which it was conducted. Instead of men picking oakum—a farce for hard labour—he found them in the different apartments carrying on their different trades. In one room, there were about 100 men making chairs and tables; and all working with as much alacrity and diligence, as if they were in a private shop. In another department there were whitesmiths, locksmiths, and different other trades, all actively engaged. So far from their being burthens to the state, they were realising a large profit, and making a fortune for the man who farmed their services at the gaol. The experiment had been most successful, and the farming of the whole of these men at the gaol was

done by an American. He paid so much per head for their services. They were fed, watched, taken care of, and he had the benefit of all that they made. So much business did they do, that there was actually a large shop established in the town, solely for the sale of boots and shoes made there, and of which this person realised the benefit. Now, when these men had served out their time they would reflect, naturally, that if they could earn sufficient money to pay for their own living in the gaol, and give a profit to the man who farmed their services, it would be a much better way for them to earn an honest livelihood out of doors, and have the whole of the receipts for their own use. That would be a natural course of reasoning; and, he had no doubt, it would be attended with the happiest results, not only to themselves, but to society at large. (Hear, hear.) He might state a curious feature about this gaol to which he was alluding, that, with the exception of the first wing, which was built by the country, the entire building was raised by the hands of the prisoners themselves, carried on from year to year, and brought to its present state of perfection at no cost for labour, except the maintenance of the prisoners. Now, he rejoiced that this opportunity was afforded him; and he had listened with great pleasure to the remarks of the chairman of the committee, and he felt perfectly satisfied, in his own mind, that a great deal of good would result from this undertaking. He had no doubt that they would make mistakes, and naturally would do so at the commencement; but he felt certain they would soon find a remedy, and that great good would result to the community at large."

We have inserted these extracts, from the report of the meeting, as given in *The Northern Daily Times* of Tuesday, January 2nd, 1855. We have given these passages uncurtailed, as we believe that the proceedings of the Municipal body of Liverpool may be, indeed must be, followed by all others in these Kingdoms: it is satisfactory to every man who feels an interest in the developement of thought and of philanthropic principles amongst the great middle class of the Nation, to find men such as Mr. Anderson and Mr. Bramley Moore working the Reformatory question with ability, and with earnest good sense.

Whilst Lancashire is thus evincing its adherence to the Reformatory movement, Leicestershire is also proving its appreciation of the excellence of the Reformatory principle. We read, in *The Midland Counties Herald*, of Thursday, January 25, 1855, that—

"At the recent Quarter Sessions of the Peace for the county of Leicester, J. Hodgson, Esq. brought under the consideration of the Court, the Act for the better care and reformation of Youthful Offenders in Great Britain, observing that however well their prison discipline might be adapted for adults, it was not so for young children, and all who had studied the subject had come to that

conclusion. The number of juvenile offenders in that county, during the last four years, amounted to 211, the highest and lowest number for the year being 45 and 66. The proportion of girls was 14, comprising those convicted summarily and otherwise. He concluded by proposing the following resolutions, which were seconded by Earl Howe, and adopted:—1.—‘That this Court regards with much satisfaction the Act of 17 and 18 Vict., cap. 86, for the better care and reformation of youthful offenders, and recommends that the magistrates should avail themselves of its provisions in all eligible cases, whether convicted before this Court or otherwise, so far as vacancies can be obtained for them in the Reformatory Schools approved and certified under this act.’ 2.—‘That a committee be appointed to enquire into the state and condition of the Reformatories so certified, or in progress, the modes of obtaining admission, and into any other matters connected with the purposes of the act, and to report from time to time to this Court.’ 3.—‘That the Committee consist of the Chairman and the two Deputy-Chairmen of this Court, the Earl Howe, Sir Arthur G. Hazlerigg, Bart., Sir Henry Halford, Bart., the three Visiting Justices, J. Hodgson, Esq., H. Townsend, Esq., R. Gough, Esq., and the Rev. T. Echallaz; and that they be requested to hold a preliminary meeting on the rising of the Court.’”

When the county, and municipal, and judicial authorities are thus advancing, in support of the Reformatory Institutions, it is satisfactory to find that the official mind is neither cramped nor warped by its peculiar surrounding circumstances, as is evidenced by the large space devoted in Lieut.-Col. Jebb's *Report on the Discipline and Management of the Convict Prisons, and Disposal of Convicts*, 1853, to the subject.

In referring to Industrial Schools for the Destitute Classes, and in advocating District Schools for England, Lieut.-Col. Jebb thus writes, and we beg attention to his observations, as they are most important to every Irish friend of the Reformatory Movement, and, indeed, we may add, to every Poor-Rate payer, and Poor Law Guardian in these kingdoms. The Report states:—

“Various measures for improving the organization of the schools annexed to the workhouses have been resorted to apparently without much success, which has led to the consideration of plans having for their object the withdrawal of children from these last establishments and the assembling of them in district schools, to be erected by the parish unions, associated in greater or smaller number, within determined limits. Facilities have been afforded for this purpose in the Acts 7 & 8 Vict. c. 101, and 10 & 11 Vict. c. 83. But as they only contain *permissive* and not *compulsory* powers they have not come into general operation. They are, however, similar in principle to those introduced into Belgium, by which schools of reform are substituted for mendicity establishments.



The Reports of the Poor Law Commissioners in 1840, and those of the Inspectors of Schools, offer much that is interesting. They do not confine themselves to pointing out the evils and abuses, but also indicate and discuss the remedies; and, amongst these, they range in the first order the institution of *district schools*, in which agriculture and gardening, combined with certain industrial and sedentary occupations, should be introduced as a necessary part of education.

The subject is so important in its bearing on the prevention of crime that I cannot omit to profit by the valuable suggestions and opinions of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, and express my entire concurrence in them. Subjoined is an extract referring to the leading points, from the Report of the Rev. H. Moseley, dated February, 1852.

'When the Poor Law Board abolished the system of education by apprenticeship, they took upon themselves the responsibility of providing some better form of education. Every workhouse was accordingly required to provide a schoolmaster who should educate the children. For which purpose they were to be completely separated from the adults, and instructed for at least three hours every day.

'This system had, however, conspicuous defects.

'Great mischief,' says Mr. Stuart, in his report on the Blything incorporation, 1833, 'is done by familiarizing the minds of the children to the restraints of the workhouse, which destroys all reluctance to being sent back to it in after-life.

'It is impossible not to feel that Mr. Tufnell speaks in measured term of a system like this, when in 1849 he says of it, 'The experience of this year has still further convinced me of the hopelessness of expecting any general or permanent benefit to arise from the training of pauper children, as long as they remain within the precincts of the union workhouse.'

'But the most striking point of view in which the present arrangement appears defective is, *the impossibility of uniting with it the suitable industrial training of the children*. The labourer's cottage, however bad a school in other respects, has this advantage, that it is a good place for the industrial training of his children; he knows the importance to them of being brought up to labour. I have myself known parents—capable of making sacrifices that their children may go to school, and willing to do so if they thought it for their welfare,—yet object to do so after their children were of an age to work, lest, as they said, 'they should not take kindly to labour.'

The example of industry which a labourer's cottage affords,—his watchful eye lest habits of idleness should grow upon his children,—and the exigencies of the household, which claim that all its members should contribute to the common fund which feeds and clothes all, make of it a school of industry; and, perhaps, the best school in which industry can be learned.

This exclusion of industrial training is contrary to the spirit and intention of the Poor Law Board, as is apparent from their orders and regulations; but it is a necessary result of the existing state of

things. 'Industrial training' (says Mr. Jelinger Symons), 'according to the spirit of the Poor Law orders,' . . . 'can never be attained whilst the children remain in the workhouses, without such inconvenience and expense as make it hopeless.' This remark applies especially to the boys. 'The several employments of the boys reared in workhouses' (says Sir J. P. Kay Shuttleworth, Report of 1841), 'must, it is believed, in the great majority of instances, be of a description that does not admit of previous training or tuition within the workhouse.'

In the great majority of workhouses the children are stated to have no industrial training at all. Where they have, it is commonly of a sedentary kind. 'They are sometimes taught a little shoemaking or tailoring; the best of their occupations are carpentering or book-binding; but in many cases they made hooks and eyes, or sort bristles, and pick oakum. A boy thus brought up' (says Mr. Bowyer) 'is unfitted for an agricultural labourer; he can neither dig, hoe, nor plough; is puzzled with harness, and afraid of a horse. Any hard or continuous labour exhausts his body and wearies his mind. He has formed a completely false conception of the life that awaited him.'

'An orphan or deserted child educated from infancy to the age of 12 or 14 in a workhouse' (says Sir J. P. Kay Shuttleworth) 'if taught reading, writing, and arithmetic only, is generally unfitted for earning his livelihood by labour.'

'If to other children, then especially to these, other than sedentary occupations, freedom, exercise, and the open air are necessary to healthy physical development and growth.'

'Hence,' (says Mr. Tufnell, in 1847, 48,) 'with a view to securing the health of the boys, garden or field labour is, I am satisfied, superior to most others.' 'I find a great unanimity,' says Mr. Symons (1849), 'as to the kind of industrial labour deemed the fittest for boys by guardians who reflect on the subject. Spade husbandry is almost invariably chosen, not only on account of the return derivable from it, but from its aptness for developing moral character as well as bodily strength and health.'

'The introduction of industrial training' (says Mr. Bowyer, 1849) 'has been everywhere attended by a marked improvement in the appearance and bodily vigour of the boys; and their progress in their studies, so far from being retarded by it, has generally been promoted, notwithstanding the reduction in the number of hours devoted to instruction.' And (Mr. Browne, 1849) 'industrial training for boys ought, I am convinced, to consist in the cultivation of land.'

It is remarkable that boys employed in field-work make greater progress than those who are not so employed, although the latter may give to study nearly twice as much time as the former.'

To break, then, the link which in the mind of the pauper child binds him to the workhouse as a home, which associates it in his mind with the state of life allotted to him and his destiny,—to take from him the stamp and impression of it,—and to emancipate him from the regimen of its course of thought and standard of opinion,—to free him from its pestilent associations and evil example,—and,

above all, to prepare him to take his place in the ranks of independent industry, by a judicious course of industrial training,—for all these objects a substitute is needed for the workhouse school.

'This fact has received a practical recognition from the Legislature in the Act of 7 & 8 Vic. c 101, which provided for the formation of school districts and district pauper schools where the children should be collected from the workhouses of the district, instructed in such useful knowledge as is suitable to their condition, and trained to industry.'

'This Act gave to the Poor Law Commissioners power to form school districts. But it affixed certain limits of area and population, and it provided that the expense of starting, to be borne by the unions of the district, should not exceed one-fifth of the entire annual expenses of those unions; provisions which rendered the Act inoperative; the limitations were impracticable, and no school could be built for the money. In 1847 an Act was passed removing the limitation as to cost, but depriving the Commissioners of their power to erect the school without the consent of the guardians or a majority of them.

'This new condition has rendered the new Act nearly as inoperative as the old one. Six district schools only have been formed in the entire country. In other respects the declared intentions of the Legislature remain without effect. 'It is obvious' (says Mr Temple), 'that the reasons for the establishment of district schools are not of a nature to be readily appreciated by Boards of Guardians.' The object of such schools is national; their operation, to be successful, must cover a large surface, and extend over a long period; and their results, however certain, are remote, belonging rather to posterity than ourselves. Considerations of this class are not likely to have weight with Boards of Guardians. The operation of such Boards is local, isolated, and independent and their function is temporary, having in view the present necessities of the poor, and the protection of the present ratepayers. It has nothing to do with posterity.

'With reference to the probable occupation of the students of your normal school, as masters, at some future time, of district schools, your Lordships provided, by your Minutes of 1846, for the erection, in connexion with it, of 'a model school of industry for the pauper children of some of the London unions.' It is to be hoped that your intentions in this respect will ere long be carried into effect. Nothing can be more important than to give to your students the benefit of that experience which such a school would offer, or to the country the model of a pauper school conducted on sound principles.

'There were on the 1st of January 1852, in the 597 unions of England, 40,557 children, giving an average of 68 children of both sexes for each workhouse, a number which had been annually dimi-

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\* 'This first Act was passed in 1844. It was unquestionably the result of the able report of the assistant commissioners published in 1841; particularly Sir J. P. Kay Shuttleworth's account of the Norwood Industrial School.'

nishing. Of these there are 21,038, being 51½ per cent. of the whole, to whom the State stands in the place of a parent; they being orphans, or deserted, or the children of paupers not able to work. It is to create teachers for the education of these,—made children of the State by the law and providence of God, and by the common consent and practice of all ages and nations,—and of those others made destitute by the vices or the misfortunes of their parents, whom the State has adopted, that your Lordships have erected this training school.

‘In the training of teachers for that object, labour is an essential element. Teachers of industry must practise it, and must be inured to it. A schoolmaster unable to work would be almost as much misplaced in his field garden as one unable to read and write would be in his school.’

*Distinction between Schools suitable for the Destitute Classes and Prisons for Juvenile Criminals.*

It will be almost impracticable, having due regard to reformation, to create more than a nominal distinction in the treatment requisite in pauper schools and that of district prisons for the correction and industrial training of juvenile criminals, and it would appear desirable not to create *more establishments than are absolutely necessary*. Any attempt to refine too much by maintaining nice distinctions would, I fear, only tend to complicate measures, which, if simplified, might be brought practically to bear upon the enormous amount of evil which has to be attacked.

I feel some hesitation in offering an opinion upon a subject on which I have little practical knowledge or information; but my impression is, that, as a general principle, all schools and industrial establishments for the destitute should be considered as of one class.

This would include all district or pauper schools attached to parochial unions—the present ragged schools and such establishments as Red Hill, Stretton-on-Dunsmoor, Quatt, Smith-street Westminster, Sheriff Watson's Aberdeen Schools, and any others devoted to the moral and industrial training of that lowest class of the population who have no means whatever of providing for themselves.

With respect to juvenile criminals, I have already stated my opinion that there should be district prisons or penal schools, with appropriate discipline.

As regards discipline in the pauper and penal schools respectively, I should take Parkhurst as a model for the latter, and the arrangements at Red Hill, Aberdeen, Rhuyselede, and Mettray, as a guide on which to frame discipline suitable for the former.

Very different conditions will, however, have to be dealt with in counties and in large towns. The scattered population of the former cannot be so conveniently collected as where the numbers are more concentrated; the evils are, however, of less magnitude.

As regards the means of obtaining attendance, I can offer no opinion; but I am satisfied that the practice established by Sheriff Watson at Aberdeen has been attended with the very best results: and if measures for uniting the persuasive effects of feeding with instruction could be matured and extended, I conceive that it would

afford the means of making a greater inroad upon crime in large towns than has ever been effected.

'The attendance at the school,' says Mr. Thomson, 'is wholly voluntary; but the child who is absent from morning hours receives no breakfast; absent from the forenoon hours, receives no dinner; and if absent from the afternoon, receives no supper. And, influenced by these attractions, the attendance on the whole is excellent—better than at an ordinary day-school.'

*Liability of Parents or Parishes.*

I have observed in a former Report that—

'If the advantages gained by a boy in being committed to a penal school were appreciated by him, they would be so great as apparently to offer a direct inducement to commit crime for the purpose of obtaining them; and when it is considered how heavily the maintenance of a family presses on the poor, it might be anticipated that parents would even be led to encourage their children in crime, and that the course most likely to obviate these objections would be to render parents or parishes *liable for the expense of maintenance*. Under such circumstances the honest labourer, whilst exercising his discretion in the education of his children and deriving advantage from their labour, would see those who were disposed to neglect their families compelled to take care of them, or to pay others for doing so.'

There would, however, I fear, be great difficulty in the general enforcement of any such liability as against the parent, but if the parishes were liable there can be no doubt it would operate as a strong stimulus to all concerned. Each fresh demand would lead to the issue of peremptory orders on the part of local authorities, and much activity in the subordinates.

As it is very generally admitted that much of that which requires remedy among the crowds of children who infest streets of large towns is the result, to some extent, of neglect on the part of parents or local authorities, it would appear just that the State should not be called upon to bear the expenses of such neglect.

The Government now pay a large sum to meet the costs of trial and maintenance of prisoners; and it would be a proper distinction, if, instead of paying the whole, the parents or the immediate locality were held responsible for at least a portion of the expenses.

On this subject Mr. Thomson observes,—

'Another alteration required is to enforce on able, but careless and wicked parents, the duty which lies upon them to feed and educate their children. This can be best accomplished by making the Poor Law Board or Union, or the Prison Boards in Scotland, liable for the expense to the industrial school in the first instance, but with recourse against the parents who are neglecting the first and greatest of their duties.

'Power must also be given to send to school all *neglected* children—all found loitering in streets and lanes—whose parents take no charge of them, but leave them to grow up as they may, untutored and untaught, save in the practice of crime. If the parents neglect to perform their bounden duty, then the State may properly step in,

*loco parentis*, and do the needful work ; and surely this is no unjustifiable interference with the parental authority—it is only saying to the parent, ‘ if you will not discharge the duty you owe to your child, both in the sight of God and of man, we, the public, will do it for you ; we will not suffer your child to grow up a torment to himself and to all around him ; we would much rather you did your duty yourself, but if you *will not*, then *we must*.

‘ By law, the burden of uncared for pauper children falls at present on the workhouse, but the poor-law authorities are not entitled to expend their money, unless under their own immediate control ; and power must be given them to do so, through the medium of industrial school managers. This will be as advantageous as it is economical. Better for the public, who most eventually pay in one form or other, to maintain the child in an industrial school at 4*l.* a year, than in a poor-house at 10*l.* or 12*l.*, especially as the smaller expenditure gives every prospect of making him a useful member of the community, and the larger gives little hope of ever raising him above the pauper class.’

A good old Saxon principle, difficult to enforce in the present day, is adverted to by Mr. Carleton Tufnell in his report on Parochial Union Schools for 1851. He says :—

‘ Guardians are not always so open to considerations of ultimate as of immediate economy ; and many a pauper who now, before his death, costs his parish 100*l.* or 200*l.* might have lived without relief, had a different education, represented perhaps by the additional expense of a single pound, been bestowed upon him in his youth. This is strictly retributive justice ; and I think it would be good policy to increase its effect, and would give a prodigious stimulus to the diffusion of education, if the expense of every criminal, while in prison, were reimbursed to the country by the parish in which he had a settlement. What a stir would be created in any parish by the receipt of a demand from the Secretary of State for the Home Department for 80*l.* for the support of two criminals during the past year ! I cannot but think that the locality where they had been brought up would be immediately investigated, perhaps some wretched hovels, before unregarded, made known, and means taken to educate and civilize families that had brought such grievous taxation on the parish. The expense of keeping criminals, as of paupers, must be borne somewhere ; and it seems more just that it should fall on those parishes whose neglect has probably caused the crime than on the general purse.’

#### DISPOSAL OF JUVENILE CRIMINALS.

The real difficulty with criminals will arise on the expiration of their sentences ; for it will be of little avail to instruct them or even destitute children, unless they are assisted, or satisfactorily disposed of on discharge. In making any such provision, however, for criminals, we encounter the objection made by Lord Denman, and a very serious one it is, when a boy's success in life may be said to originate in the commission of crime.

Morally and socially a great advantage would be secured by placing a boy in a situation and circumstances in which he could afterwards

earn an honest livelihood ; and I think this consideration should outweigh difficulties and objections, which, perhaps, after all, would not have so much influence on the criminal population as might be anticipated. I should be disposed, therefore, to make the trial, and preserve the deterring effect of a sentence by subjecting the offender to a long course of discipline.

A certain proportion of boys who have been subjected to corrective discipline and instruction for periods of from one to three years might, after due inquiry as to the means of support and employment, be disposed of in this country. The efforts of Mr. Wright, of Manchester, prove this. The experience of the convict prisons, from which men are occasionally discharged, is also in favour of it ; but I think the main opening will be in emigration.

In considering the measures necessary for the final disposal of the boy, more difficulties would, however, arise in an attempt to obtain satisfactory employment either at home or abroad, if he were sent direct from a prison, than if he were sent from an industrial school.

To obviate this, I would recommend that a prisoner, having gone through a certain period of his sentence, in a district prison or penal school, sufficient, as a general rule, for his correction, and the acquirement of industrious habits, a portion of the sentence might be advantageously remitted, not only with a view to obtain the power of imposing conditions on his release, but to operate as an encouragement during the time he was under discipline. I should, therefore, propose that a boy should pass from a district prison to the district school, and be disposed of from thence on the plan now in operation at Red Hill.

Assuming that there were only one class of schools for paupers, an objection might be taken to this plan on the ground that children of honest but poor parents would thus become mixed up with criminal boys. If evil is to be apprehended from such a course, it might be greatly checked by classification ; but, practically, I do not think much inconvenience would result. I found this opinion upon the experience of the Philanthropic at Red Hill, and upon some acquaintance with the character of the boys at Parkhurst.

A further reason against the validity of such an objection would be, that any boy, on discharge from prison, is entitled to go to his parish school, and to mix with all who attend there ; or, if destitute, he is taken into the workhouse, or would be sent to a district industrial school, as a matter of course.

There appears no reason why the same facilities should not be afforded in a systematic manner. My own impression is, that a boy who has gone through one or two years strict discipline at a penal school or prison would be more exemplary in his conduct, more tractable, and, in all respects, better conducted than the class of pauper children in such a school, who had not undergone such previous discipline and instruction.

In saying this, however, I would qualify it by observing that I assume that such as were convicted of serious crimes, and the few prisoners who proved to be incorrigible, under a long sentence of imprisonment, would be specially dealt with, and not sent to the pauper school at all.

The Act 17 and 18 Vict. cap. 86, for the better care and reformation of youthful offenders in Great Britain, is a first step in the right direction, and, if due effect be given to its provisions, it may be anticipated that many of the more crying evils, which have been so long endured, may be diminished."

There can be no more appropriate recorded fact to follow this extract from Lieut. Col. Jebb's Report, than that furnished by the next passage, extracted from *The Ragged School Union Magazine*, for November, 1854, describing the "Industrial Home for Outcast Boys, Belvedere House, Belvedere Road, Lambeth, Hungerford Bridge, South, London":—

"To any one desirous of visiting the Institution, the only direction needful to be given is, to cross over Hungerford Bridge from north to south. He will see before him, as he approaches the south side of the river, a large board—surmounting a house which itself rises somewhat above the neighbouring buildings—on which is written the name of the Asylum.

Indeed, its situation is its best advertisement, as it so stands that foot passengers to and from the Railway must pass by its door. They constantly step in for a few minutes, which the Committee rejoice to perceive, as they well know that even a few minutes of personal inspection on the part of an intelligent visitor, cannot fail at once to reveal to him the spirit of energy and originality that pervades the establishment.

It is especially worth while to visit it just now, because of the marked and striking contrast between its older inmates and a *batch* of new comers—*drove* or *herd* would perhaps be the more suitable appellation, considering the way in which they were gathered together, and the place from which some of them were taken. Mr. Driver and a Member of the Committee having looked in one night, between eleven and twelve o'clock, at the well-known Night Refuge in Field Lane, were preparing to depart, when their conversation with the master turned upon the fact of a number of those who failed, for various reasons, to obtain admission into the Refuge, being accustomed to crawl through a hole just opposite—leading down somewhere beneath the raised roadway of Victoria Street—and remain under ground till morning. They then went over to the hole, and called out in order to ascertain if there were any boys there, and to ask them to come out and show themselves. Reassured, by the familiar voice of the Refuge Master, that this invitation was no *move* on the part of the police, they crept out one after another to the number of fourteen. After some conversation, Mr. Driver selected four of them, whom he told to come to him on the following morning. They came, and are now with him, as well as several others collected in a somewhat similar way. The next night Mr. Driver, happening to be again out in that direction with another of the Committee, pointed out the hole as the place where the fourteen boys had emerged from the bowels of the earth. Wondering what sort of cavern it must be to hold so many, the latter gentleman suggested an immediate descent. Whereupon, fetching a lad from the Refuge to



act as pioneer, and sending him in first with a light, they prepared to follow, each divesting himself of coat and hat for the purpose. Legs foremost was the order of the day—or rather night—with serpent-like movement, down a sloping passage about six feet long. Then a sort of arched vault, about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet high,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  long, and 6 broad, received the exploring party, now reinforced by the Refuge Master, who availed himself of the opportunity of paying his first visit to this rival establishment. Two lads only were found to have taken up their quarters here upon this occasion. The conversation that ensued turned chiefly upon the measures which had become necessary to defeat the tactics of the police, whose plan of operations seemed to have been, by the use of stones and other projectiles, to force the besieged to 'come out of it.' A well-constructed barricade of large stones attested the engineering skill of the latter, which, whilst it narrowed the entrance and curtailed the interior space, was deemed amply to compensate for these disadvantages by the immunity from assault which it secured. There was plenty of straw in the place; and it is worthy of remark, that the English spirit of order appeared to have penetrated even into this dark and dismal retreat, as the visitors were given to understand that a certain rude code of regulations prevailed, and that only on rare occasions, and when the hole was filled to suffocation, would a general scuffle ensue—the nature of which, under such circumstances, can be more easily imagined than described."

Amongst the other important progressive movements of the Quarter, in the Reformatory cause, we must record the charge delivered by Baron Alderson to the Grand Jury of Yorkshire at the last Winter Assizes, which was entirely in favor of Reformatory Institutions. We have but one objection to make to this charge, it seemed formed in all its points upon, and to have derived its inspiration, and all the knowledge contained in it, from a very clever, but very theoretical book—Dr. Comb's *Principles of Criminal Legislation*. If Baron Alderson had studied the subject rather than the book, he would have known that all worth notice in Mr Comb's work, so far as legislation is concerned, has been much more ably and more wisely urged by other writers more conversant by study and profession with the question before him; men with no disputed physiological theories to advance; men founding their statements upon the proved results of long, and anxious examination and of every authority worthy of consideration.

Upon the question of Prison Discipline, no man living is worthy of attention before the Rev. John Field, Chaplain of the Berkshire Gaol. Devoting his attention and his great ability to this important question, his claims upon our notice are three-fold, for he addresses us as a Christian, as a patriot, and

as a scholar; and the services done by him in inculcating correct notions on the various topics of his works—*Prison Discipline, The Life of John Howard, University and other Sermons*, and in his paper on Prison Discipline in the second series of *Meliora*, have been more than equalled by the publication, during the past quarter, of his pamphlet—*Observations on the Management of Convicts, and on Tickets-of-leave: with Remarks, in an Appendix, on the More Speedy Trial and Punishment of Larceny in Certain Cases.*

Mr. Toots, in *Dombey and Son*, was not more perplexed, when asked by the dancing-master of political and economic tastes—"What are we to do with our raw material?" than is the British Legislator when asked, "what are we to do with our Convicts?" To supply the answer to this question is the aim of Mr. Field's pamphlet—and he considers that our convicts are easily dealt with, and may in most cases be reformed, by a carefully conducted separate imprisonment, for periods of not less than twelve months duration. What separate imprisonment is, all readers of THE IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW know, as we have frequently referred to, and quoted from, the admirable works of our good friends, the Rev. Mr. Field, and the Rev. Mr. Kingsmill: devoted to this subject, and to the elucidation of the Convict System, a paper appeared in our last number.

Mr. Field, in his pamphlet, objects to our present system of Convict treatment, because it contains two prominent evils, 1st, the term of the convict's separate confinement is insufficient: 2nd, the execution of his sentence is rendered uncertain, and so dependent upon circumstances as to prevent permanent reformation.

We presume that few who read this Record are ignorant of the arguments in favor of, and of the great authority due to the opinions of those who advocate the system: Mr. Field shortly refers to them, and justly objects to a rule which condemns one guilty of perhaps a first offence, to twelve months separate confinement, and yet sentences the convict grown hardened in crime, and rendered careless of imprisonment through a series of committals, to but nine months separation before he joins the penal labor ranks. All these objections are urged with Mr. Field's well known ability; and he, with equal force, objects to the plan of liberating a convict, for good conduct, before his full term of punishment shall have expired. He asserts that we sentence men, and that the convicts know

it, for a period of ten years, and liberate them at the end of six years if their conduct shall appear to entitle them to this clemency. This, he says, is tantamount to telling the prisoner that the law compels the judge to sentence for this period of ten years, but a slur is cast upon the law by the fact that the prisoner knows that five or six years of reasonably good conduct will secure him his liberation, because, in effect, the prisoners know that either by reformation or by hypocrisy, they can, by our present code, secure their pardon earlier. For Mr. Field's arguments in support of his views, and for his indisputable authorities and proofs, we refer the reader to the pamphlet, as published by Longman; but Mr. Field's remedies for checking, if possible, these evils are as follows :—

“That the first and second of these proposals would occasion some considerable outlay in providing the required places of confinement, &c., may be conceded, although the moveable prisons designed by Col. Jebb greatly reduce the expence; whilst his valuable reports show that, as respects the second stage of the convicts' treatment, the cost of maintenance may be repaid by their labour in the cultivation of waste lands, or in the construction of important works. The provision now required ought, however, to have been long since made, and it is both the duty and the interest of the nation to effect it without delay. It would be easy to prove the economy of a really corrective system of penal discipline, whatever cost might be at first incurred; and, on the other hand, it would be difficult to exaggerate the loss sustained by adhering to plans which are inefficient. In other pages, I have shown the truth of these remarks, whilst more able writers have confirmed them.” But, we have much reason to hope from a Christian nation, that an enlarged philanthropy and a consciousness of obligation, will ere long effect that which self-interest has failed to accomplish. Only let these feelings be aroused, and the country which in recent days consecrated millions to the manumission of its colonial slaves, and now devotes millions more to prevent oppression, and to maintain the rights of a comparatively helpless ally, will feel impelled alike by charity and justice to provide ample means by which those whom it condemns to servitude, however deservedly penal, may be rescued or released from a far more baneful slavery—the thralldom of vice and the wretched bondage of habitual crime.

Lastly, as respects the disposal of our convicts when the appointed term of correction has expired. Now, although our colonists in general cannot or will not receive them, yet the inhabitants of Western Australia are not merely willing, but wishing for the immigration of about one-third of the number who in England and

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“\* See article in last No. (CCIV.) of *Edin. Rev.*; also last two Nos. (XV. XVI.) of *Irish Quarterly Review.*”

Wales are annually sentenced either to penal servitude or transportation. Supposing then their desire to be granted, we have still to provide every year for about 1500. To banish these men and form a colony of such exclusively is too objectionable to be contemplated, whilst both justice and mercy forbid us to force them on colonists who refuse them a welcome. Are we then driven to the disastrous alternative of sending them back to their former haunts, and of subjecting them to renewed temptations under circumstances most adverse to their welfare? That the majority having been under the discipline proposed, would, when discharged at the completion of their sentence, be really *reformed*, I entertain no doubt. But that their reformation would in this case be short-lived I feel equally confident. More than this. Although I trust that many of those convicts, by God's blessing on means of his appointment, would have been truly converted from the error of their ways and have become sincere Christians, still what presumption would be implied in looking for steadfastness in such recent converts, if they are compelled to revisit and dwell amidst scenes which present at every turn some retrospect of licentious pleasure, and are as constantly suggestive of vice; and if, whilst thus surrounded with allurement, they are suddenly exposed to the seductive wiles of former wicked associates, rendered more dangerous by the chilling contempt and distrust of better men. This must not be. The convict's return to his former home and his renewed intercourse with old connections, instead of being promoted, must as much as possible be prevented.

Assuming then that a change of character has been effected, it will be invariably accompanied by a sense of shame, with the creation or revival of some self-respect. Hence there must be a desire to shun and escape from those places and persons that can only remind the liberated convict of guilt and degradation. Let this feeling be excited and fostered from the first day of his corrective discipline, and when he is released, it will commonly be so confirmed and powerful, that he will suffer almost any privation and endure hardship, rather than encounter scorn, or be regarded with that suspicion which must attach to him amongst those acquainted with his antecedent life. There may be a few cases in which some circumstances connected with the family of the criminal would incline him to return home, and perhaps tend to prevent his relapse; and to these rare exceptions it might be permitted with safety. But, in general, if, after dissuasion, the convict be determined to return to former associations, that resolution of itself might well be deemed to indicate the absence of reformation, and the probability of his recurrence to a course of crime. In the case, then, of these, so far from presenting a gratuity, or discouraging any vigilance of the police, let the former be entirely withheld, and every footstep of men so unpromising and wayward be, as much as possible, watched. This is required alike by their own perverseness and for the protection of others.

Such regulations of course presuppose and necessarily involve a provision either for the convict's *emigration*, or for his employment somewhere in this country, until his lost character shall have been redeemed. And if the well-being of these expirers and the safety of

society demand these measures, the question arises,—how shall such provision be made consistently with national honour, and, whilst most effectively, with least expense?

It must then be remembered that we are now treating of men who, having satisfied the full claims of law, have expiated their crime, and are in every respect free,—of men, too, who, their vicious propensities having been corrected, and themselves instructed and well trained, will be found—as experience may warrant my affirming—superior as a class to the average of either those untaught rustic labourers or discontented artisans of whom our emigrants are chiefly composed. Hence it follows that, although the importation of any whilst under a penal sentence, or who may have been exiled as a condition of pardon, might prove injurious to our colonists, and perhaps violate a promise, yet no such objections can be alleged concerning the persons of whom we now speak. They, when liberated, have as much right as the most innocent to choose in what land they will thenceforth live. But whatever energies may have been expended during their servitude, and however much advantage therefrom the state may have derived, they can *claim* no recompence for their 'convict labour'. The term 'gratuity,' which I adopt, implies this, whilst 'wages and earnings' must be protested against as words inappropriate. If the *hope* of obtaining this animate the prisoner, by all means let him have that hope. And since generosity, when preventive of evil and conducive to the public welfare, is a national virtue, let it be exercised in forgiving the crime, cancelling the stigma, and *even by conceding the gratuity proposed*. But let the last be done with care, that its expenditure be directed in a profitable channel. Now, supposing the sums at present awarded to be continued through the appointed term of punishment, they will, on the convict's release, have accumulated to an amount more than sufficient for him to pay his passage to one of our most distant dependencies. To this purpose, then, let the required part be devoted, and let the surplus be credited to the emigrant, to be received by him in whatever colony he may choose to settle.

But it may be desirable to afford some choice to men whom we can no longer compel, and although there can be little doubt that the very large majority of our expirees would gladly emigrate under the conditions which have been suggested, still their return to the locality of their crimes need not be, in every instance, the alternative. Large tracts of our land still lie uncultivated, our public works do not yet correspond with the opulence, intelligence, and high character of our country, and some handicrafts are constantly required to supply Government stores. Surely, then, it would be well to prevent the relapse of those liberated who will remain amongst us, by providing employment from these sources, offering adequate compensation, with means of comfort and continued improvement, until a character shall be obtained—not merely for good conduct as convicts but—for industry, honesty, and correct demeanour whilst free and unrestrained. This arrangement would afford a way for the gradual and more safe return to the world's temptations; masters of a more respectable class would, after a time, employ those who

should be recommended; and instead of a gratuity given when the term of penal servitude shall have expired, let a small sum be thenceforth deposited weekly as an addition to wages, until—as a general rule—about two years have elapsed, when it might be well-bestowed, and would be either properly expended, or, perhaps, form the nucleus to which savings might be added. Thus, without being abused, as at present, the gratuity would prove in many respects a permanent benefit.”

We have reason to state that a Bill will be introduced into Parliament during the present Session, by an English County Member, for the purpose of securing the more speedy trial and punishment of Larceny in certain cases. We sincerely trust that the provisions of the Bill, when it shall have become an Act of Parliament, may not, like the *Youthful Offenders' Act*, be concluded by the clause confining its operation to Great Britain. There is no lawyer attending our Irish Circuits, who has not felt regret that the public money should be wasted in the prosecution, and the valuable time of jurors squandered in the trial of petty cases, much more suitable for the Petty Sessions, or at all events, in the very highest class of such cases, to the Quarter Sessions. Referring to such cases as these, and to the effect of the Bill to which we have referred, Mr. Field writes :—

“Without in the least undervaluing that trial by jury which has been well termed the bulwark of our liberties, or desiring that any really innocent person, if charged with crime, be deprived of an appeal to his peers, should he even suspect that either prejudice or incapacity endanger his freedom, yet it may be assumed that none who have witnessed the uprightness and discrimination with which justice is administered towards the less heinous offenders in our Courts of Petty Sessions, will doubt the propriety of extending their jurisdiction, at any rate so far as to include all offences which do not exceed in their nature and consequences those at present determined in such courts. That a measure of this kind is required in order to remove some judicial anomalies which reason, equity, and economy condemn, a single illustration may suffice to show. How incongruous is it, that whereas a criminal who has stolen a sack of growing potatoes from a field can be summarily convicted at a trifling cost, and, perhaps, imprisoned for a month, on the other hand, one who has pilfered but a tenth of that quantity from a garden, a stall, or a shop, may be committed to gaol for, possibly, three months, and then prosecuted at ten times additional expense.

Many plausible, and some even sound, arguments, may be advanced in support of a principle which, with men who witness its practical effects, will have little influence, or their weight

may be entirely counterbalanced by an alternative. It may be proper to allege that injury may result, and has resulted, from the mistaken judgment of two or three persons, and the consequent conviction and punishment of an innocent party. But without insisting on the fact that jurymen—more numerous, indeed, but less educated and intelligent—are as likely to return erroneous verdicts, we may well believe that, whilst instances of wrong convictions at our Petty Sessions are rare at present, they would be still less frequent when a consciousness of greater responsibility would be produced in the mind of those invested with extended authority. Let us also mark the effect of withholding this jurisdiction, and we shall see that injury to an equal amount is occasioned. The authority to commit for trial is, and must be entrusted to the magistracy—the warrant of even one being sufficient;—and whereas this is now exercised in cases of suspicion, or *primâ facie* guilt, to the detriment of every prisoner who subsequently is found not guilty, that injury would be prevented by the measure proposed, since the signature of two justices would, it is presumed, be required, and much more conclusive evidence would be demanded for the conviction than for the committal of a person charged with crime. Hence, the stigma of such committal, which no subsequent acquittal serves entirely to efface, and the infamy consequent upon arraignment at the felon's bar, which long survives the culprit's release, would both be prevented.

But my object in this Appendix is not so much to advocate the proposed measure itself—advantageous as, I trust, it would prove—as to deprecate those ineffectual punishments which are too commonly awarded on summary convictions. I have often endeavoured to show by arguments, statistical returns, and other evidence, that imprisonments, the duration of which is too short to afford means of correction, must tend to increase the number and atrocity of crimes,\* and without repeating proofs of this, I claim the reader's permission to insert a paragraph from a recent publication in which I suggested what appears to be the only remedy for a practice so pregnant with disastrous consequences:—‘We earnestly pray that short terms of imprisonment may never be imposed, believing that, in most cases, less evil would result if for the first, or even the second trifling offence, pardon were granted, rather than ineffectual punishment inflicted. We are assured that if punishment does not amend it must demoralise. . . . But whilst deprecating a sentence to short imprisonment, even under favourable circumstances, we do not, for a first offence, advocate an *unconditional* pardon, and consequent impunity; although if that were the alternative, the tendency would often be less mischievous, both to society and the offender. We may, however, affirm that the encouragement to crime, which the exemption from punishment commonly affords, would be as effectually prevented, and the greater evil of imposing such a measure as, whilst inadequate for correction, must inevitably degrade, would be likewise avoided, if,

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\* “Prison Discipline, in vol. i. 96.; ii. 166. 497. *et seq.*”

upon the first conviction of many delinquents and misdemeanants (or those convicted of certain larcenies) the offence were recorded but the penalty suspended—to be, however, inflicted in a cumulative manner and degree, if the offender became again amenable to the claims of law. This would be only an extension of the principle and adaptation of the practice now pursued in our criminal courts, where, upon a felon being found guilty, a previous conviction is proved and an aggravated penalty awarded; the only difference being, that the offender in the case proposed would be destitute of that apology for his reappearance at the bar which a former sentence to a short and inefficient term of imprisonment may not unfrequently afford. Nor must the observation be withheld, that if the learned judges and other magistrates of our land were as well acquainted with the operation and effect of the punishments decreed as they are familiar with jurisprudence and the provisions of our penal code, that discretionary power, with which they are so properly invested, whereby many inequalities of the law are adjusted and equity promoted, would be still further exercised; and, at all events, in the judgment pronounced upon convicts, that which is now alleged as an aggravation of guilt, would be often rather regarded as an extenuation of the crime. Upon a first conviction the circumstances sometimes indicate that the character is not depraved, and are thought to justify a mitigated penalty, and one is accordingly inflicted—short in its duration, therefore insufficient for improvement—light, perhaps, in its nature, but lasting in its degradation. And to what can the re-conviction with so much reason be ascribed as to a previous imprisonment, which deprived the convict of self-respect and of reputation; and having despoiled him of these occasional safeguards of honesty, gave additional power to temptation when again presented, whilst it afforded no opportunity for that correctional discipline by which the offender might have been restored, and his relapse prevented. The law then provides a more severe punishment for consequences of which it has been itself the cause.' "†

The *Report* of Lieutenant-Col. Jebb, is not so depressing as one might suppose from the frequent paragraphs appearing in the newspapers, recording the outrages committed by convicts liberated on tickets-of-leave. It is stated, by Colonel Jebb, that 944 prisoners were released from 8th October, 1853, to 27th June 1854, and that of these, only 4 licences have been revoked. He contends that if 80, or 75 per cent. of such persons as our convicts exist by honest means after liberation, it would leave no cause of alarm. He adds, that such men as these, when first set free, after a long, forced abstinence from tobacco and spirits, may, by analogy with the army and navy,

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† "Hints on Imprisonment and Penal Labour in Meliara, Second Series. Edited by Viscount Ingestre."



be excused for excesses. With regard to relapses, he states that of the lesser criminals, amounting to 7,436, confined during the year in Tothill Fields prison, 4,086 were recommitments—therefore, we should, in "common justice," consider such figures as these before passing judgment upon the ticket-of-leave system. He concludes by stating, "the true test will be the number of licences revoked for infraction of the conditions, many of which are not cognizable by law, and the number of men on licence who are recommitted to prison for fresh offences of a very grave character."

Secondly, he contends that the system of making the period of release, during the term of punishment, dependent upon the good conduct of the prisoner, is of the chiefest importance, as it keeps alive that strongest incentive to reformation, at all events to its appearance, hope. In this he is fully supported by the evidence of the Reports of the Governor and Chaplain of Parkhurst Prison. The Governor writes, that when the boys believed last year that no tickets of leave were to be granted, they were restless and dissatisfied. On this point he adds:—

"This disadvantage kept the better inclined lads under the depressing influence of continually disappointed hopes, and afforded to the vicious and ill-disposed a plausible ground for taunting and discouraging their better behaved comrades, to whom they would sarcastically remark—'Where is the use of striving to do well; you may just as well go on as we do, for you will not get your liberty any sooner by good conduct?' As boys are always ready credulously to receive and to yield themselves to the influence of statements made by their comrades, it could not be a subject of wonder that some who had striven zealously and resolutely for a considerable time to behave well in the midst of temptation, opposition, and scoffing from depraved associates, became at length disheartened, and, seeing no near prospect of release from prison, relaxed in their efforts to maintain uniformly and constantly a high standard of good conduct. This was remarkably the case during the summer months, from May to September, the season when boys have generally been embarked in former years with tickets-of leave for the Colonies. The disappointment and consequent restlessness of the prisoners then involved an increase of the reports for misconduct beyond the average number. When it became known in November, that boys selected in former years with tickets-of leave for the Colonies, would be liberated in England, the opening this gate of hope produced a great and immediate diminution of the number of irregularities and transgressions of the rules."

This statement, it will be perceived, is not in support of the principle of unchanging sentences, as advocated by Mr. Field ;

but then it may be objected, that not one of those boys had been treated as Mr. Field contends all prisoners should be treated; and that in fact not one of these convicts thus acting was fit to be released, and we will not deny the perfect truth and justice of the objection.

A very valued friend, in writing to us of Mr. Field's pamphlet, observes—

“He is right in opposing short imprisonments, which give no time for assured reformation, but he is wrong in considering that a fixed time is desirable, because it evidently takes away a great spur to improvement. Again, he is right in drawing the distinction between a good prisoner and a good man, but he is wrong in confounding the characters of each. By a good prisoner I understand a man who falls into the routine of prison life with facility, is obedient to its rules, outwardly submissive, and who performs the not over difficult tasks which are usually the only ones imposed upon him, to the satisfaction of the officers, and lastly, who cultivates the good opinion of the Chaplain by expertness in all that belongs to ritual, and by somewhat of exuberance in all that belongs to religious profession. A good man is another creature. His desires are changed and his habits have conformed themselves to this reformation in the inner man, and above all, he has acquired the power of self-control, in short he has, attained to the resolution and to the ability of self-support and self-government. Now this conquest is not to be made without hard fighting against counteracting motives. The means of acquiring good habits must be given to him, and above all habits that of industry. He must therefore enjoy the opportunity of daily labour in some useful avocation which he may turn to account after he shall regain his liberty. He must have some freedom of action even in gaol, or how is he to learn the art of self-government, and when the means for reforming his habits have thus been given to him, the stimulus must also be furnished, and none other is so powerful on the human mind as the panting after the outside of the gaol. Let him then work his way out, that is, let his industry move him forwards while his failures from time to time in his duties of economy, restraint of temper, &c., make him fall from time to time backwards; and when I say that he is to work himself out, I mean that the gate is to be opened to him when the balance of his gains over his losses has arisen to a certain height.”

Having given Mr. Field's opinions at full length, and agreeing as they do, in many points with our own, we have thought it right to insert such opposite, or dissenting opinions as have reached us. We must, however, admit, that on each side much may be written, and if hope is to be kept alive, and the period of punishment is to be shortened—provided convicts shall conduct themselves well, it is of very great importance that they shall not, by that hypocritical observance of all that can please the prison authorities, obtain pardon by a seeming reformation, that

is, that they shall not be pardoned as "good men," when only good prisoners. The whole difficulty lies in this last indicated question—How am I to know the reformed MAN? And beyond all doubt Mr. Field's plan will, at the expiration of the sentence send forth, if any human beings can do it, reformed men; but then many of these may have been reformed long before the completion of the period for which they were originally sentenced; and thus it will come to pass that what Mr. Recorder Hill has called "a waste of human suffering" is incurred, and the first fruits of repentance may wither because neglected. In fact the whole question resolves itself into this—Our Convicts are to be reformed—there are two systems pursued, the first that of strict, stern justice; the second one of justice, and of discrimination,—the first may lead to despairing impenitence, the second to presumptuous hypocrisy. On both sides there are difficulties—we but record opinion and facts.

But, it may very reasonably be asked—is Ireland attempting nothing in the good cause of Reformatory Schools and of the amendment of Prison Discipline? Truly she is, but entirely through government agency.

We have now three Commissioners of Convict Prisons, most earnest and active in all the duties of their important Commission, and in none more than in the Reformation of Juvenile Offenders, in the reclaiming of "The City Arab." It is as yet too soon to write of these things, but before three months shall have passed, a system will have been organized, placing the whole management of Juvenile Convicts on a safe and reasonable basis. "To quote facts and figures now, in support of the Reformatory System, or the Separate System," said an Irish Commissioner to us a few days since, "is a waste of time, paper, and words, the systems are proved and admitted, we want only the men with wills."\*

There are, however, certain Boards of Commissioners in Ireland, possessing almost unlimited power, who can aid us effectually; and, chief, and first, and most powerful of these is The Poor Law Commission Board. With officers trained, with clever and experienced Inspectors, with buildings in all parts of Ireland admirably adapted for such schools as those we claim, the Poor Law Unions of Ireland are precisely calculated for the formation of Districts for Reformatory School purposes. The evidence of Mr. Corry Connellan, and of Mr. Senior, as quoted

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\* See post, p. lx.

in our last Record, and of Lieut. Col. Jebb, as quoted in the present, all show how much can be effected by the co-operation of the Poor Law Guardians and of the Poor Law Commissioners. Make the Unions subject to the support of all criminal juveniles whose parents cannot be responsible; pass, for this country, a stringent Vagrant Law, and let all children who live by begging be considered criminals of the lightest class, and send them by force of positive law to workhouses, if we cannot have Reformatories—for young persons. This will be a revolution in our system, it may be at the outset a source of increased expense, but it will be in the future, a saving of moral waste, a saving of vast sums to the counties and to the Unions. The excellent system of juvenile training carried out in the Mountjoy prison, under the inspection of Captains Knight, Crofton, and of that esteemed gentleman, Mr. Lentaigue, forms a most admirable model for all our county prisons, and for our Poor Law Union Boards. However, until our system of convict support is assimilated to that of England, where every convicted prisoner is paid for out of the Consolidated Fund, all the efforts of the Commissioners of Convict prisons must be cramped, confined, and thwarted. We most earnestly hope that this condition of affairs may not continue; with enlightened Commissioners, untainted by theories or by crotchets, it is pitiable to reflect that these, and all who desire to see the Reformatory, and Separate systems carried out in Ireland are driven to attempt these things *as best they can*, unaided by the legislature, and forced to work with gaol governors who are, in most cases, but fitted to be the turnkeys of well conducted prisons, or at best but booking clerks in a parcel office—where to keep all safe, to lose nothing, is the best recommendation.

We are happy in being able to record that, during the quarter, the question of Juvenile Reformation has received very considerable aid from the Irish newspaper press. Most of the English reports of meetings on the subject have been condensed in *Saunders' Newsletter*, and in the provinces, several journals have explained the objects of the movement. Amongst these we would particularly name *The Tipperary Free Press*, which has devoted several "leaders," to the advocacy of the question, and which will, we hope, be continued; and at a recent Meeting of the Clonmel Literary Society, attended by several of the most influential inhabitants of that important town, the capital of the great county Tipperary, a

most able, eloquent, and important essay, on the Treatment of Juvenile Criminals, was read by Mr. William Hackett, Barrister-at-Law : and more recently, the Sources of Crime were taken as the subject of debate. On both occasions the deepest interest was evinced in these topics by the members of the Society. These are cheering facts, and the example set by the Clonmel Literary Society is worthy the notice and imitation of more pretentious towns, such as Cork, Belfast, Limerick, and above all, Dublin. We do not contend that the inhabitants of these cities should become practical philanthropists individually—but we do contend for all expressed by Mr. Hackett, when he said :—

“I do not desire to argue that each of you should be called upon to bestow personal exertion in the prevention or reformation of juvenile crime, but I do wish that you should contribute towards creating public opinion on the subject—that you should exhibit the deep conviction which a community entertains, that there is an urgent necessity for legislation—wisely and prudently devised—to meet and stem the torrent, which even amongst ourselves, is daily swelling, to the prejudice of social order, and to the detriment of the character of our country and its people.”

Towards the close of this quarter, many excellent publications were placed before us, all supporting the Reformatory School Movement. Amongst these we may mention a new fortnightly journal, entitled *The Philanthropist, A Record of Social Amelioration, and Journal of the Charitable Institutions*. We would also record the appearance of an excellent little book, twelfth of the series of Edinburgh Temperance Tracts, entitled *Juvenile Delinquency, the Fruit of Parental Intemperance*, by Miss Carpenter. Although not published as yet, we may record the delivery of a lecture on Mettray, revisited, by Mr. Robert Hall, the Recorder of Doncaster. His recent most severe accident, from which, however, he is now happily recovering, has alone prevented the publication of this lecture ; we hope most sincerely that when Mr. Hall shall be restored to health he will give to the country the results of his visit, and if further proof of the excellence of the Mettray system be needed, it will be found, as we know, in the experiences of Mr. Hall, who unites to a genuine christian philanthropy all the advantages to be derived from a sound and logical understanding, and from rare powers of earnest investigation and never-tiring personal examination.

Mr. Recorder Hill, has, however, come forward at the close of this quarter, as he came forward at its commencement, the advocate of Mettray and of its training. In the February number of that most able quarterly, *The Law Review*, he addressed a most admirable letter\* to Mr. C. B. Adderley, M. P., explaining the vast benefits conferred upon France by Mettray, and urging upon Mr. Adderley the importance of keeping continually in view the adaptability of most of the Mettray rules to English Reformatories. And when one comes to read this letter, to contemplate the great good done by Mettray to France; the noble characters of those who designed it, and who carried out every principle; the never-flagging zeal, the whole heart devotion, the glorious faith of M. Demetz, he wonders that, for the glory of France, for the pride of having produced so noble an institution, the *subvention* is not doubled, as a matter of national honor—or of national foresight—if the nobler feeling cannot prevail.

Mr. Hill commences his letter by stating to Mr. Adderley, that he addresses him as the leader of the Reformatory Movement, in Parliament, and in the country, and chiefly for the purpose of urging,—

“The great advantage which would arise from every person who is called upon to act an important part in such an enterprise, repairing to Mettray, not merely for a visit of an hour or two, but with the intention of studying the subject of his inquiries fully and completely; and on the spot at which he will find in successful action, almost every expedient hitherto devised to secure genuine and permanent reformation.

The *Colonie*, as it is called, is placed in a rural district, about five miles from Tours, which city is connected with Paris by railway. Mettray then may be reached from the capital by a day's journey, and the traveller will find a convenient hotel close at hand.

In the surviving founder, M. De Metz, he will discover a sufficient explanation of the high excellence which Mettray has attained. He can scarcely be long in the society of that extraordinary person without seeing that he is urged on by a philanthropy so intense as to have become a passion, which might be as injurious as it is beneficial, were it not under the dominion of the soundest judgment.

“The inquirer will soon perceive that M. De Metz is not the man to rest satisfied with simply gaining the affections of his lads. Permanent reformation is not an affair of sentiment alone, even when that sentiment is founded on Christian impressions, but one

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\* Since published in pamphlet form by Cash, London, price 3d.

of Christian sentiment enlightened by knowledge and confirmed by habit, and above all habits, by that of industry. Here, again, the inquirer will have much to observe—how many motives are brought into operation at Mettray to promote good habits of conduct! First, the selfish interests are appealed to as those which operate upon all, from the lowest in moral condition to the highest. Good conduct is of course rewarded and its opposite punished. There is nothing new in a resort to these principles; it is made everywhere: nevertheless much may be learned in studying their skilful application at Mettray. But Mettray would be very inferior to what it is were the selfish interests alone regarded. Let the inquirer mark the constant appeal to the highest feelings, temporal as well as eternal. I would speak here of the social interests and their cultivation. The five or six hundred youths at Mettray, while they form one community, are, as it is known, divided into many families, the members of each family having, to a great extent, common interests. For instance, every week an account is taken in order to ascertain which family has best obeyed the laws and caught the spirit of the *colonie*—in short, which family has been the best citizens of the little commonwealth. And the most deserving family is honoured with some appropriate reward, say the possession of the colonial banner—a distinction highly prized, as might be expected, by the youth of a gallant and sensitive people. I must here pause for a moment to guard myself against being supposed to hold up every expedient at Mettray as fitted for importation into England. These expedients were devised by Frenchmen, and are adapted with exquisite skill to the peculiarities of the French character. We must look to the principle, and seek out English equivalents to bring it into action at home. Nothing is so sure of failure as mere servile copying. The musician Paganini was observed by his brother artists to draw wonderful tones from his violin by means of a bow, which having been fractured was repaired with a splicing of green silk thread; and his rivals were some of them accused of breaking their bows wilfully for the purpose of tying them up again after the exact fashion of Paganini (green silk and all), in the fallacious hope of obtaining a similar command over their instruments. By the arrangement of which I was speaking, strong social feelings are brought into play. Each lad is conscious that default on his part will not only bring ill consequences on himself, but on his family; while on their side his brethren have strong motives, by watchfulness, exhortation, and above all by example, to keep him in the right path. My time, and your patience, would both be exhausted long before I could enumerate a tithe of the admirable appliances of one kind or other which may be witnessed in operation at Mettray. The result is, that every variety of mind is wrought upon by every variety of good motive, none of them violent in their action, but none of them for a moment relaxing their influence. Thus the habits of an idle and vagabond life are gradually changed into those of settled industry, and an amount of labour (profitable labour be it remembered) is thus got out of the lads which would be yielded

to no amount of severity,—labour, too, full of pleasant associations, and gradually producing habits which secure the crowning result,—permanent reformation. Now this permanent reformation, as regards the proportion of youths attaining it, rises to a height far beyond what I myself, or, as I believe, any one of us ever dreamed of in our most sanguine moments. Ninety per cent. of the *colonie* become honest and useful members of society, and with regard to the ten per cent., their conduct is generally much better than could reasonably have been expected but for the effects produced upon them at Mettray.\* And this brings me to the question, how are those facts ascertained? Because it was during the investigation to which this inquiry so naturally leads that my intense admiration of the *colonie* had its main growth. I was taken by one of the able and exemplary young men who form the staff of teachers at Mettray, into their *comptabilité*, and there I was permitted to examine a system of accounts perfectly marvellous, for the detailed information they gave of everything done in the *colonie*. Each lad's history—I might almost say diary—was recorded and preserved. Each youth when he quits Mettray is put under the care of a patron—some benevolent person residing near the employer to whom the quondam *colonist* is consigned. This patron reports periodically on the character of his ward, and thus the institution exercises a superintendence over its former members, extending through many years, and registers their conduct. Such a provision for the discovery of failures struck me as implying, first, a thorough knowledge on the part of the conductors as to what is the true test of the genuine success of an institution of this nature; and, secondly, an earnest desire that their own institution should gain no reputation but what it righteously deserved. Let me avow that I recognise in this admirable provision a moral tone in the conduct of affairs, which some experience teaches me to believe is not of every-day occurrence.

But I must bring these remarks to a close. I feel at this moment, somewhat painfully, how impossible it is to convey by words (impossible to me, at least), an adequate conception of the knowledge to be obtained by a visit to Mettray; and, above all knowledge, those impressions upon the mind and the affections (which, whether the metaphysicians would call them knowledge or not) are invaluable to the possessor. But the more difficult the task of transferring these results from head to head by the tongue or the pen, so much the more important is it that the inquirer should see, hear, and feel for himself. Again, Mettray has now a history. It is fifteen years old,—an ample space of time to submit all results to the full test of experience. No similar institution in England now existing has gone through the same ordeal. Stretton-on-Dunsmore has closed its useful life, and has passed

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\* “By the report of the ‘Glasgow House of Refuge for Boys,’ for the year 1854, just published, I learn that the results of that admirable institution are most gratifying: and yet it suffers for want of funds!’ See this Report, ante. ED.



away, to my deep concern and mortification. The fall of any one reformatory establishment, for whatever reason, is a 'heavy blow and a great discouragement' to us. Every fact which requires to be explained away, is a sad obstacle to the spread of new opinions. We have only to reflect for a moment upon the shock which every existing institution among us and every one struggling into birth, would receive by the closing of Mettray, were such an event possible, to feel how it behoves us to labour, in season and out of season, to guard against any one of our home experiments turning out unsuccessful. And unsuccessful some of them must be, unless the founders and conductors imbue themselves far more deeply than they have hitherto done with sound reformatory principles; and unless, too, they obtain far greater familiarity than they at present possess, with the expedients which have been devised in various countries for accomplishing the great and most difficult object before them. No Mahomedan believes more devoutly in the efficacy of a pilgrimage to Mecca, than I do in one to Mettray."

These observations from one so fully informed upon the Reformatory question as Mr. Hill, are of the very greatest importance, not alone to all friends of the movement in those Kingdoms, but likewise in France. They show how highly one most capable of judging values the institution; they show to opponents, open and covert, that Mr. Hill values the system, solely and entirely because it is successful, having neither crotchets nor theories of his own to support.

Mettray and M. Demetz, naturally suggest the name of Mr. Nash and the London Colonial Training Institution and Ragged Dormitory. We have already\* given, at length, the history and position of this English city-Mettray. We refer to the institution now, as, during the quarter, January 31st, a meeting was held in the lecture-room of the Institution, for the purpose of taking leave of a number of the inmates, about to emigrate to America. The Earl of Shaftesbury, the President, occupied the chair, and the assembly was addressed by the Chairman, by Mr. Nash, the Hon. A. Kinnaird, Mr. Wood, Rev. Mr. White, and Mr. Vere Foster. One of the emigrants returned thanks for the benefits extended to him and to his fellow emigrants by the Institution; and the "Sanctu," led by the organ, was sung, followed by "God save the Queen," with hearty cheering between each verse.†

The success crowning Mr. Nash's efforts, suggests the great

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\* See "IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW," Vol. IV. No. 14, Art. "Reformatory and Ragged Schools."

† See "The Philanthropist," No. 2. p. 28.

importance of commencing all private Reformatories with only a small number of pupils : thus it was that the Count Von der Recke commenced at Dusselthal ; thus Wicheren at the Rauh Haus ; thus Mr. Ellis, now master of Saltley, commenced. Mr. Ellis, writes a contributor to *The Philanthropist*, was "a shoemaker residing in Albany St., Regent's Park, who, under the impulse of religious feeling for the unfortunate, took a number of delinquents under his care for the purpose of reforming them. Four years ago he began with two, to whom he assigned certain rations. The first movement was an act of self-denial on their part. In order to secure the admission of a companion, who could not otherwise be provided for, they agreed that their rations should be divided with him ; and on these terms he was admitted. Soon after the number was increased to fifteen, and with this number Mr. Ellis continued most successfully. The boys were most industrious, and only one was guilty of any offence ;" and having brought his little Reformatory to this perfection, the London shoemaker, (worthy to be the brother tradesman of John Pounds, the Portsmouth cobbler, and the founder of the first industrial feeding school,) was induced, by Mr. Adderley, to accept the Mastership of Saltley.

These facts all prove the necessity for beginning Reformatory Schools with small numbers of pupils ; and to this subject Mr. Recorder Hill, in his letter to Lord Brougham, adverted, urging the point most strongly. This portion of the letter attracted the attention of a philanthropic and excellent gentleman, Mr. Archibald Prentice, of Manchester, who wrote the following admirable letter to a friend, and as it contains an interesting account of a Reformatory established more than thirty years ago, we have obtained permission to insert it here :—

" *Town Hall, Manchester, 23rd January, 1855.*

SIR,

In Mr. Hill's letter to Lord Brougham, he adverts to the necessity of admitting pupils slowly into the reformatory schools.

In 1824, I became a journalist. I had occasion sometimes to attend the magistrates' courts, and my heart was pained to see the difficulty of dealing with juvenile delinquents.

In 1827, I accompanied the late Lady Carnegie, to see a school she had established in Edinburgh. Previously one had been opened for some thirty, or forty 'City Arabs.' *They were all bad to start with,* and their congregation only made them worse. They broke-out of their house in the night, and robbed all their neighbourhood. The scheme was abandoned. Lady Carnegie had more sense than to give

up a thing because it was difficult. she found one lad and put him under the care of a shoe-maker, who had been a soldier—a pious man. The boy soon began to like his employment and the conversation of his teacher. Another boy was then introduced, who had *two teachers*, the master and the boy first admitted. In a short time a third was introduced with happy effect. New pupils *then came into a pure moral atmosphere*. The school existed some years, and some of the boys had been sent out into the world and did well. When I came home I wrote upon the matter, in my newspaper, and some half-dozen gentlemen offered to subscribe £100 each, to make a trial in this *family way*. But one of them was a magistrate and he mentioned the matter at the sessions. Four magistrates and the Chaplain of the Gaol were appointed to carry the thing out. But they wanted a *great reformatory school*, and could not agree how to go about it, and thus never did anything.

One instance will show the effect of the *tone* of the school. A boy was introduced who in the absence of the shoe-maker, swore and used slang language. One of the boys said, 'we cannot have that here. We are here to become better boys. It would be using the kind folks very ill if we did not try to behave ourselves.'

The old man delighted greatly in his pupils, and they loved and respected him. He had what you call 'a mysterious power over the young.' He was *able* to teach, but what was more, he was *apt* to teach. It was his *mission*—such teachers are not made but born. No *system* can produce them.

With these views I rejoice to see your opinions as to the necessity of beginning with few pupils.

I am respectfully, Sir,  
Your obedient Servant,  
A. PRENTICE.

P. S. The school attracted little notice and gained no support, and at Lady Carnegie's death it was closed."

In our last Quarterly Record we referred to the Bristol Ragged School known as St. James's Back—and from the Eighth Annual Report, now before us, we learn that—

"The opinion of the Committee with regard to the School, is confirmed by that of Joseph Bowstead, Esq., Her Majesty's Inspector. At the Spring examination he expressed his approbation of the state of the School, and his desire to aid the efforts of the Committee, especially in obtaining assistance from the Committee of council on Education, more suited to the needs of such Schools than can be obtained under the existing minutes. The subject of stipendiary monitors was brought under his notice, and the draft of a memorial to the Committee of Council, prepared by Miss Carpenter, was submitted to him. He entirely approved the memorial, but urged that it should be presented directly to the Lord President of the Council, if possible. Circumstances have not yet favoured such presentation, but the fit time when it comes will be seized; in watching for which the Committee have the kind and zealous assistance of the treasurer, Mr.

Commissioner Hill. These matters are mentioned here to shew the sense which Mr. Bowstead entertained at once as to the worthiness and need of the School to have further and other aid.

The implied prayer of this memorial for stipendiary monitors will naturally cause enquiry as to the pupil teachers granted by the Committee of Council, at the recommendation of Mr. Bowstead, whether they are found to answer in such a School as ours? It will be remembered that in the Report for 1853, the Committee mentioned their appointment, but said that it had taken place so lately that they were not able to express any opinion as to the success of the experiment, for such they decidedly held it to be. The pupil teachers in the Spring passed their examination, but with warnings as to the necessity, in future, for greater diligence and higher proficiency. Mr. Andrews has, through the year, been taking great pains with them, and devoting more than the stipulated time to them, aided also by Miss Carpenter. Whether they will again succeed in passing such an examination as is required for the second year, under the minutes of the Committee of Council, the Committee will not venture to express an opinion: a short time will bring the matter to actual proof. The Committee wait without anxiety, under the full assurance that no endeavour possible has been wanting, on the part of Mr. Andrews to make the experiment successful. If it should fail, they trust they shall only be stimulated to greater efforts, in some other way, to bring the School up to a continually higher standard. They hope never to be content with thinking that very little and very imperfect teaching and training is all that is needed for such outcasts of civilized life as those who are the objects of their care. To bring what is best to bear influentially upon what is worst, so it be done with due consideration, seems to them in the strictest accordance with the spirit of Him who came, in the fulness of the Divine perfections, to seek and to save that which was lost.

Mr. Andrews is continually sent for to meet the boys coming out of the Bridewell, that they may not at once and certainly fall into their old haunts, companionship, and criminal modes of life. Cases also frequently present themselves at the School, in which, without help and care, children must inevitably be ruined. It is evident that, in all these cases, and numerous others might be adduced, considerable outlay of money has been made, for without that no good could have been done. This money has been supplied by private benevolence, for the Committee have no funds applicable to such purposes.

It is due to Mr. Andrews to say that, in this most important and useful portion of his labours, he has spared himself no trouble, no exertion, no anxiety, no fatigue, that might make his ministration thorough and successful. He has faithfully devoted himself to rescue these unfortunate children from the destruction which threatened them.

In August some of the children of the School enjoyed an excursion to Weston-super-Mare, and were entertained in the Temperance Hall, with the children of the British and Clifton B. S. Union, at Archdeacon Law's expence, which the Committee record with much

gratitude to the Venerable the Archdeacon. They were also much indebted, on the same occasion, to Mr. Jonathan Revel, on whom devolved the kind and active management of the affair, as also for former deeds of kindness and labour in the School.

In October the children were invited to a gratuitous exhibition of his Panorama of American Scenery, by Mr. Friend. Only the children and teachers were present, but Mr. Friend most kindly and patiently explained the whole, to the great delight of his auditors, young and mature. He was pleased also, at the close of the entertainment, to express his great satisfaction with the behaviour of the children.

It will be seen, in the Treasurer's Report, that a considerable sum was obtained for the funds of the School, by a Dramatic Reading, given most readily and generously by George Wightwick, Esq., and at which Charles Knight, Esq., kindly consented to preside. It would be superfluous to say that, independently of the pecuniary advantage to the School, the reading gave very great delight to those who had the happiness to be present, or that the most cordial thanks of the Committee were offered to Mr. Wightwick, for his, in every sense, successful exertions. Their gratitude to both gentlemen is recorded here, with much interest and a pleasing sense of duty.

The Treasurer's Report also records an enlarged grant to the School from the Committee of Council on Education. For this they feel that thanks are due not only to My Lords, and the Lord President of the Council, but also to Joseph Bowstead, Esq., Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools, by whose encouragement the Committee were emboldened to ask for Pupil Teachers, and who kindly presented the Industrial Department of the School in its true and important light. This department has been enlarged during the past year, especially by the training in domestic occupations now given to some of the girls, so that there seems every reason to hope that it will, in the current year, at least, maintain its hold upon their Lordship's approbation.

The dinner on Christmas Day was enjoyed as usual by the children of the Day School, 224 partaking of it; the Evening School of 170 children had a supper of beef and plum pudding on the next night. The daily supply of soup for the winter months is also continued; this and the Christmas treat being provided by Miss Carpenter from donations specially given by friends."

The following table will show the income and expenditure of this most excellent institution which, although nominally only a Ragged School, is as fully and perfectly a Reformatory as many cases inserted in the Report prove. We particularly recommend this table to the notice, and careful attention of our Irish friends who are contemplating the establishment of Ragged Industrial Feeding Schools:—

**Treasurer's Account for 1853—M. D. Hill, Treasurer.**

[illegible]

At page xlix of this Record, we referred to the enlightened and well-informed opinions held by our Irish Commissioners of Convict Prisons, Captains Crofton, Knight, and Mr. Lentaigue, upon the Reformatory Question. We feel very great pleasure in stating, that they have just appointed Mr. Edward M'Gauran, Master of the Andean Free National School, Cumberland-street, South, to the Mastership of the Mountjoy or Philipstown Depots.

We are gratified to find that the Commissioners have elected an Irishman, trained by the Irish Education Commissioners, for this, their first, and most important appointment. It reflects credit on the Board who appointed and on the Board who trained—and those who have read the *Reports* on the Andrean School, drawn up by Mr. M'Gauran, and printed at length, in THE IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, in the paper on "Reformatory and Ragged Schools," Vol. IV., No. 14, p. 424, and in "The Record," Vol. IV., No. 16, will fully understand that the appointment is one most worthy and creditable, the appointee being quite up to the mark of him whom Mr. Prentice\* described, when he wrote of the teacher in Lady Carnegie's School—"He was *able* to teach, but what was more, he was *apt* to teach. It was his *mission*—such teachers are not made but born. No system can produce

\* See ante p. lvii.

them." Literary teaching is not the chief object here—the best teacher and the most perfect master of all those trained by the Irish National Board, (and this implies the best trained in these Kingdoms,) could not take the place now held by this young man: such teachers should be encouraged, not as literary teachers, but as Reformatory trainers. We would impress upon those in authority that such men cannot be obtained, as Lieut.-Col. Jebb has stated, for niggard pay; and certainly, unless chaplains of a class superior to those attached to our ordinary Irish gaols, are appointed to the prisons for Criminal Juvenile Convicts, half the efforts of the master must fail, even though he possessed, amalgamated, the devotion and energy of M. Demetz and of Mr. Nash. We are perfectly well aware that heretofore it has been the common rule to appoint as gaol chaplains, those clergymen considered most ill-adapted for other offices—we sincerely hope that in future, directly the opposite system will be adopted; and that as great discrimination, at least in the case of Juvenile Prisons, will be exercised in the selection of the Chaplain, as in the appointment of the Schoolmaster. Would that the Viceroy had imitated this selection, in appointing an Inspector-General of Prisons to succeed Mr. James Galway. Had he done so, his English Equerry, ignorant of his new duties, would never have been nominated to hold this, now, most important office, the requirements of which even the energy and experience of Mr. Corry Connellan cannot fully meet, unless ably seconded by his fellow Inspector.

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### QUARTERLY LIST OF PUBLICATIONS.

The following *Books and Pamphlets* will give much information on the principles and working of *Reformatory Institutions*, and of *Prison Discipline*, and they will be found to contain references to all other works of any great value on the same subject.

**Reports of Two Conferences held at Birmingham on Juvenile Delinquency, 1851—1853.** Longman and Co. Price 1s. each.  
**House of Commons Blue Books on Criminal Juveniles, 1852, Price 6s.; 1853, Price 5s. 6d.**  
**Hamilton's Translation of Cochin's Account of Mettray.** Whittaker and Co. Price 1s.

- Hall's Lecture on Mettray. Cash, 5, Bishopsgate-street. Price 1s.  
 Prize Essays on Juvenile Delinquency. Smith, Elder, and Co.  
 Price 5s.
- Mary Carpenter on Reformatory Schools; ditto, on Juvenile Delinquents. Cash. Price 6s. each.
- Reformatory Schools in France and England, by P. J. Murray. Cash. Price 1s.
- Practical Suggestions to the Founders of Reformatory Schools, in a Letter from the Recorder of Birmingham to Lord Brougham, with his Lordship's Answer. Cash. Price 6d.
- Juvenile Delinquency and Its Reformation. By W. S. Hackett. Clonmel: Hackett. Price 6d.
- Juvenile Delinquency the Fruit of Parental Intemperance. By Mary Carpenter. No. 12, "Edinburgh Series of Temperance Tracts." Price 1½d.
- Temperance as Affecting the Interests of Employers and Employed. By Archibald Prentice, Esq., Manchester. No 11 of the "Edinburgh Series of Temperance Tracts." Price 1d.
- Mettray. A Letter, from the Recorder of Birmingham, to Charles Bowyer Adderley, Esq., M. P. Cash. Price 3d.
- Eighth Annual Report of the Bristol Ragged School, on St. James's Back, for the year 1854. Bristol: 1855.
- The Philanthropist, A Record of Social Amelioration, and Journal of the Charitable Institutions. Published twice every month. Published at 4 Wine-Office Court, Fleet-st., London—6d. per No.
- Report on the Discipline and Management of Convict Prisons, and Disposal of Convicts—1853. By Lieut.-Col. Jebb, C. B. Her Majesty's Stationary Office—1854.
- Observations on the Discipline and Management of Convicts, and on Tickets of Leave. With Remarks, in an Appendix, on the more speedy Trial and Punishment of Larceny in certain cases. By John Field, M. A., Chaplain of the Berkshire Gaol. Longman and Co. 1855, Price 1s.
- The Law Review, for February, 1855.
- A Charge Delivered By The Recorder, at the Quarter Sessions for Birmingham, January 5th, 1855, To the Grand Jury of that Borough. Published at their Request. Cash. Price 6d.
- The Journal of the Albert National Agricultural Training Institution, and Record of Industrial Progress—Nos. II, VII. Dublin. 1854, 1855.
- Rules for Prisons in Scotland. Constable. Edinburgh, 1854.
- Edinburgh Review, November, 1854, No. CCIV.
- On Reformatory Schools. By T. B. L. Baker, Esq.

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Charges in favour of Reformatory Schools of the Right Hon. M. T. Baines, at Lancaster, of Mr. Warren at Hull, of Baron Alderson. Speeches of Mr. T. D. Anderson and of Mr. Bramly Moore in Liverpool Corporation. Resolutions of the Justices at Leicestershire January Sessions. Report of Lieut.-Col. Jebb, on Convict Prisons and disposal of Convicts, for 1853. Circular of Industrial Home for Out cast Boys, Lambeth. Rev. Mr. Field's pamphlet on the discipline and management of Convicts, and on tickets of leave, &c. Reports of Chaplain and Governor of Parkhurst. Observations on Rev. Mr. Field's pamphlet. State of opinion in Ireland on Reformatory subjects; Essays read before the Clonmel Literary Society. Lecture of W. L. Hackett, Esq. Letter of Mr. Recorder Hill, on Mettray, to Mr. Adderly, M.P. to "The Philanthropist." Tracts by Miss Carpenter and Mr. Archibald Prentice. Letter from Mr. Prentice. Report of Ragged School, St. James's Back, Bristol.

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NOTE ON THE RECORD.

As we were putting the foregoing to Press, we received, through the attention of the Editor of *The Exeter Gazette*, a copy of that Journal for February 10th, containing the following particulars of the further most important proceedings of the Committee whose Report, read at the Exeter meeting, we have inserted in the Record:—

"DEVONSHIRE REFORMATORY FARM SCHOOL.

We have much pleasure in announcing that the arrangements in connexion with this philanthropic Institution, have so nearly approached completion, that the executive Committee look forward with confidence to an early commencement of operations. It was at first proposed to commence a trial of the experiment at HODGE'S Farm, on Stoke Hill, but as an unexpected difficulty arose in this quarter, Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOKE very kindly and promptly placed at the disposal of the Committee, two Cottages most conveniently situated on his own estate; and with a degree of public spirit—which none but those in similar circumstances can properly understand or estimate—he has undertaken to give up such portions of his home-farm immediately adjoining as may be from time to time required for the purposes of the Institution. One of the great anxieties of the Committee has been the selection of a competent master, and their choice has fallen on a person named HARRIS, at present having the superintendence of a National School, at Frome, and considered by those who are best acquainted with his character, to possess that moral and religious influence so essential to the success of the Reformatory system. His engagement, we understand, commences at Lady-Day, by which time it is not improbable that the School itself will commence operations. As everything depends on a good beginning, Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOKE has invited and obtained the co-operation of Mr. BENGOUGH, whose name is so honourably associated with the Hardwicke School; and that Gentleman has kindly undertaken to assist the Executive Committee at the commencement of their work. With reference to the limited scale on which the Institution is proposed to be started, it may be desirable to state, that this view is recommended not less by practical experience than the necessity of economy. Until the reformatory process has actually commenced its beneficial influence, any large company or colony

of boys would rather tend to defeat than accelerate the intentions of the founders. It is essential to the well working of the system, that a preponderance of good be at all times maintained; for as soon as vicious principles or habits are encouraged by the outward manifestation of similar propensities in others, there is great danger that the experiment may fail. So also at the commencement of the undertaking it appears desirable that the Committee should abstain from taking in boys who belong to Exeter itself, or the immediate neighbourhood; and if they would pardon the suggestion, we would venture to recommend that as one great means of avoiding the demoralising influence of escapes, they should rather direct their efforts in the first instance to the reclamation of youthful criminals in the more distant parts of the county. With this view we would also venture to intimate that the Magistrates in petty sessions, and the Borough Magistrates at Plymouth and elsewhere, might not merely confer advantages on the locality with which they are connected, by sending their young criminals to the Farm School, but they would also be affording the Executive Committee the best opportunity of commencing their labours with a fair prospect of success. With reference to the financial prospects of the Institution, we regret to say, that small though the proposed establishment may be at its commencement, yet in order to keep it up the Executive Committee will require their hands to be strengthened by additional subscriptions to the extent of £50 at the very least. Many of the leading Magistrates and Clergy, in addition to their princely donations towards the General Reformatory Fund, have given in their names as annual subscribers of sums varying from one to twenty pounds. In a matter of this importance we trust the County of Devon will assume a position worthy of her wealth, extent, and influence; and in order to promote so desirable a result, we beg to intimate that subscriptions are received by JOHN MILFORD, Esq., treasurer; at any of the Exeter Banks; or by Mr. E. OSMOND, the honorary secretary, at Woodrow, Brampford Speke."

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## MEMOIR OF THOMAS MOORE.

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The Publisher of THE IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW begs to inform those readers who are only acquainted with the recently issued numbers, that in the number for June, 1853, Vol. II. No. 6, a MEMOIR OF THOMAS MOORE appeared. It is the only complete Memoir as yet published, and has been quoted with approbation by LORD JOHN RUSSELL in the introduction to the first volume of *The Memoir, Journals, and Correspondence* of the Poet.

## QUARTERLY RECORD OF THE PROGRESS OF REFORMATORY AND RAGGED SCHOOLS, AND OF THE IMPROVEMENT OF PRISON DISCIPLINE.

One of the most important movements during the quarter, amongst the friends of Reformatories, was the Meeting of the Managers and friends of these Institutions held in the month of March last, at the house of Mr. R. Hanbury. Of this Meeting we find the following Report in that excellent and useful Journal *The Philanthropist* for April 14th, 1855.

“The meeting was attended by the following representatives from the institutions named:—Mr. C. B. Adderley, M.P., The Reformatory, Saltley; Mr. W. D. Atwood, Secretary of the Hill-street Female Refuge; Mr. T. B. H. Baker, Hardwick Court Refuge, Gloucester; Mr. Henry Bowker, Metropolitan Industrial Reformatory, Brixton; Mr G. J. Bowyer, Reformatory Institution, 19, New-road, St. Pancras; Rev. Thomas Carter, Liverpool Reformatory; Mr. E. W. Challoner, Newcastle, Northumberland, and Durham Reformatory; Lord H. Cholmondeley, M.P., Hampshire Reformatory; Mr. J. Crane, The Home in the East; Mr. J. G. Gent, Secretary of the Ragged School Union; Dr. Thomas Guthrie, Original Ragged School, Edinburgh; Mr. Robert Hanbury, jun., Treasurer of the Boys' Refuge, Whitechapel; Mr. W. H. Houldsworth, Ragged and Reformatory School, Manchester; Mr. J. Leyland, Boys' Home, Wandsworth; Mr. J. Macgregor, Field-lane Ragged School and Night Refuge; Mr. W. J. Maxwell, Lisson-street Refuge; Mr. I. A. Merrington, Albert-street School and Refuge; Mr. Charles Nash, London Reformatory, Westminster; Mr. G. H. H. Oliphant, Carlisle Reformatory; Mr. J. Playfair, House of Refuge, Glasgow; Mr. Charles Ratcliffe, Birmingham Reformatory for Girls; Mr. Russell Scott, Kingswood Reformatory School; Mr. J. Thompson, jun., Aberdeen House of Refuge and School; Rev. Sydney Turner, Philanthropic Farm School, Red Hill; Rev. H. Whitehead, Belvidere-crescent Reformatory, Lambeth; Mr. W. Williams, St. George's and St. Giles's Refuge, Bloomsbury; Mr. Samuel Wise Colchester-street, Whitechapel; Mr. J. Wright, Buxton Industrial Training School. Captain Williams was present during the afternoon meeting.

Twenty-eight reformatory institutions sent representatives to the conference; nine besides had been invited; nine were omitted; and nine are in course of formation, making a total of fifty-five centres of reformation in the United Kingdom.\*

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\* Before the Conference assembled, some statistical information had been furnished in answer to inquiries, addressed to the institutions from which representatives were invited to attend.

The conference being assembled, the Earl of Shaftesbury took the chair, and the Rev. Dr. Guthrie opened the proceedings with prayer.

Mr. R. Hanbury stated the object of the conference, and invited free discussion, on the understanding that all communications made to the meeting were to be considered private.

It is consequently not advisable to set forth with particularity much of the most interesting part of the proceedings, but the following general outline, while omitting the names of persons and places, may sufficiently indicate the nature of the topics considered, and which were carefully discussed for about six hours, with the most satisfactory and practical results.

*I. Government aid and inspection.*—Several gentlemen gave their experience of the working of Government aid and inspection in particular instances. The Privy Council aid was for industrial instruction; that under Lord Palmerston's Act was for board, lodging and mere support. Fears had been entertained on both sides as to the connexion of private reformatories with the Government. On the one hand, the Government did not wish to be made responsible for the buildings of the institutions; and on the other, the managers of the institutions were jealous of interference, especially in the matter of religious teaching, &c. It was not, however, Government *inspection*, but Government *interference*, which created apprehension.

A. had applied to the Privy Counsel, who sent an inspector, and on his report made a liberal grant; there was no interference of any kind. B. received visits from the Government inspector for four years, and considered inspection beneficial. No interference with religious instruction had taken place, though the Government had sent gentlemen of different religious views to inspect. C. had received some excellent practical suggestions from the inspector sent to his institution, and another inspector from the Privy Council had advised him to increase the time allotted to instruction, which he agreed to do, but there was no interference. D. had been twice

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The printed questions so forwarded were intended only as preliminary, and were found to be susceptible of better arrangement when more complete information may be sought by the committee, at a future time. The following are some of the particulars gathered from the above returns. They relate to scarcely one-half only of the institutions in existence, and are consequently imperfect as a record of the statistics of the whole.

Number of institutions furnishing returns, 22. Of these, one was founded in each of the years, 1788, 1838, 1841, 1843, 1846, 1847, 1849, 1850, 1851, 1854; two were founded in 1848, five in 1852, and five in 1853 (in 1854 there were probably ten founded). The age of admission varies from four to twenty years. There were in February, as inmates, 1,196 boys, and 349 girls. The average number of hours employed in education was as follows: in religious education, one hour; in secular instruction, three hours; in industrial occupation, six and a half hours.

The number absconding each year, from all the institutions, 117; number discharged, 43; obtained situations, 244; emigrated, 171.

visited by the inspector without inconvenience. E. had observed no unnecessary interference on the part of the inspector during the year his institution had been under the Act. F. stated, that so far from experiencing undue interference from the inspector, he had been obliged to incite the Government to more frequent visitation. G. corroborated these statements, speaking for an old and important institution. After some conversation on the nature of the grant from the State, it was agreed that Government aid ought to be given in annual grants, which do not bind either party for more than a year, rather than in sums contributed for building, which might necessitate a continual charge upon the Government for the supervision of the institution.

II. *Further legislation.*—The necessity of supplementing, or amending the 'Youthful Offenders' Act' was acknowledged, and Mr. Adderley stated that suggestions in relation to this would be valuable, as he had given notice of his intention to bring in a bill, which would be circulated for consideration when read a first time. H. believed nine out of ten parents of the children, sent under this Act, could pay the expense of their children's maintenance at the reformatory. Many of such parents were receiving wages from 20s. to 50s. per week. J. thought the parish ought to pay at first, but the difficulty of obtaining the repayment by the parents was owing chiefly to the absence of a power to imprison them on refusal. It was stated that all the London police magistrates had expressed decided opinions in concurrence with that just mentioned as to the mode of enforcing the responsibility of parents.

Only two cases were mentioned of attempts to put in force the power given by the Act for compelling parents to support their abandoned children, and in both cases the efforts were in vain.

K. had summoned a parent who neglected his child; the magistrates could not agree in their construction of the Act, and adjourned the case. A new bench of magistrates was present at this adjournment, and, after a second discussion, the case again stood over. The leading witness was absent on the third hearing, and when the secretary of the institution attended for the fourth time to take out a new summons, he found the man had absconded.

It was generally admitted that the defect in this part of the Act was serious, and particularly so in devolving upon the officers of charitable institutions the invidious duty of recovering money by legal process, without supplying distinct directions as to how or by whom it was to be performed. It appeared to be generally agreed that a police officer, especially designated for the purpose, would, at least, in large towns, be the proper person for attending to this duty, and that his very presence and authority, and successful performance of his duty, would materially diminish the number of parents who at present, without any check, abandon their children to the care of others.

L. said that in Scotland, under the 'Vagrant Act,' the magistrates sent the boys to the reformatory, and the secretary of the institution, without difficulty, convicted the neglectful parent. Every person inciting a child to beg or steal incurred a penalty of

£5. There was a child in his school, who was always regular when his mother was in prison, but became irregular in attendance when the mother came out.

III. The next subject considered was the expediency of mixing in the same institution children sent by a magistrate, or otherwise committed against their will, with destitute children who seek refuge of their own accord.

M. said he had four boys sent by magistrates, and they agreed well with the rest who were voluntarily there. N. had twenty-seven sent by magistrates, and eight voluntary boys, and there was no difference or disagreement. O. had fifty voluntary cases out of 200, and with the same good results. R. confirmed this view; he had nine magistrates' cases. S. thought two classes of institutions required.

IV. *Power and means of detention.*—It was allowed that bolts and bars and mere physical means were not advisable. A proper restraint, combined with healthful exercise, was rendered difficult in refuges built in great cities. It was often desirable that frequent access to the inmates should not be easy for their parents or former associates. On the other hand, such a situation gave opportunity for much supervision, and the good influence and Christian sympathy of friends and subscribers, which in the country was almost absent.

T. said it was easy to retain boys when they had been accustomed to the discipline for a little time. Most of those who absconded did so in the early period of their residence. K. Boys from prisons were more disposed to abscond than those who entered on their own application. It was no proof of a boy's depravity that he ran away. Few abscond twice, and he knew of none who did so a third time. Of 180 boys, fifty ran away; but thirty-seven of these returned and behaved well afterwards. U. In Edinburgh the boys are retained under a sentence by which punishment is still pending over them. In Glasgow they are apprenticed to the institution, which, therefore, has power to detain and punish them. V. Out of 160 boys allowed to visit their friends, only ten had not returned. W. Out of 128 boys admitted, twelve had absconded, but were all brought back; they wear a uniform dress. He copied every letter to and from the inmates, and was thus enabled to trace them when they absconded. X. In his reformatory, out of fourteen boys admitted, eight ran away. Only a year had elapsed since the institution was commenced. Z. said his reformatory was in London, and had no walls. Out of seventy lads from sixteen to twenty-two, only four had absconded.

V. *Number of inmates in each institution.*

M. At Mettray there were 500; but De Metz himself thinks there should be only 300; they were divided into classes, each under a competent person. Individual knowledge of each inmate by the manager was necessary. There were often exceptional cases of such a character as to require to be treated by those who had intimate and personal knowledge of the case; such, for instance, as a boy he knew, who had become a thief, in order to save money, and who had saved what he had stolen, to the amount of £60. N. had lately taken an assistant to help him, but the order and discipline of the

reformatory were at once deteriorated, owing, he supposed, to the fact, that his personal influence upon the inmates had been rendered less direct, and, consequently, less powerful. O. suggested 100 as the largest number which could properly be entrusted to the management of one man. This appeared to be recognised as a limit to the numbers; but, of course, no general rule could be laid down on this point.

VI. *Qualifications for institutions under the Act.*—The conference then proceeded to discuss other qualifications considered to be important for institutions to be certified under the Act; among these, was the prospect to be held out to the inmates, of an opening for honest livelihood after leaving the Reformatory.

A. stated that each of his boys was able, after a year's residence, to earn from ten to twelve shillings a week. They were taught the employments of carpenters, turners, and blacksmiths. B. cited a case to show that even young children could look forward a long way in advance, if a hope of reward was held out to them. He knew of a very little girl, who on being taken into service, said at once, 'Do keep me a year, and then I shall get the prize,'—meaning a reward given by the Ragged School Union to scholars from their schools who kept their places with credit for a year. C. He had fifty-three boys; there were not ten of those not trustworthy. He left them for fourteen days, and found order well preserved. Their industrial employments were those of gardeners, carpenters, shoe-makers, and tailors; and to some the prospect of emigration was held out.

It was agreed that varied occupation was an essential part of reformatory discipline.

From the previous discussion, it appeared, that in considering the eligibility of an institution for the purposes of the Act, regard must be had to the situation of the building; the means of detention; the union of voluntary and coerced inmates; the nature and variety of employment; the inducements offered to reform, by prospects for the future; the means of reclaiming runaways; and the numbers under the direct and constant personal management of the refuge superintendent or governor.

VII. *Miscellaneous.*—During the discussion on the foregoing topics, several interesting particulars were given which were not classed above.

D. stated that in the Glasgow Refuge, commenced in 1838, there were 440 children, and this was supported chiefly by a local rate of 1d. in the pound, producing about £3,000 a year. The children were all voluntary inmates. E. stated that the police commissioners of Edinburgh granted his Refuge £100 a year, besides £25 a year obtained from the Privy Council.

Suggestions were considered as to an uniform system of inspection for all Reformatories,\* by an inspector specially appointed for the purpose.

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\*Throughout the proceedings, the terms 'Refuge' and 'Reformatory' appeared to be used without any precise definition, and often indiscriminately. It is, however, well to suggest that the latter term should be restricted to institutions designed for children who are sent thither by other persons.

Many signatures were appended during the meeting, and afterwards in the evening, to the subjoined memorial, which was subsequently presented by the Earl of Shaftesbury—

‘To the Right Honorable Sir George Grey, Bart., her Majesty’s Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department.

‘The undersigned memorialists, being all interested in the management of various Reformatory Schools, represent their earnest desire that her Majesty might be pleased to direct that some one might be specially appointed for the sole inspection of Reformatory Schools throughout the kingdom, who might be styled ‘Her Majesty’s Inspector of Reformatory Schools.’

The following resolution was moved by Lord Henry Cholmondeley, seconded by the Rev. Dr. Guthrie, and carried unanimously—

‘That the gentlemen now present constitute themselves a committee for receiving and disseminating information, and for communicating with the government on this subject, and that they be empowered to add to their number, and to summon another conference when advisable. That Mr. R. Hanbury, jun., be the convener of the committee.’

Mr. Maxwell proposed, Mr. Baker seconded, and it was unanimously resolved—

‘That the following gentlemen be a sub-committee for the above-mentioned purposes:—Messrs. Hanbury, Bowker, Bowyer, Macgregor, Maxwell, Oliphant, and the Rev. Sydney Turner.’

The Rev. T. Carter proposed, Mr. Playfair seconded, and it was unanimously resolved—

‘That the sincere thanks of this meeting be given to Mr. R. Hanbury, jun., for the kind and active interest he has evinced upon the important subject of juvenile reformation, and especially in connexion with the proceedings of this meeting.’

The vote of thanks having been acknowledged, the conference terminated.

In the evening, a large number of ladies and gentlemen assembled at Mr. Hanbury’s house, and a summary of the morning’s proceedings was given, followed by addresses from several gentlemen, which were listened to with great interest.

Warwickshire, through the example of Mr. Adderley’s School at Saltley, has become the centre of the Reformatory movement. A Meeting was held at Warwick, last April, for the purpose of establishing a County Reformatory, and the following admirable addresses were delivered:—

“M. D. HILL, Esq. (Recorder of Birmingham), then addressed the meeting. He said: Mr. High Sheriff,—Though neither a Magistrate nor a freeholder of Warwickshire, I have been honoured with an invitation to this meeting, and with a request to take part in your proceedings. Sir,—I offer my hearty support to the motion before you. (Cheers.) Not only do I feel that the establishment of a Reformatory School for this county is greatly to be desired, but I must be permitted to say that it stands before my eyes as an impera-



tive duty on the inhabitants. It is difficult, if not impossible, for me to produce in other minds the deep impressions which, in my own, have been the work of many long years, and of a large experience in the treatment of criminals. My best chance, however, of showing in a clear light the practicability of reformation and the value of Reformatory Schools in effecting that object, will be to yield myself up to the train of thought which the town where we are assembled, the audience I address, and the object which has called us together, have set in motion, and to recapitulate very briefly the steps by which I arrived at these conclusions. Five-and-thirty years ago I joined the Bar of the Midland Circuit, and became a member of the Warwickshire Sessions. At that time, the whole judicial business of the county, including that which arises at Birmingham, was transacted at Warwick, with the exception only of such as belonged to Coventry and the small district forming the county of that city. Such being the case I hardly need say that the docks of the two Courts in the neighbouring hall were, every Sessions and every Assizes, filled, emptied, and replenished many times in the day, and for many successive days. It is needless, also, to tell you that a young barrister, whose friends were not numerous, and whose pretensions were humble enough, was not so encumbered with briefs but that he had sufficient leisure to observe what was hourly challenging his attention, and to reflect upon the consequences which flowed from the administration of criminal justice as the law then stood. Then, Sir, as now, the great majority of offences were slight in character, and were not visited with heavy punishment especially at our Sessions, over which a tone of great humanity always, or, at least, during the fourteen years of my practice, uniformly prevailed, a fact which those who remember the three Chairmen before whom I practised will have no difficulty in believing. When I joined the Sessions bar, I found the Court under the presidency of the venerable Wriothesley Digby, whose clemency was proverbial. He was soon followed by Sir Grey Skipwith. The urbanity of this gentleman made him a universal favourite, even among those who knew him but slightly, while a more intimate acquaintance disclosed the secret of his winning manners, which had their origin in genuine kindness of heart. (Cheers.) The third whom, after fourteen years of attendance at the Warwickshire Sessions, I left still presiding as Chairman, was Sir Eardley Wilmot, a very early, zealous, and able supporter of the principles on which you are this day assembled to act—(loud applause); principles which you, probably, know are inherited by his son, the present Baronet, my excellent friend and neighbour. (Cheers.) The feeling of the Chairman and his brother Magistrates were in unison, and all prisoners—yes, even poachers!—were dealt with in a merciful spirit. The Court, however, strove to make their sentences efficient as well as humane; and if they succeeded but ill in these praiseworthy attempts, the fault was not theirs—it was in the law which they were bound to administer. Experience came in aid of the promptings of a kindly nature, to disincline them to inflict long imprisonments. They knew but too well that our prisons, as then conducted,

were schools—not of reformation, but of crime; and that the longer the prisoner remained under the tuition which he there received from his companions, the more confirmed he was in a guilty career. The expedient to which they had resort was, to lash the culprit—not with rods, but with sharp words; to assume a severe aspect: as if a countenance, which beamed with goodnature the moment before and the moment afterwards, could have its permanent characteristic so obscured by a transitory frown as to impose upon the prisoner! Alas! Sir, he received all this oburgatory eloquence with impatience and inattention. He wanted to know his fate; and when the punishment was annnounced, it was often so much in contrast with the awful sounds in which it was conveyed, that the effect was almost ludicrous. The lesson was quickly forgotten, as was proved by the speedy re-appearance of the prisoner in the dock, perhaps, even at the next Sessions. We, of the bar, recognized our old acquaintances, and if their names were such as to attract attention, as they sometimes did, from their oddity or uncouthness, we knew when we read over the calendar which we found on our arrival whom it was we should have the pleasure of meeting. Even at this distance of time I remember lads, with whom I became acquainted by their frequent re-appearance in the court, but, as they may now fill respectable positions in one or other of our Colonies, I will not run the risk of hurting their feelings by mentioning their names, some of which however, are too well fixed in my memory ever to be forgotten. (Cheers.)

“Sir,—the frequent repetition of scenes like those which I have described, could not fail of driving me to reflect upon the great and humiliating contrast between the means employed and the end attained. Let us for the reasons given by Sterne, take a single case—many such daily passed under my observation. An urchin, with or without a little schooling, but certainly, without religious and moral training, is wandering about the streets of Birmingham. Some article attracts his eye, which a shopkeeper has placed outside his door to draw the attention of customers. He carries it off, escapes detection, and repeats his offence until he is caught at last. Perhaps he knows that he has been doing wrong; perhaps on the contrary, the applause of bad companions and wicked parents who share his plunder, impress him with the belief that he is doing right,—worthily filling his appointed place in society. Again, in the benighted state of his moral perceptions, it may be that he is uncertain as to whether he is doing right or wrong. The goods were in the street, he took them up, and who taught him to know where *finding* ends, and *stealing* begins? What instruction did he ever receive as to the limits which divide *trover* from *larceny*? Or, Sir, what is more to the purpose, who had cultivated in his soul those fine and noble instincts, which, without giving him time to reason upon what he was about, would have checked him by the unhesitating conviction that he was doing wrong. He then finds himself after a time of impunity, not unfrequently a long period, grasped by the strong hands of a police-man, conveyed to the station, brought before the presiding

constable, thence dispatched to the lock-up-house, and in due time he is ushered into the awful presence of the Magistrate. Here, witnesses are examined, their evidence taken down in writing—he is called upon for his defence, which his attorney, if he has one, advises him to reserve for his trial, and he is brought away to Warwick, enjoying perhaps, for the first time the luxury of travelling in a carriage; he is taken to the county gaol, and there introduced to a society, who receive him, not as one deserving censure or reproach, but with the feeling of ‘Hail, fellow, well met!’ After a time comes the trial, and what is the result? It is his first offence, that is to say, his first detected offence. That circumstance and his youth enable the Court to indulge their sympathies, and he receives a light sentence, a month or two, or a week or two, no matter which. He is then turned out on the world, If by accident he brought any remnant of religious or moral impressions into gaol, be sure none went forth with him. If he came regretting the loss of his position in the society of the honest and well disposed, depend upon it the new community of which he has become a member, has reconciled him to his loss. Yet, thus morally frail to the last extremity of weakness, he is turned adrift and called upon to make the choice of Hercules. Honest industry stands on his right, but, alas! she is perched on an inaccessible rock; and, moreover, he feels that she must be a very dull companion, even if he could climb up to her, while the evil genius who personifies a short life and a merry one beckons him from the bottom of an easy slope, a tankard in his hand and a pipe in his mouth. (Hear, hear). And this is the object attained by the complicated and expensive machinery of the law. Here is the result of the labours of policemen, attornies, counsel, Justices, Recorders, Judges and juries, grand and petit—grand and petit indeed—vast in the means, miserable in the end! How we are reminded of the verses of Young—

‘An ocean into mountains rais’d  
To waft a feather or to drown a fly.”

“Nay it is worse, for the fly is *not* drowned. He is soon cast upon the shore, dries his wings, buzzes away as troublesome as ever, and what is worse, finds out that he has a sting. His offences become the less tolerable as he grows older, and after many trials and many convictions, a penal colony or the gallows are his destination. Sir, I am not here to dispute that the five and thirty years have made many changes in this picture—changes at which no man rejoices more than myself. But as regards even the youngest criminals, until the last Session of Parliament the legal principle of retributive punishment was alone recognised, and all your improvements only mitigated, in some slight degree, the evil which I have depicted; it was by no means rooted out. To return, however, to the Magistrates of the Warwickshire Sessions, in whose Court I practised, Their kindness and good sense, let me hasten to say, led them to discard this illusory treatment in the few instances in which opportunity was favourable. Sometimes they ventured when the prosecutor came before them

and humanely consented to receive back his dishonest young servant or apprentice, to consign the youth immediately to his care. On these occasions I have narrowly watched the countenances of the prisoner and his friends, including the prosecutor, his best friend, to enable me to form a conjecture as to whether the experiment was likely to be successful, and the conclusions which I drew from the imperfect evidence at my command were favourable to the plan. But it was tried under many disadvantages. It frequently happened that the evidence of the prosecutor not being required, he remained at home. Again, the Magistrates had no means of forming an estimate of the prosecutor's respectability but from his appearance, and if that were against him they felt, and rightly felt, bound not to entrust the prisoner to his care. But the most serious defect of the plan was that they had no sure means of learning the results of their clemency, except that, in case of failure, it sometimes happened that the prisoner came again before them, but not always, as he might have chosen a field for the exercise of his calling in a district out of their jurisdiction. Being, however, much impressed with the value or, what with all drawbacks I considered to be the value, of this mode of disposing of juvenile prisoners, I determined, when I was appointed Recorder of Birmingham, to try the experiment myself, under circumstances more favourable than those under which the county Magistrates acted, because at Birmingham the master or the parent was at hand, even if not in Court; because inquiry could readily be made as to their character, and, above all, because by keeping a register, the failure and success of the plan in each instance could be recorded. Aided by the Chief Superintendent of Police, I have had enquiries made, from time to time, as to the conduct of the prisoner, and the result of these enquiries being reduced to writing, I am possessed of all the means necessary for accurately testing the value of such a measure.

I hold in my hand an abstract of my register, which dates from the beginning of 1842. The abstract was made after the April Sessions of last year, 1854, and consequently, extends over the space of twelve years and a quarter. The total number of prisoners during that period consigned to their friends is 417. Of these only 80 are known to have been reconvicted. Of the remainder, 94 bore a respectable character, many of them retaining this character after long years of probation. Of 148, the best we can say is that they were not known to have been in custody since they were so given up to their friends. 68 could not be found. 15 were given up to friends residing at a distance from Birmingham, and, therefore, the periodical enquiries which have been made as to the others do not apply to them. But as they were taken away from the evil associations of a large town, I consider them placed under very advantageous circumstances for redeeming their characters. Seventeen were dead, thus making up the total number of 417 of which I have been speaking. (Cheers.) These results, I submit, would, of themselves, prove the fact, which, to be sure, has been abundantly proved by a varied experience, both at home and abroad, that the reformation of youthful offenders is far from being so difficult and hopeless as was formerly the prevalent

belief,—a belief still entertained by many, although, as popular opinion is now strongly with us, they are loath to exhibit themselves in the ungracious and invidious light of opposing us. Sir, when considering the hope of Reformation which the plan I have adopted holds out, we must never forget that it is in truth but a rude expedient labouring under one enormous defect. The young person is sent back into the same position exactly as that which he occupied when he fell. He is open to the same temptations,—it is difficult to keep him aloof from the same companions, and thus while he is too often exposed to the scorn and reproach of those whose ill opinion he most dreads, he has the far greater misfortune of being open to the seductions of those whom his former errors have armed with a pernicious influence over his actions. It, however, has one redeeming feature, which is worthy of the most attentive consideration—the young offender is received into the bosom of a family! and the head of that family is moved to this act of Christian benevolence by feelings which give no slight guarantee that he will faithfully execute his trust. Sir, the various dangers and difficulties to which I have adverted, as impeding the course of the Magistrates in making these humane consignments, and the large number of youths for which no family Asylum can be found, may have suggested to them the good and great work which they begun nearly forty years ago, by contributions furnished by themselves, and by other benevolent persons influenced by their example. I, of course, refer to their founding the Reformatory Establishment at Stretton-on-Dunsmore; an Institution which has conferred on the Magistracy of this country the distinction of being the first of their body throughout the whole country, to turn their feelings of commiseration to good account—to ripen benevolence into beneficence. The history of the school of refuge at Stretton is very instructive. Its progress in effecting its object was slow but sure. At first the failures exceeded the number of cures, but gradually the balance was turned. I cannot enter into the statistics. The various accounts which I have received do not quite agree, and by the death of that excellent and zealous friend to the Institution, the Rev. Townsend Powell, the Secretary, we have, perhaps, lost the power of verifying the results with sufficient exactitude to justify a reference to figures, without qualifications which would produce tedious detail; I may, however, say that for many years they were highly satisfactory. The number of successful cases constantly increased, while, of course, the proportion of failures as regularly diminished. Sir, I must deny myself the pleasure of specifying Magistrates whom I remember as actively engaged in the management of this Institution, because I cannot mention all, and to select would be invidious. But I am sure the meeting will feel that I could not advert to the labours of the lamented Secretary without a passing tribute of respect—labours so well known to me, often thrown as I was into communication with him; though perhaps the fact that at his death the Institution languished and soon itself came to an end, affords the most conclusive testimony to his worth. I deplored his loss, and I still deplore its consequences.

But, Sir, to-day you are assembled to revive this Institution,

not, as I am informed, as it originally stood, but by uniting your project to that which, mainly through the munificence, and what is even better than munificence, the zealous and perserving exertions of my friend Mr. Adderley, has been already set on foot at Saltley, in the neighbourhood of Birmingham. Sir, this will be indeed a consolation for the loss of Stretton, and most cordially do I hope that the proposed union will answer the expectations of this most respectable meeting, if it should be your pleasure to adopt it. (Applause.) As I have already addressed you at considerable length, and as I am to be followed by gentlemen who will direct your attention to the school at Saltley with more particularity than it would be proper for me to do (while the question is as yet undecided as to whether you shall establish a Reformatory or not), I will limit myself to a few brief remarks on the principles on which it appears to me these Institutions ought to be founded and conducted. Sir, it is quite clear that the resources of private benevolence would be inadequate to the maintainance of the juvenile offenders with whom our gaols are crowded. Nor would it be right to tax the generous with a burden which ought to be borne by the whole community. If these young creatures must be maintained at the public expense, either in our gaols or by their plunder when at large; if they are indeed the children of the State, as they surely are, the cost of their sustenance and training ought to be borne by the State and not by individuals. The Legislature has sanctioned the principle, and it is already carried to some extent by the Government into practical effect. I look forward with confidence to the time when that effect shall cease to be partial and become complete, till when we must not be disheartened however practise may lag behind acknowledged principle; meantime one advantage of no mean importance results from subscribers bearing a portion of the cost. It lets in the operations of the voluntary principle under wholesome checks. Contributors who prove the sincerity of their zeal by giving their money, may be well entrusted with the management of these Institutions, subject of course to Government inspection, which I consider no burden or drawback, but a great benefit. Then, Sir, with regard to the tone which should pervade the discipline of these schools; let it be that of a wise, firm and Christian father. No false indulgence, no present ease or pleasure for the lad at the cost of his future welfare. Let his nerves of body and mind be well braced. Let him be armed within and without for the battle of life. But let all be done in a parental spirit. Let no pain be inflicted but that which is essential to produce the change from evil to good—that mighty and arduous revolution. Such a discipline faithfully wrought out must be followed, in its early stages, at least, by many a severe struggle of the poor outcast with his former habits and desires, and the pain of mind and body that he will have to suffer from restraint and labour, both new to him, will be amply sufficient to prevent the probation of the Reformatory School acting as an incentive to crime because it betters the condition of the criminal; a danger to which some for whose opinions on many subjects I have the highest respect, have feared it liable. Sir, it has been hastily

assumed that a benefit must operate as a temptation. But this is not so. The highest conceivable good, immortal happiness, is contemplated by the depraved without more than a vain and idle wish to attain it, while on the other hand the most alluring temptations do not draw us towards real benefits but decoy us into evils which by and by bring us to sorrow. The youth who is hovering on the verge of crime is not tempted to plunge into the abyss in the hope of its leading him to the toil, the restraints, and the privations of a Reformatory School. Does he desire to go to a place from which all vicious indulgences are banished, where indolence must become industry, where there can be no debauchery, and where his coarse luxuries must be exchanged for a dietary which, though wholesome, never pampers his appetite, where the vagrant, accustomed to roam wherever his will may prompt, discovers that he is fixed to one spot, and where his days must, to his thinking, be a perpetual round of slavish observances? (Cheers.) But then it is said that all this, though no temptation to him, must be one to his parents. We admit the danger, and we have guarded against it. At our instance the Legislature has adopted the principle of casting the pecuniary burden or a portion of it on the parent. The provisions by which this responsibility is to be enforced are, it is true, very imperfect. Mr. Adderley however has undertaken to bring in a Bill to remedy this defect, and it is impossible that the duty should have been confided to better hands. At the same time I trust this meeting will clearly understand that it is a moral effect which we seek when we fix responsibility. Many of the outcasts are orphans. Many the children of persons who from vice or misfortune are themselves destitute. But, in these cases, as the poor child subsisted upon what he could pick up in the streets, or obtain from charity—he was in truth no burden upon his parents, if he had any, and, consequently, there was no strong motive inciting the parent to place him in a Reformatory School. Again, objectors forget that, before the passing of this Act, if a parent were so abandoned as to plunge his child into crime, so soon as the lad found his way to prison the parent was eased altogether of his maintenance. Now, however, if he have anything wherein to pay he will be called upon to contribute, and if he have nothing, why, then, you know, it has passed into a proverb, that in such cases even the King must lose his own. I shall advert to only one principle more, and that is what I would call the Family principle. The abstract which I have laid before you will enable you to form your own judgment of its power even when contending with many difficulties. Its value is highly appreciated in those Reformatories which have been most successful. Mettray, in France, is a collection of small communities, in which the essentials of a family are as far as possible combined. So at the *Rauhe Haus*, near Hamburg; so at Red Hill, the Farm School of the Philanthropic Society. By these sub-divisions the dangers attendant on the aggregation of large numbers is guarded against, while the advantage of high and skilful superintendence is preserved; Mettray, the most splendid example of Reformatory success which the world has yet seen, contains from five to six hundred young offenders; and surely

it must be obvious that a Dennis, a Wichers, a Sidney Turner, or last, not least, a Mary Carpenter—these gifted philanthropists—are not found in sufficient numbers to justify us in confining their tutelage to a few. I would speak as I feel with respect and admiration, of the smaller establishments which able and benevolent men, like Mr. Baker, of Hardwick, have set on foot on their own responsibility. It is for them to regulate the extent of their own labours. I rejoice in every new Institution of a similar kind, but where numbers are to be provided for out of subscriptions which experience tells me are not easy to keep up, I would venture to suggest that the economy which results from uniting them in one establishment, if you provide for the subdivision to which I have adverted, is of itself a strong motive not to depart from the precedents which I have cited—Mettray, the Raabe Haus, and Redhill; the more especially when such a departure enhances the difficulty already most perplexing, of finding superintendents who have the gifts essential to the performance of their arduous duties. Sir, I cannot come to an end without asking you and this meeting to unite with me in grateful rejoicings. All here present will have shared that depression of spirit into which the abortive results of our criminal jurisprudence have so often thrown every reflective mind. The worthy Magistrates who surround me know how this feeling is embittered when we have to administer laws in whose beneficial operation we have no confidence. But a good time is coming, nay, is come. Labourers in a good cause, if ever cause were good, among whom it has been my privilege to be enrolled, have proved by indisputable facts that the reformation of offenders, and especially of the young, is not the dream of visionaries, but a task to which, under Providence, human agency is fully competent. This truth our friends in Parliament have urged on the Legislature, and urged it with success. The Youthful Offenders Act, no doubt, is capable of great improvement, but with all its defects it stands (and please God, shall ever stand) a noble sea-mark to direct the difficult and intricate course of criminal jurisprudence. For myself, Sir, my reward is ample indeed—I have lived to witness this glorious triumph—I am invited to stand this day among the chief men of my native country, themselves ardent and powerful friends of Reformatory enterprise. They call upon me to plead the cause of the young outcast before a tribunal which will cordially recognise his claims. His countenance may be darkened by ignorance—ignorance both of the head and heart—it may be disfigured by evil passions and unbridled appetites, but you feel, and you will not shrink from avowing, that he is still your brother. You are his keeper, and you will not repudiate your charge, but, like good and faithful servants, execute your sacred trust—(Loud and long-continued cheering.)

The resolution was then put from the chair, and like the succeeding ones, carried unanimously.

T. B. L. BAKER, Esq., of Hardwick Court, proposed the second resolution:—"That the Quarter Sessions, having delegated to a Committee the consideration of such an establishment, or a County Institution, it appears that no statute empowers the county to ap-



propriate funds for such a purpose; but that the *Youthful Offenders' Act* gives great facilities for private individuals to form such an establishment." It was with much pleasure that he appeared in behalf of such an object. He had been for twenty years strongly interested in this movement—ever since he first had the honour of knowing Captain Brenton, of Hackney Wick, which, although the first School in England, and although one would naturally suppose it would have the faults incident to the first, yet he could only say that, in almost every point in which he had since succeeded in the School which he had the honour to govern, and which he himself started at Hardwicke, in Gloucestershire, it had been by following to the letter Captain Brenton's regulations. The failure of Captain Brenton's School led to the subject being given up altogether, excepting in their own county, which ought to be, and he believed was, truly proud of such a distinction as that. The thing was almost entirely crushed, and he had scarcely a hope of seeing any schools of the kind raised. He had, however, never forgotten it, and, three years ago, a friend offering to join him in starting one on a small scale, they had since done so; and they hoped it had done some good for the county to which it belonged. Three years ago, with the exception of that splendid institution, on what he would term a national scale, conducted by Mr. Sidney Turner,—it being for the nation at large—he could see no hope of what he had always longed for, a county establishment, for the particular benefit of every county in which it was situate. Three years ago they began, and equally original with themselves were three others by Mr. Adderley, Mr. Sturge, and Miss Carpenter; beyond that there were no further schools raised till last Midsummer, when the *Act* passed, and, therefore, he was justified in saying the *Juvenile Offenders' Act* gave facilities to private individuals to form such establishments, for he had now the honour to be in correspondence with fifteen county schools that were in agitation, and all in a fair way of being shortly launched, and which had all began since the passing of that *Act*. When for three years after the establishment of the first, there were only four, and when since the passing of this *Act* there had been fifteen set in motion with which he was in correspondence, besides seven or eight others, he was surely justified in saying the *Act* gave great encouragement, and had succeeded most admirably in its object of inducing private individuals to start such schools. The counties to which he referred were:—Cumberland, Lancaster, Somerset, Derby, Devon, Hants, West Riding of York, Worcester, Sussex, Beds, Leicester, Northampton, Chester, Wilts, Bucks, with one at Tadcaster, and at Valley-field (Edinburgh). All these counties would have their institutions regularly recognised after they had commenced, but some said the *Act* was not sufficient, and, as the resolution he had read informed him, the Committee from the Quarter Sessions had found that no statute empowered this county to appropriate funds for such a purpose. Many gentlemen considered that a great failing in the *Act*, and had told him that the Legislature ought to have empowered counties to advance funds for proper buildings. He could only express his own opinion, but he felt very

strongly indeed, that if the Legislature had empowered the county to give public funds, it would have done very much injury to the cause instead of profiting it. (Cheers.) If the building were to be established out of county funds, it must be entirely under public supervision, and the managers would be to such a degree servants of the county that they would not be able to succeed in it. He spoke strongly, because he had now for twenty-five years worked pretty hard as a Magistrate; having been, as he believed, for a greater part of that time on Committees in his own county, and also Visitor to the Lunatic Asylum and Gaol; and he felt by no means ignorant of the work of a county servant. He could work easily to himself in all these particular offices, but he felt he could not work as a manager of a Reformatory School without a great deal more freedom than he should ask as a Visiting Magistrate of a Gaol or Asylum. (Hear.) As a servant of the public one must have the safety of the public tied by a certain strictness of rule which would cripple so entirely his action as manager of a Reformatory, that it would prevent the greater part of his efficiency. Therefore he must give it simply as his own opinion, that it was not a misfortune but a great happiness, that no statute empowered the county to appropriate funds from such a purpose. They were called upon to find funds from private sources, and, he believed, in Warwickshire they would find no difficulty in that respect, knowing that, in other counties, funds had been raised so readily and easily. It was not very large funds which would be required. Two counties he was acquainted with had started with the intention of having magnificent establishments, but both, on consideration, changed the principle and had gone on a more moderate scale, which, he believed, would be found to work much more easily and satisfactorily. He most cordially congratulated them that they were not now in much fear of a repetition of the great misfortune which befel them in the closing of Stretton. There they had to depend entirely on private benevolence, and, when that slackened, they could not carry it on. Now, however, under the new Act, a comparatively small sum would enable them to conduct an establishment of the kind. It might be of interest to them to know that he had just been through the accounts of their own school. They began with considerable trouble, and the expenses for three years had been about £1329. Had they received from Government a certain proportion of pay, in respect of all the boys educated there, their expenditure would only have been £700. The £1329 included the whole expense of starting the establishment, and they had now £300 worth of stock on hand, which reduced the actual loss to £400 for three years; which, considering that they had thirty-two boys, and had received sixty-nine in all, and only one been charged with dishonesty after leaving them, presented no ground for complaint. (Cheers.)

C. B. ADDELEY, Esq., M. P., in seconding the motion, commenced by referring to the appointment, by the Court of Quarter Sessions, of a Committee to consider the question of establishing a Reformatory, which Committee had reported that they had no legal power to carry out that important institution, and that the only mode by

which the Court could do it, was by obtaining a Local Act, or what was more difficult, a General Act, which would be permissive to Warwickshire to avail itself of. The difficulties of obtaining a Local Act were seen in what had taken place with reference to a new Gaol, which was so long obstructed, by being involved with a Local Act, and again, it was not desirable to have one, as they did not wish to throw the establishment of this institution upon the county, or charge the ratepayers with such a burthen, if they were unwilling to bear it; nor did he think it would grow out of the County Rates, as well and effectually, as if supported from the resources of voluntary benevolence. (Cheers.) This institution meant nothing more or less than to supply a home and education to those children, whose time which ought to have been dedicated to education, had been spent in the corruption of home, or the absence of any home at all. Private beneficence was more likely to supply the kindness and sensibilities of home than a cast-iron institution, to be supported by the public funds. (Hear, hear.) A General Act was still more difficult to obtain than a local one. They might see by the Education Bills still before the House, started this year by one, and increased with wonderful velocity to the number of six or seven, that where an object was clearly wished for, and the House of Commons had come to a conclusion that it was desirable to have it, yet there was that facility for proposing measures, in the House of Commons, that the fertility of invention having full scope, such a multiplication of recipes arose as obstructed the attainment of the very object desired. The county had one legitimate mode of obtaining its object, which was, as the Magistrates' report stated, to fall back upon an Act already passed, which afforded facilities to institutions established by private funds. Those institutions received certificates from Government, and having done so, were entitled to a portion of the funds of Government, for the maintenance of the children there. As Mr. Baker had so clearly said, that Act gave them great facilities—so great, that eight institutions had already been certified, though the Act had only been passed seven months, and nine other county institutions were on their way to be certified under it. A large supply from private benevolence was, however, necessary to meet the provisions of the Act. (Cheers.) Mr. Baker had alluded to an amendment of that Act, which he (Mr. A.) was about to introduce, unless he could induce Government to do so. It was not a large amendment; for the Act had worked well, but mainly a supplement, on two points: first an alteration in the nature of the sentence through which the children were sent to the Reformatory, making the substitution of the Reformatory a remission of punishment. Those children in the eyes of the law were not fully to blame, but the victims of neglect and want of education, and it was to put that Reformatory in the position of a conditional pardon and remission of sentence, under circumstances in which, in the discretion of the magistrates, they had a right to expect a remission. He also proposed greater facilities, and a more compulsory demand for payment, for the parents who were able to pay; that they should not be relieved by the mere fact of their children going, by their neglect, into these

Reformatories, of the costs of their maintenance. (Hear, hear.) If the parents were unable to pay, or the children were outcasts in the streets, or orphans, then the State stepped in, and as a duty to those children, undertook the care of their education and maintenance. But if the parents were able to pay—and the majority of them were in receipt of large wages, which they spent in vicious self-indulgence, throwing their children upon the streets, to plunder and live as they might—then it was necessary that remedies should be provided making it compulsory upon the parents to pay as much for the maintenance of the children, as it would cost at their own homes. He was glad that this county would lose no time in waiting for an Act even though they had to spend a little money out of their own pockets, in the first establishment of this institution. It was high time to do so. They could not, as patriots, afford to lose this large class of children to the State. If England, limited in extent and area, would carry on great wars, as a first-rate nation, she could not afford, year after year, to waste these resources of the nurseries of her citizens, only consigning them to crime and perdition, and uselessness, or extend the aggravation by saying, that the only way to treat them was to get rid of them, and to send them to distant colonies to get them out of sight. As patriots, they could not afford to lose them; but there was a much higher appeal to those who had a share in the administration of the laws of the country—and in a free state every one had—that they should not incur the blame and responsibility before God, of allowing the administration of the law any longer to consign these large classes of the children of the poor to a criminal course of life, and the loss of their future destiny. (Loud applause).

THE REV. SYDNEY TURNER, (Chaplain and Governor of the Philanthropic Farm School, Red Hill), moved the fourth resolution. He said that he felt bound to attend the meeting at the call of Mr. Adderley, whose heartfelt and unselfish services in the cause of Reformation gave him a right to enlist, to his standard every one, whom he thought could be useful. He felt too, that it was well for those who were labouring in the different fields of action, where that cause was on its trial, to meet together—both to encourage one another by their sympathy and to improve by a comparison of their experience; for it did not signify what difference existed in their views, because Red Hill did not coincide with Saltley, or that with Hardwicke. He hoped the time would come when there would be a more thorough union and association than there had hitherto been, and that ere long they would see such a national gathering as existed in France. (Cheers). In one point of view he felt that he could say something in the way of encouragement, and this might claim the attention of the meeting. He could bear unquestionable testimony to the success of Reformatory agency. The Philanthropic School, at Red Hill, had been opened about six years. It was simply a transfer of the old Philanthropic School in London, and commenced work upon the new principle of agricultural employment, and family discipline. It began with 17 inmates; they had now increased their number there to 200; no less than 750 lads of various ages, from

8 to 18, had been admitted—above 550 had left. Of these, 320 had emigrated to different British Colonies, such as Canada, New Brunswick, Australia, &c. From the best enquiry he could make, as to the 550 lads who had left the School, he thought he could conscientiously assert, that 7 out of every 10 had been substantially reformed and moralized—that instead of being wasps they had become bees—instead of being nuisances and dangers to society, they had become useful contributors to its welfare. Some, he was thankful to say, had taken a still higher position, and become earnest and consistent Christians. He read the following extract from a letter received lately from a young man who had been nearly five years abroad, and had thoroughly established himself in the Colony he went to; as illustrating how right and religious a character of mind some of these who once had been so outcast and lost—had attained to—“You have no conception how happy I felt to see R.S. doing so well. All our lads cling to me in their little troubles, and, I think it no more than my duty to give them fatherly advice, for you thought it no trouble to direct me, and, I thank God for having raised up such a friend as you, for it was you, through God’s blessing, that made a man of me both temporal and spiritual. Sir, I shall never forget your kindness, for God has blessed me and you also. Sir, it is my wish that you and your wife offer up prayers for me to God—for your prayers have been heard for me. . . .

“I feel very sorry to hear of so many of our brave countrymen dying with the disease in this great war. But, however, God does all for the best. My heart leaps within me when I hear of the victories of our great country. I regret that I have not an opportunity of going to the Crimea to share in my country’s victories. God prosper the empire.”—The writer of that letter was now settled in one of the North American provinces, where from sixty to seventy of his former companions of Red Hill were also engaged; and, independently of being largely engaged in business, as a wheelwright, gave his time, kindness, and advice to his friends, and had become the centre of a considerable circle. The reference to the Crimea showed, too, that he had not forgotten old England. Letters like this, and he had many of them, repaid him (Mr. T.) amply for many an hour of toil and discouragement and anxiety, and showed what could be done by anyone who would only make it their motto and rule—“whatever thy hand findeth to do, *do it with all thy might.*”

Fifteen years ago, he had no more notion of being a Reformatory agent than of flying into the air, being then engaged in the clerical ministrations of a large parish. The name of a Chaplain then was not particularly honourable. Chaplains of gaols, and other like-establishments, were looked upon as persons who could not get anything else to do, and, therefore, took refuge in these quiet seats of action. The name and avocation had not been ennobled by a Clay, or a Field, or an Osborne, coming forward to show how glorious clerical agency might prove, even when not employed in a wide field, to produce the most effectual results. Then these Chaplains were not looked upon as very distinguished persons, and there was not much in such a situation to attract a man’s interest and ambition.

Then, too, the juvenile offender was considered a little pest, exceedingly proper for the policeman to look after, and the Magistrate to punish—as something which, if neglected too much, gave you a deal of worry, and inflicted a deal of mischief, and, at last, by one of the strangest things in the world, came to be a burglar, a coinor or a murderer. (Hear, hear.) At that time he had no interest or intention of undertaking the work in which he had since been engaged, but he had received an invitation which, as a call of duty, he could not meet with a refusal. Since then, notwithstanding the many difficulties in his way, arising from the harassing which he had had to go through—the want of money—the coolness of friends—the disapprobation of those who think differently from you—the want of interest and sympathy—among those engaged as fellow labourers with yourself in the practical conversion of juvenile offenders (Hear, hear, and applause)—much had been done in the work, and when a man sat quietly down he might derive from it reflections full of the most substantial comfort and happiness. It had pleased God's providence, by the strength of His grace, to make him, in some remote degree, an agent and instrument of success; and here he would remark that, in looking at the result of the Reformatory work, they must not measure those results by the direct conversion of individuals—whether at the rate of sixty or seventy per cent—but recollect that every individual so reformed, if he had not been reformed, would have been a centre of mischief to destroy and corrupt, while his reformation made him a centre of good influence to effect and ennoble others. (Cheers.) He had been requested to move the fourth resolution—‘That children may not only be so committed to such Reformatory, but may be received also under conditional pardons; and that such children as may not have incurred any judicial sentence may be received upon payment of £12, either by their parents or by any benevolent person in their behalf.’—That resolution was in effect that while it was expedient to take children from paths of crime against their will, it was also most advisable to invite as many volunteers as could be got to leaven the unwilling and careless with the willing and earnest. It was absolutely necessary to step beyond the voluntary class. At the Red Hill a fourth part of their establishment was composed of those who had come in on their own accord, when discharged from prison or on the application of friends. That practically worked well, but they must not allow themselves to depend on that agency alone. The volunteers were but few; whilst those whom they wanted to enlist were the many. The former were usually those who had gone far in criminal courses and turned from them after they had done a large amount of mischief and injury; and were, perhaps, driven by a sense of destitution and despair, to adopt a totally different mode of life. They did not want a man to be thoroughly sick before they attempted to cure him. They wanted to lay hold of him while in a comparatively healthy state, before mischief to any very great extent had been committed. It was folly to let thousands become diseased while they tried only to cure hundreds. They must interfere earlier to prevent the plague from spreading

so widely and sinking so deeply ; still the more they received of those who sought a refuge from crime, and of those whom the relatives, in the exercise of natural duty placed in the school for cure—the better. The volunteer would lead on and influence the conscript. There would be no difficulty, if their discipline was the right sort, as regarded him. There was no reason because they were indulgent to a certain extent to volunteers to be harsh to others who were brought to them, as for punishment. They should combine the two ; and not repel the one whilst encouraging the other. Parents should be allowed to place children ~~themselves~~ themselves ; and they could not do better than by every means enlist the parents' natural sympathy in behalf of the fallen and degraded child ; and they ought to do everything to stimulate this feeling and bring it into action. Parents would be induced to pursue that course from a sense of justice and interest in their child's welfare, the more a right education and feeling was spread. (Cheers.) With regard to the expenses of the institution he would content himself with saying, don't be too sanguine that you are going to do it very cheap. Every institution with which he had yet been acquainted, started with a full faith in economical management, but he must confess that their anticipations were not realised. They could not carry on the treatment of disease as cheaply as of health. They wanted a higher and more improved sort of agency—a man of peculiar qualities and powers, and such a man could be readily employed in every department of life, and find success in so many avenues and ways of the world, that they could not get him to engage in the Reformatory work unless adequately remunerated ; especially if he had to provide for a wife and family. He would call the attention of the meeting to the fact that the more lasting and effectual the reformation (as in the case of a lad enabled to go abroad and commence his career altogether in new circumstances) the more expensive his training and industrial instruction. He had much experience in the system of apprenticing boys from Reformatory schools to tailors and shoemakers, and similar small working tradesmen in London, and he did not believe that in ordinary cases the results would be found satisfactory. They must not be disappointed if they found their expenses exceeding their calculations. He did not wish to discourage them, when he said that they ought not to be surprised if, instead of boys costing them £12 or £13, they cost nearer £23, £24, or £25. At Mettray the cost of a boy was £16 a year, but then living in France did not exceed 1s. 8d. a week for each lad, and clothing £2 a year ; and even there they could not manage under £16 a year. Although Prison Inspectors looked down upon their dietary at Red Hill, and Mr. Tufnell had compared it, without praise, with that of workhouses, well it cost them something like 5s. per week, and the late enormous prices of provisions had made a great difference in their actual expenses. Whether the boy cost £20 or £30 a year, or £80 or £90 they had cent. per cent. for their money ; for after all the point to keep in view was, that if reformation was expensive crime was much more so. That the boy left to his vicious career cost three or four times as much as he would have done in the most expensive

Reformatory school, and that his reformation and non-reformation did not only affect himself; that either in for good or for evil, he saved or destroyed scores besides himself. (Cheers.)

J. G. PERRY, Esq., her Majesty's Inspector of Prisons, seconded the resolution. After observing that he felt exceedingly honoured in having been selected by the Committee, although unconnected, except officially, with the county, for the purpose of assisting in their proceedings; he stated that he had always looked with veneration at the county of Warwick as having been foremost among the counties of England in establishing an industrial Reformatory School for criminal children: an example which he rejoiced to say, was now being extensively followed. For several years after he had undertaken the duty of inspecting prisons, Magistrates were by the then existing state of the law, placed under the sad necessity of committing children, even of seven years and upwards, upon charges of larceny, to prison, where they remained for weeks and months awaiting trial. Subsequent legislation had removed that necessity, and the Act of the last Session had at length put it into the power of magistrates to send these young offenders to the proper place for them—the School. Although from the lateness of the hour, he forbore to detain the meeting by any further remarks upon the resolution which had already been sufficiently explained, he thought it necessary to add a few words to what had fallen from Mr. Adderley relative to obtaining the cost of maintenance of children in Reformatories from their parents. The meeting should understand that the present law gave full power to impose that charge upon the parents: it was only the machinery for recovering it that required improvement in order to make more effectual that part of the Act which he considered to be of the greatest possible value. (Hear, hear.)

We have given, at rather considerable length, the addresses of the chief speakers of the Warwickshire Reformatory Meeting, and we have adopted this course as we consider these addresses contain the fullest and best arguments in aid of the Reformatory principle, and their force and power are redoubled when we remember that they are the well considered teachings of those who have, in these Kingdoms, devoted much time, thought, and money to test the working of Reformatory agency in checking Juvenile crime. It may be said that these principles and facts for the truth of which the speakers contended are admitted, but if they be admitted, we reply, they are like many other good, and wise, and holy principles, admitted—and neglected in the working. These principles must be repeated again and again; instances of counties and of cities accepting, and acting upon them must be recorded; and thus the "affecting circumstances"—"dates, names, and figures" (in which Sydney Smith declared John Bull found everything to convince him) being supplied, we may, through the hope



of the effect of example, expect to see the Reformatory principle accepted by the most stolid of our Corporations or the most wrong-headed of our Grand Juries.

By way of example, we shall now record some very remarkable instances of the complete adoption of the principle.

In our last Record we inserted most able speeches made by members of the Corporation of Liverpool, at a meeting of their body held shortly before the issuing of our March number. Since that period the advocates of Reformatories have not been idle: a Liverpool Juvenile Reformatory Institution has been formed, and from a circular, dated April 23rd, 1855, and kindly sent us by the Rev. Thomas Carter, one of the Honorary Secretaries, we gather the following particulars:—

*Patrons.*

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,  
The Right Hon. the Earl of Harrowby,  
The Right Hon. the Earl of Ellesmere,  
The Lord Stanley, M.P.

*General Committee.*

The Members of Parliament for the Southern Division of the County of Lancaster, the Members of Parliament for the Borough of Liverpool,

The High Sheriff for the County,  
The Mayor for Liverpool,  
The Magistrates for the Borough of Liverpool,  
The Bevds. the Rectors of Liverpool,  
The Churchwardens of the Parish,  
The Members of the Town Council,  
The Chairman of the Dock Committee,  
The Chairman of the Shipowners' Association,  
The Chaplain of the Borough Goal,

Thomas Thornly, Esq. M.P.  
John Cropper, Esq.,  
William Gregson, Esq.,  
Samuel Martin, Esq.,  
John North, Esq.,  
John Clint, Esq.,  
John Aikin, Esq.,

Charles H. Langton, Esq.,  
John Wybergh, Jun., Esq.,  
James R. Brougham, Esq.,  
S. R. Graves, Esq.,  
Rev. Francis Bishop,  
Edward Heath, Esq.,  
Robert Rankin, Esq.

*Bankers*—Messrs. Arthur Heywood, Sons, and Co.

*Treasurer*—Thomas D. Anderson, Esq.

*Honorary Secretaries pro tem.*

Rev. Thomas Carter and Joseph Hubback, Esq.

After explaining the provisions of the Youthful Offenders' Act, the circular is continued thus:—

Our late lamented fellow-townsmen, Mr. Rushton, was the first person to rouse the attention of the public in Liverpool to a subject so important to the credit and welfare of the town. His long experience as stipendiary magistrate gave him peculiar facilities for forming a sound judgment upon it, and added extraordinary weight to his opinion; and it is well known that he made every exertion to obtain from Parliament those powers which have now been granted, and which he considered indispensable for the successful working of any Institution which might be formed for the reception and reformatory training of juvenile delinquents. It was at his instance that the Town Council, some years ago, voted a sum of money to assist in the formation of a Reformatory Institution in Liverpool. The plan was not at that time carried into effect, partly owing to the difficulty of meeting with a suitable site, but principally because it was felt that additional legislative powers were needed. This latter difficulty having now been removed, and the Town Council having placed a sum of £2000 at the disposal of a committee formed for the purpose of carrying out the plan, it is proposed that a Reformatory be established, and that it embrace three Institutions.

First, as peculiarly applicable to the exigencies of this borough and port, and as promising a ready means of speedily and usefully employing the boys, it is proposed to procure a hulk or block ship to be moored in the river, on board of which boys of sufficient age and promise may be received and trained for employment in the merchant marine service or her Majesty's navy, on the general plan adopted by the Marine Society on board their frigate at Woolwich. This proposal has already been favourably entertained by the Shipowners' Association; and it may not be improper to state that an application for the grant of a supernumery frigate has already been made to the Lords of the Admiralty.

Secondly, as many boys will be too young for such training, and physically or otherwise unfit for a seafaring life, it is further proposed that an Institution for boys shall be established on shore at a reasonable distance from Liverpool—sufficiently near to be within easy access for supervision, and yet sufficiently remote to be beyond the liability of intrusion of the friends or old associates of the boys. Here it is proposed (as following the best existing models) to locate the boys in families of from 20 to 30, and to teach them tailoring, shoemaking, and other mechanical trades, and also to train them in agricultural pursuits. And,

Thirdly, since the girls, though not the most numerous, are certainly the most helpless of our criminal population, it is proposed to form an Institution for them exclusively. This may be nearer home; and in its internal management the assistance of ladies may be beneficially employed.

When the vast amount of youthful destitution and crime with which our streets abound is considered, it will not be denied that the necessity for all these is equally pressing; nor will it be less manifest that a work of such magnitude, and involving matters of such difficulty, cannot be carried even into partial effect without a large accession of pecuniary means and personal co-operation.

The contribution of the Town Council has been augmented by donations, already announced, to the extent of upwards of £1000, and the Executive Committee thus makes known its powers, its views, and the means so far at its disposal, in the confident hope that its intentions may meet with general approval, and that means will be supplied for their full and early development.

DONATIONS ALREADY RECEIVED.

	£	s.	d.
The Town Council of Liverpool .....	2000	0	0
The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby.....	100	0	0
The Right Hon. the Earl of Ellesmere.....	10	0	0
The Mayor, James Aspinall Tobin, Esq. ...	100	0	0
William Browne, Esq., M.P. ....	100	0	0
Thomas Berry Horsfall, Esq. M.P.....	100	0	0
Gilbert Henderson, Esq., Recorder of Liverpool...	21	0	0
Richard Vaughan Yates, Esq. ....	100	0	0
Miss Yates and Miss J. Ellen Yates, Farmfield.....	100	0	0
William Rathbone, Esq.....	100	0	0
George Holt, Esq.....	100	0	0
William Gregson, Esq. ....	100	0	0
Thomac D. Anderson, Esq. ....	100	0	0
James Stitt, Esq. ....	50	0	0
Francis A. Hamilton, Esq.....	50	0	0
Jonathan Williamson, Esq.....	20	0	0
Joseph Hubback, Esq.....	25	0	0
Sundries since, about.....	200	0	0

Berkshire affords the second proof of the progress of the Reformatory principle; and distinguished as the county already is by the possession of one of the best managed and most admirable Prisons in the universe, it is now about to establish a Reformatory School, on plans so well considered and so reasonable, that we can have no doubt of successful and satisfactory results not unworthy a county which can number Reading Gaol amongst its institutions.

At the Berks' Easter Sessions of 1855, a Committee of Magistrates was appointed to collect subscriptions, and to make the necessary arrangements for establishing a county Reformatory, and at the Meeting £190 were subscribed in sums varying from £50 to £10; and from that time to the beginning of May additional subscriptions amounting to £195 were paid to the Treasurer. At a Meeting of the Committee, held on the 7th of April, it was resolved unanimously:—

“1st.—That it is advisable to form a small Establishment in the County, under the more immediate superintendence of the Subscribers.

2nd.—That the character of the School shall be that of cottage

accommodation—plain and simple—such as every well-conducted labourer may hope to attain for himself.

A Sub-Committee was appointed to inspect a property at Shinfield, with a view to its purchase; and to prepare a scheme for the School, in accordance with the above resolutions; and to report the probable amount of expence which will be needed to start and carry on the School.

At the Adjourned Meeting of the Committee, held April 21st, the following report of the Sub-committee was read and adopted:

‘The sub-committee appointed to inspect the proposed site at Shinfield, and to draw up a scheme for a Reformatory School, report as follows:—They have gone over the land and buildings proposed to be purchased, which were originally the workhouse of Shinfield parish, and they find that in many respects they are very desirable for the purpose. There is sufficient room for two married men as superintendents, and from 35 to 40 boys. They have availed themselves of the services of Mr. Olacy, the surveyor, who pronounces the walls and roof to be sound, but certain alterations necessary. There is a well of good water adjoining the house; the land, about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  acres, appeared to be good garden ground; and the locality is stated to be decidedly healthy. The property belongs to the Rev. G. Hulme, and is about a mile distant from the new Church at Grazely. They also find that there is a larger extent of land adjoining, which may be secured hereafter when required. They therefore recommend that the premises be purchased for the school. The only difficulty which the committee had with reference to the drainage of the flood waters; but they have satisfied themselves that this evil was caused, not by the want of fall, but from the want of an effectual drain into the lower level. They recommend that the west wing of the building be immediately fitted for the residence of the Superintendent, who should be a married man, and with his wife have the sole charge of the boys. They have reason to believe that for 14s. a week, and rations, the services of such a person may be secured. They propose that one half of the centre of the house be fitted for the reception of the first instalment of boys, by removing an intermediate floor, which will secure an airy day-room and sleeping room; leaving the other half to be dealt with in the same way, as occasion may require. The outlay for the above and some smaller alterations of the offices they estimate at £100. They find from the experience of all Reformatory Schools, that it is necessary to begin with a very small number of boys, increasing them only as an improved tone and feeling can be secured among them; so that they have reason to believe the arrangements above recommended would be sufficient for this year, and there would be labour enough for the boys in clearing away rubbish, getting the land and fences in order, and in draining and making the necessary preparations for increasing the number next summer. The expenses of the present year, as far as they can calculate them, will be

For purchase of house, &c., about.....	£400
Repairs and alterations to ditto .....	100
For fixtures, furniture, tools .....	100
	— £600

One year's salary of Superintendent .....	35
One ditto keep of the boys.....	100

£735

Of this sum the maintenance of the boys will be repaid by Government as soon as the school is certified. And they estimate that a further sum of £300 will be required next year for additional furniture and alterations before the full complement of boys can be admitted."

It will be observed that the plan here suggested is that which Mr. Baker has so successively and energetically carried out in his Farm School, at Hardwicke.\* Berks, however, is not the only district resolved to adopt Mr. Baker's school as the model; at the Leicestershire Easter Sessions the Rev. Henry Wood, in adverting to the evils of Gaol association observed, in his Report, as Chaplain to the county Prison :—" I would also call the attention of the magistrates to the fact, that during the quarter there has been a daily average of fourteen male juveniles and four female. These boys are fearfully contaminated by the present system, and many of them might have been restored improved to society, had they been placed under better influences :"

and with these facts before them, the justices received and adopted the following Report, which we copy from *The Leicester Chronicle* of Saturday, April 7th :—

"The Committee appointed at the last Sessions to enquire into the state and condition of the Reformatories, certified or in progress, the modes of obtaining admission thereto, and into any other matters connected with the purposes of the Act of 17th and 18th Victoria, cap 86, for the better care and reformation of youthful offenders, report.

That at their first meeting, the very kind and liberal offer from Lady Noel Byron, of a house and twelve acres of land, at Peckleton, rent free, with other advantages, was communicated to them, and after expressing their grateful thanks to her ladyship, it was resolved to request the High Sheriff to call a County Meeting to consider and promote the formation of a Reformatory on the premises so offered.

The proceedings of that meeting are before the county. The committee there named have opened a subscription, have appointed three of their number—Henry Townsend, Esq., the Rev. G. E. Bruxner, and the Rev. Henry Wood, managers for the year, and requested them to proceed to form and carry out the objects of the Institution.

These gentlemen have received possession of the premises, with some additional arable land (the 12 acres being in grass), and are

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\* For some account of this School, see ante, Art. IX.

proceeding with their arrangements. One of their number has visited the Reformatory at Hardwick, established by Mr. Baker, who kindly attended our county meeting to afford us information on the subject, and an officer from the Borough Gaol, conversant with farming, has been engaged as superintendent, and is about to proceed to the Hardwicke establishment for instruction, so that it is hoped in a short time to have our institution at Peckleton ready to offer to the Secretary of State for inspection and certification ; after which, it will be announced to be open for the reception of such juvenile offenders as the Courts or the Magistrates in Petty Sessions are empowered to commit to it, under the provisions of the Act. In the meantime, the following Institutions, we find, are certified, and the reports received of them are very satisfactory. Many others are in progress."

FOR BOYS.

1. Saltley, near Birmingham, for ..... 28
2. Hardwicke, near Gloucester, for ..... 34
3. Kingswood, near Bristol, for ..... 36
4. Stoke, near Broomsgrove, for ..... 22

FOR GIRLS.

5. The Red Lodge, at Bristol, for ..... 16
6. The Birmingham Girls' Reformatory ..... 6

All these are under the inspection and charge of J. G. Perry, Esq., Westbourne-street, London, and the mode of obtaining admission to them is to apply to that gentleman ; but at present, the Committee are informed, that no vacancies exist.

The Clerk of the Leicester Bench of Petty Sessions has prepared forms for convictions and commitments, under the Act, which are presented with this report.

Should cases occur which the Magistrates may desire to commit to any of these Reformatories, where there has not been time for any previous arrangement for their admission, it is recommended that sentence be deferred until communication with Mr. Perry may be had.

Full information has not yet been obtained as to the mode of proceeding under the 6th section of the Act, for compelling parents or step-parents to support the juvenile offenders whilst in the Reformatory.

The Committee beg to suggest that it might be of advantage for the Court to consider and express its opinion as to the description of offenders in whose cases these Reformatories may be most beneficially employed.

The immediate object being to reduce as quickly as possible the number of boys already engaged in depredation and crime, and the most active in corrupting others and seducing them into their ranks, it would appear advisable at first, rather to look to disposing of this class than to those who, although as yet almost uncorrupted, may have fallen for the first time into some slight offence, which may be met sufficiently by a short separate confinement in our County Prison, where they will not be exposed to the influence of evil society and example.

There may probably be many, who may, as yet, have rendered themselves liable to the charges of vagrancy or slight offences, who, from parental neglect, or even encouragement to crime, may be more

active in corrupting others than some who may only just be entering upon evil courses, and whom, therefore, it may appear more easy to arrest in their downward career and to reform. Although the first impulse may be to rescue this latter class, yet it may be more *expedient*, with a view to dry up the sources of corruption *first* to remove the former from their opportunities of doing mischief. From the information received, it appears that the effect of removing the worst and most hardened of the juvenile offenders from a district or a town, has been to reduce the amount of juvenile crime to a degree far beyond expectation; and it is said, that these *worst* when brought under favourable circumstances, are not the most difficult to reform.

It is desirable that it should be fully understood, that whatever funds may be required for the purpose of the Institution, must be raised by private contribution, and that no charges will be made upon the County Rate.

The Committee would, therefore, urge upon all those who are favourably disposed towards this undertaking, the necessity of their speedy and effectual aid, either in the way of donation or annual subscription.

Signed on behalf of the Committee,  
J. D. BURNABY, Chairman."

Thus far we have had to record successes; but, we regret to add, the admirable institution of which Mr. Nash is Manager has not been supported as extensively as its admitted merit deserves; it was stated at a Meeting held a few weeks since, in Willis's Rooms, that the institution was verging on bankruptcy. Our readers are well aware of the great benefits conferred by this Reformatory, and if Mr. Nash be not seconded in his efforts the country will have to lament, too late, a failure more pitiable than that of Stretton-on-Dunsmore.

In our last Record we inserted the Report adopted by a Meeting of Justices, held for the purpose of establishing a Reformatory for the West Riding of Yorkshire: but this project has been, we regret to learn, abandoned. However, a gentleman of fortune, and station in the county, E. B. Wheatley, Esq., A.M. of Cote Wall, Mirfield, has nobly resolved that Yorkshire shall not be out-done in philanthropy by Gloucestershire, and that Hardwick shall have a worthy rival. Writing to us of Mr. Wheatley an esteemed friend observes:—

"The West Riding plan for establishing Reformatories having failed, he is now preparing the requisite buildings for receiving five and twenty in a private establishment: he is also going to make a Reformatory tour through France, Belgium, and the North of Germany."

Urged by the admirable lecture on Mettray, delivered in

1854, before the Leeds Philosophical Institute, by his friend, Mr. Robert Hall, Recorder of Doncaster, (and to which he pays a tribute of praise not less graceful than deserved) Mr. Wheatley visited Mettray in the month of December, 1854, and in the early months of the present year he inspected Mr. Baker's School at Hardwicke; and a few weeks ago he delivered a lecture (since published, and entitled *A Visit to Mettray*.) before the Dewsbury Parochial Reading Society.

Our readers are fully acquainted with the history of Mettray, and of its system, therefore we shall not extract this portion of Mr. Wheatley's Lecture, but shall insert the following description of M. Demetz, and of his "other-self," M. Blanshard:—

Leaving London at 11 a.m. on Monday December 11th, and resting a few hours at Paris I arrived at Mettray at 3 on Tuesday afternoon.

Mr. Hall had kindly written, to tell M. De Metz that I was coming, and I at once made my way to his house, and was very cordially received by him.

There is little in M. De Metz's appearance to indicate the remarkable man he is, except the high forehead and dark eye expressive of strong feeling, and in his dress, only the morsel of red riband in the coat which marks a member of the Legion of Honour.

Finding that my time was limited, he immediately sent for M. Blanshard to show me what I could see before it was dark. M. Blanshard is his lieutenant colonel so to speak, upon whom—as M. De Metz being probably the highest authority in Europe on questions of this kind, is so often called away to superintend the formation of new Institutions and the like, the actual management of the colony, in a great measure, devolves.

I had heard much of M. Blanshard from Mr. Hall, but I confess I was a little surprised at the appearance which presented itself to me; a figure in a sort of blue military uniform, covered by a capote, a loose coat with a hood behind—the feet protected from the wet which prevailed, by sabots, the French wooden shoes, and the head by a sort of broad brimmed wide awake hat, which seems the regulation head piece of the officers of the colony; and a face covered with beard and moustaches, enough to satisfy the most ardent admirer of the present hairy movement, which threatens to annihilate the trade in razors, and seriously to damage the prospects of soap.

However, I soon found that this, to an English eye, somewhat singular exterior covered a heart full of the milk of human kindness, and the mind of a well informed man and a careful student of human nature; possessing a combination of qualities not often found together, much shrewdness with a certain degree of enthusiasm. Both these are necessary in dealing with the boys of low moral tone, but frequently with faculties almost unnaturally sharpened. Shrewdness is necessary to deal with such minds trained often to all the arts of



deceit, while a certain degree of enthusiasm is required to win sympathy, and carry a man through a laborious work.

Such was the man whom M. De Metz introduced as his "other self."

The next passage shows the effect of Reformatory training :—

We returned to the great court, which now presented a busy scene. It was five o'clock ; the time for industrial occupation was over, and the boys were going to work in school. Boys were issuing from all the workshops and coming in gangs from the farm yard. Each betook himself to a covered shed, which extends between every two houses, and forms a place for play and gathering, to the boys of one family. There, all who belonged to one family formed in military line and were called over by the chef—the officer at the head of the family.

While this was going on, a boy came running up to M. Blanshard with eager countenance, evidently asking some favour ; which M. Blanshard, after a few words of kindly conversation, granted. Not catching what was said, I asked M. B. when he was gone, the boy's request,

"There is a place of a haircutter vacant, and he wishes to have it. What advantage will he get by that ?

"None, it is a corvée, he will have to cut other boys' hair in his own play time."

Those who have looked into the early history of the French Revolution, may remember the odium attached at that time to that word corvée, which is in plain English, work without wages ; and was then applied to those burdens of forced labour, which contributed with other abuses, to bring about that terrible outburst of pent-up human passions.

But now how different ! Here was a boy seeking a corvée. And why ? Because he had learnt the lesson, which it is one chief object with the directors of Mettray to instil into these poor lads, that labour is honourable, that to labour for others in however humble a sphere is noble. The boy's eager look shewed how well he had learnt the lesson.

We now have the following beautiful description of a most affecting scene :—

This morning, the boys of one family, instead of breaking up to their different trades, formed as usual and marched off with their chef to the shed attached to their house. A boy belonging to that family had lately died, and was just going to be buried. I watched the preparations for the funeral with great interest ; for I had read in the published accounts of the Institution, of the striking and salutary effect which was produced on the minds of the boys, by the solemn and respectful way in which the funeral of the first who died here, was conducted. The observation of one of them, when he got back to the infirmary after witnessing the funeral of his comrade was, "well we are something after all—in the prisons when any of

us died, they used to throw his body into a hole with quick-lime, like carrion."

The wise directors of Mettray saw from the first, the importance of creating and fostering in the minds of the boys that sense of self respect, without which there can be little respect for others; and as one means thereto, took care that the burial of their dead should be conducted with decent solemnity.

The funeral of a boy who has died is attended by all the family to which he belonged, by the elder brothers of all the other families, and by such of those who were in the infirmary with him as were well enough; and it is the constant duty of the elder brothers of his family to trim the turf upon his grave.

This morning the boys stood waiting in two lines in solemn silence, under their shed. Presently the elder brothers appeared carrying a simple wooden shell, to a room near the chapel where the dead are laid, and shortly after reappeared carrying the coffin on a bier covered with a pall, and placed it between the line of boys. Again we waited, until from the chapel appeared the chaplain with three singers, and two boys bearing the usual insignia of Roman Catholic worship.

A short service was said over the corpse as it stood, and then a procession was formed; the brass band which was in attendance sounded a solemn march; the bell tolled from the tower; and the whole moved in order into the chapel, the head of the family following the bier as chief mourner. Here a longer service was said, the bell still tolling at intervals, and then the procession was again formed in order as before, joined by some of the Sisters of Charity, and moved through the farm yard to the cemetery.

This is the most ornamented spot, as M. Blanchard observed to me, about the colony; carefully enclosed and planted with tall cypresses and weeping willows.

After observing upon the difference between the Burial Service of the Protestant and Roman Catholic churches, Mr. Wheatley proceeds thus:—

The concluding part of the ceremony was interesting. The chaplain shed, from the instrument used for the purpose, a few drops of consecrated water into the grave, then handed it to one of the singers who did the same, and then passed away from the grave; then the Sisters in their turn—then M. Blanchard, and so on to the boys, each in turn sprinkling a few farewell drops on the coffin of the dead. And I thought it right to show those boys; that one of a nation once hostile, but now happily allied to their own; yet still one of a faith widely different from theirs, was not unwilling to join in paying the last sad tribute of respect to one of the number, and to recognise in that cold clay, the remains of a brother for whom Christ died—a corruptible which must one day put on incorruption—a mortal which must put on immortality, for an eternity of woe.

Turning away from the grave, and watching awhile, the boys

passing on one by one, M. Blanchard pointed out to me among the neat simple graves of the boys, one somewhat more adorned,—the grave of M. De Courteilles, the joint worker with M. De Metz in the original establishment of the colony.

The story of M. De Courteilles's end is so touching, and so suitable a conclusion to the scene I have just been trying to describe, that you will I think forgive me for alluding to it. It is shortly told in two notes to Mr. Hall's pamphlet.

I should have mentioned, in describing the great school room, that at the end there is a bust of M. De Courteilles, with a few words in French inscribed under it, which were found in his will, to this effect—"With them have I lived" i.e. the boys, "with them I die, and with them rise again." A more simple yet striking expression, at once of Christian faith, hope and charity, I do not remember. Of charity, that he (the noble and the soldier) should have chosen to spend his declining days with these poor outcasts of society, for the love of Him who left his glory and the choirs of blessed spirits—the ninety and nine that went not astray,—and came into the wilderness of this world to seek the one lost sheep, mankind; the Great Physician who came not to the whole, but to the sick, and who submitted to be called the "friend of publicans and sinners." Of faith, in the power of God's good spirit, acting through the means of Christian education, to raise these dry bones to life, and draw forth from such wild and barren stocks, the fair fruits of a christian life. Of hope, that could look forward, as the sure conclusion of such a life in the teacher and the taught, that they should share together a blissful resurrection.

It is a simple fact that M. De Courteilles did live with these boys—I must tell how the first of his wishes, that he might die with them, was fulfilled.

He had been attending the bed side of a youth who had up to that time shown singular hardness and impenitency, untouched by the softening hand of sickness. This boy had, on that occasion first begun to show symptoms of relenting and of penitence. M. De Courteilles in the fulness of his heart, went to seek a volume of sermons by the famous preacher Lacordaire, and to find in it a striking passage, describing how the stoniest heart sometimes is suddenly found to give way, touched and broken by an unseen but, Almighty hand, like the image in Nebuchadnezzar's dream. He was in the act of pointing out the passage to some of his friends, when the book suddenly dropped from his hand, and he was dead.

"A wfully sudden" the world calls such an end; but to the eye of faith it must seem a blessed and striking fulfilment of his wish to die with these boys; his last hour spent in ministering to their wants of body and soul; his last act, that of the faithful shepherd calling his friends and neighbours together, to rejoice with him for the recovery of the sheep that was lost,—sharing in the very moment of his death the joy of the angels in heaven over one sinner that repenteth.

What was might do towards the fulfilment of his last wish, "that he might rise again with them," in the place of his burial is done, for he

lies amidst the graves of the boys, beneath the tall cypresses, in the cemetery at Mettray.

And if we look to that day to which he looked forward, and to which our thoughts most naturally revert as we stand by an open grave—that great day when those graves again shall open, and the dead, great and small—the teacher, and the taught, shall stand before God; to whom we may ask will those words, which we know on the highest authority will then be spoken, be more exactly applicable than to that good man and to such as he, those words which He who then shall sit on the great white throne, will say to them on his right hand, “I was a stranger and ye took me in, naked, and ye clothed me, I was sick, and ye visited me, in prison, and ye came unto me—for inasmuch as ye did it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye did it unto me.”

Knowing, as the reader now does, the kind of man Mr. Wheatley is, he can the better understand the following article, extracted from *The Leeds Mercury* of April 22th.

#### “REFORMATORY SCHOOLS IN THE WEST RIDING.

The manner in which this subject has hitherto been dealt with seems somewhat unfortunate, and illustrates the necessity for special wisdom in the first step of any course of policy. In November last, a meeting of West Riding magistrates was convened at Wakefield, ‘to consider the Act recently passed ‘for the better care and reformation of juvenile offenders,’ with a view to the formation of a Reformatory School or Schools in the West Riding.’ The issue of a meeting of the same body, in session at Pontefract, last week, has induced us to refer to our report of the proceedings on the former occasion, and we cannot but attribute the perfect failure which closed the latest discussion to a single circumstance, viz.,—that none but magistrates were invited to consider the subject when originally broached. It is quite clear that the Act of Parliament which constituted the ground of procedure in the first instance, did not contemplate any merely official attempts to carry out its provisions: the assumption of the opening clause is, in fact, that there are and may be reformatory schools *established by voluntary contributions*. It is natural, therefore, that a meeting of official gentlemen only,—not, indeed, called to act as magistrates, but convened because they were such,—should have found the consideration of the subject encumbered by difficulties, which would never have existed had the promoters summoned all persons interested in drying up juvenile crime, to meet and avail themselves of new facilities for accomplishing that object. At the outset of the proceedings in November, the Hon. E. Lascelles (Chairman), and Mr. E. B. Wheatley, reported that they had visited a Reformatory School founded three years since by Mr. Baker, of Hardwicke-court, Gloucestershire, in his immediate neighbourhood. Both gentlemen spoke of the results there already attained as highly gratifying, and they agreed in recommending that any experiment which might be tried in the West Riding should be on a small scale at first; a few insti-

tutions capable of accommodating some thirty or forty boys each being established by benevolent persons in different parts of the Riding, rather than any great central institution decided upon. So deeply convinced was Mr. Wheatley of the value of this instrumentality that he announced his readiness immediately to open a Reformatory school near his own residence. It is a misfortune that this handsome proposal was not at once stamped with the approval of the meeting, and other gentlemen requested to organise public feeling in their respective districts in behalf of similar institutions. Instead of this course being adopted, a committee (of Magistrates) was appointed to look out for a site near Wakefield, on which a Reformatory School, capable of containing one hundred juvenile male offenders, might be erected, and to report on the probable cost of the building and the purchase of land. The resolution in favour of a general institution induced Mr Wheatley to waive his own project, which depended in some measure for its success on the simultaneous establishment of other small schools. He was induced to forego his intention in order to throw no seeming impediment in the way of a scheme generally approved, though he had expressed a belief that 'if a central school was established, it would look like a prison, and get into disrepute'—a sentiment not less distinctly enunciated by several other gentlemen present.

The result of the inquiries of the committee was reported on Monday week, at Pontefract: it was, that no eligible site had been found. This might very reasonably have prompted two additional inquiries on the spot—1st, whether Mr. Wheatley should not be solicited to renew his offer; and 2nd, whether, seeing that no opening existed for the establishment of a general Riding Reformatory, it was not the wisest course for magistrates to call their neighbours together, and in combination with the beneficent among them to imitate the proposed example at Mirfield. If either idea suggested itself—as we know was the case—it was practically ignored at the instance of Mr. T. H. Ingham, who closed a lengthened and earnest exposition of the necessity for reformatory schools by moving a resolution affirming that necessity, but with a Rider, the plain effect of which was to discourage the establishment of a solitary school until the law on this subject had been altered. A barren declaration that no time ought to be lost in establishing asylums for juvenile criminals in the West Riding was accompanied, not by a proposal to enlist private benevolence in the work of planting them in various localities, but by a formal assurance addressed to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, and conveying the opinion of 'the Court' that 'difficulty and delay will arise unless some other means than voluntary aid be provided for the establishment of these institutions.' To our great surprise, this almost self-contradictory and certainly unpractical resolution was carried, though both Mr. E. Lascelles and Mr. Denison showed that it pointed at a county rate as the alternative for voluntary aid,—though a rate could not be had without a change in the law—though the mover had never tested public beneficence in the Riding on the question—and though within the Court stood a gentleman waiting for encouragement to set an example of enlightened liberality in the very direction pleaded for.

It is satisfactory to know that the encouragement then withheld has been drawn by Mr. Wheatley from his own sense of duty and the successful experience of others. A letter from that gentleman, in another part of our paper, communicates the fact with characteristic modesty.\* We are glad too that it affords us an opportunity of acknowledging an error into which we fell last week, by speaking of the Reformatory School at Hardwicks Court as having ceased to exist, instead of referring that calamity to its proper scene, Stretton-on-Dunsmore, in the county of Warwick. So far from Mr. Baker's institution having fallen, its success morally and its comparative inexpensiveness, were both effectually urged by that gentleman last week, as inducements to philanthropists in Warwickshire to establish a yet more comprehensive Reformatory at Salter than had expired at Stretton shortly after the death of its presiding genius, and partly in consequence of that event. The signal benefits which have flowed from the institution at Red Hill were described as follows, on the same occasion, by the Rev. Sidney Turner :—

‘The Philanthropic School, at Red Hill, had been opened about six years. It was simply a transfer of the old Philanthropic School in London, and commenced work upon the new principle of agricul-

\* The following is the note here referred to :—

“TO THE EDITORS OF THE LEEDS MERCURY.

GENTLEMEN,—Truth constrains me again to obtrude myself into your columns.

It might be inferred from your article last week, in which my name occurs with too favourable mention, that the proposed establishment of a Reformatory School is my doing only ; whereas, in fact, six gentlemen, Mr. Lascelles, Mr. E. Akroyd, Mr. J. B. Greenwood, Mr. H. W. Wickham, Mr. C. Hardy, and Mr. F. Wormald, have undertaken to share, as a committee, the pecuniary, and what is more, the moral responsibility involved. I am proud to acknowledge the generosity of each of the two first-named in offering to share it with me singly ; and also the liberal assistance of Mr. W. H. Leatham and the kind promises of others.

May I take this opportunity of reminding you, that the West Riding, though hanging for a little at present, has the honour of having anticipated by several years the present reformatory movement.

It owes that honour mainly to the sagacious benevolence of the Rev. J. A. Rhodes, and the personal self-devotion of Mrs. Bailey, in founding and carrying on the House of Refuge at Wakefield. I fear that the public do not know, or they could not fail more highly to appreciate, the value of that institution, which has restored so many women from crime and its attendant degradation to honesty and respectability, and which needs now only more liberal support to carry out that work more completely and also to answer all the purpose of a Reformatory School for young girls who have unhappily fallen into crime.

Here the preliminary difficulties of first establishment, which are deemed so serious, have been overcome. The appliances, both material and moral, exist. I trust the awakened sympathies of the public will not suffer them to be wasted for want of support by annual subscriptions.

I am, Gentlemen, yours faithfully,  
Cote Wall, 20th April, 1855. E. B. WHEATLEY.”

tural employment, and family discipline. It began with 17 inmates; they had now increased their number there to 200; no less than 750 lads of various ages, from 8 to 18, had been admitted—above 550 had left. Of these 320 had emigrated to different British Colonies, such as Canada, New Brunswick, Australia, &c. From the best inquiry he could make, as to the 550 lads who had left the school, he thought he could conscientiously assert, that seven out of every ten had been substantially reformed and moralized—that instead of being wasps they had become bees—instead of being nuisances and dangers to society, they had become useful contributors to its welfare. Some, he was thankful to say, had taken a still higher position, and become earnest and consistent Christians.'

Our readers will, we think, agree with us that these are results alike happy and inspiring. The strongest motives, then, present themselves in combination, appealing to the inhabitants of the West Riding to enter on a new sphere of benevolence. They have the example of other counties, in fifteen of which Reformatory Schools are at this very time in a fair way of being launched, and which have all been projected since the passing of the 'Act for the better care and reformation of Juvenile Offenders.' A wise economy,—for nothing is so costly as crime,—and Christian philanthropy prompt to vigorous, united, and liberal efforts. In originating establishments of the kind in question, the generosity and the knowledge of facts possessed by Magistrates would be equally useful. It is they who see most of juvenile crime, and of the utter inadequacy of prisons and punishments to root it out. We are most fully convinced that a few months experience of the working of a Reformatory School, under a well qualified head, would satisfy the warmest advocate for county rates and magisterial management that both would be out of place,—both, because the former involves the latter, and because the universal testimony of magistrates who have studied the history of Reformatory Schools declares that their heads—main-springs we may call them—must act freely and uncontrolled. Universal testimony also favours small rather than large institutions. A few large ones do indeed exist, but they have gradually enlarged their proportions, and the *family principle* which distinguished them in their origin has been religiously maintained. Such is the case at Mettray, which the French Government delights to honour and assist, while respecting the independence of its noble-minded managers; and such is the experience at Red Hill. Parliament has paved the way for experiments to reform our young criminals, by authorising government to render pecuniary help in sustaining Schools established for the purpose by voluntary benevolence, and which the Inspectors of Prisons certify as adapted to their end. We trust soon to be able to point to several of these Institutions as moral ornaments of Yorkshire, safeguards of society, and pledges that the next generation shall be better than their fathers."

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"\* We beg to recommend to the notice of persons desirous to do good in this way, a sixpenny pamphlet with the following title.—' *Practical Suggestions to the Founders of Reformatory Schools, in a Letter from the Recorder of Birmingham (M.D. Hill, Esq., Q.C.) to Lord Brougham; with his Lordship's Answer.*' London; W. and F. G. Cash."

It would appear from this "Leader" that the Yorkshire-men have determined that their county shall possess Reformatories, and the following letters have appeared in *The Leeds Mercury*. We insert them here, as they appear to us calculated to advance the cause; they contain much useful matter, the first we presume to be from the vigorous pen of Mr. Plint, to whose able book on Crime we have frequently referred:—

#### "EDUCATION AND CRIME.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE LEEDS MERCURY.

GENTLEMEN,—Those who have read the inimitable productions of the great magician of Abbotsford, will remember that when a certain inmate of Osbaldestone Hall betook himself one evening to the cottage of Andrew Fairservice, the Scotch gardener, for the purpose of inquiring after a suitable person to act as his guide to Glasgow, he found that worthy individual so absorbed in the study of controversial theology as not to hear or not to heed the approach of his visitor. The excuse of honest Andrew was somewhat remarkable: he had been 'mistrysted with ae bogle thenight already'—a phrase which afterwards he explained as being 'as muckle as to say fleyd wi' a ghaist.' The remedy also was as remarkable as the disease: 'I had just finished,' said the horticulturist, 'the fifth shapter of Nehemiah—if that winna gar them keep their distance, I wotna what will.' What a true type of humanity was Andrew Fairservice! Whether high or low, men continually find themselves 'mistrysted with ae bogle,' and their remedies are invariably on a par with that of the sapient Andrew. Mr. Urquhart is 'mistrysted' with the idea that Lord Palmerston is a Russian traitor. Mr. Bright is 'fley'd' with the 'ghaist' of the departed peace; some unfortunate 'bogle' appears to upset all the schemes of our War Ministers at home and to paralyse all the energies of our soldiers abroad; and even the mighty giant of Printing-House-square seems 'fley'd' out of the bounds of reason by the mere apprehension of a 'ghaist' in shape of a deceased newspaper stamp duty.

But of all the supernatural terrors which affect politicians, the 'bogle' which haunts the imagination of the supporters of *Government Education* is the most notable; it appears to be some strange sort of a creature, half-man and half-beast, its face besotted and brutalised, its right hand stained with blood, and its left hand filled with spoils. In a kind of waking nightmare this hideous creature is (in imagination) seen to be growing into gigantic bulk and stature, and preying upon the vitals of the land. The name of this fearful 'bogle' is *Crime*; and our educational wisacres have, very like honest Andrew, come to the conclusion that they will 'just teach the alphabet and pothooks—if that winna gar it keep its distance, they wotna what will.' The alphabet in a man's head, like an amulet round his neck, is to charm away all evil. Our forefathers trusted in the sign of the cross and the muttering of a paternoster, but we have grown wiser, and are going to trust in autograph signatures



instead of crosses, and multiplication tables instead of prayers. We used to nail horse shoes to the door-post, to drive away witches; but now, we are about to exorcise 'the lust of the flesh the lust of the eye, and the pride of life,' from the heart of society, by some sort of jugglery, with a spelling book and an ink bottle.

It is surprising that men of highly cultivated minds should suffer themselves to be deluded into the follies alluded to: our statesmen become 'fley'd' into a really ludicrous state of terror by fantastic visions of their own creation. Take, for instance, the worthy knight of Worcestershire, who so minutely detailed his imaginary fears to the House of Commons, when introducing his Education Bill a fortnight ago. We find him dwelling on the statistics of crime, and the legends of Preston Gaol, which seems to be a very Cock-lane to the advocates of State education, until he becomes terrified out of coherent argument into mere random talking,—repeating his sentences, raising doubts of Mr. Clay's accuracy, and anon expressing his trust in that gentleman simply because he abides by his statements, and after a few more eccentric flights, pouncing suddenly on the necessity of binding up the popular catechism of each district with the national spelling book.

Let us boldly examine this source of terror. *Are the statistics of education among criminals trustworthy and accurate?* Some of the statements on this subject are undoubtedly 'hard to believe,' and may, we think, be fairly suspected without any breach of charity. A criminal seldom appears *once only* in the gaol of his district; it will therefore require an exactitude of records and a strength of memory not often met with, to prevent the dozen petty offences and the gross ignorance of one vagabond thief from being attributed to *eight, ten, or twelve* imaginary offenders, all of whom (like their real prototype) will of course be 'unable to read or write,' 'unacquainted with the existence of a God,' &c. &c. This probable exaggeration becomes certain and almost unavoidable, when the criminal on each release from prison betakes himself, as is often the case, to a new district of the country. Again, what guarantees have we of the truth of a criminal's statements as to his own knowledge? We have prated on the connection of ignorance and moral evil, until it is the *policy* of the criminal to feign ignorance as a palliation of guilt. Men, too, are but 'children of a larger growth,' and we may consequently fairly expect that prisoners will occasionally exhibit something of that obliquity of temper, which so often leads the spoiled child or the sullen school-boy to *assume* a dogged air of stupidity and ignorance. The pleasures of a prison life are not likely to stimulate the man who has just marched through the streets in handouffs, and under the guardianship of a policeman, to seek first-class honours at the hands of an examining chaplain, and to display his knowledge of Scripture history or his acquaintance with the 'rule of three.' Lastly, on this head,—not only must we allow a wide margin for the exaggerations and positive errors of prison statistics, but even their admitted *facts* must be received *cum grano*. Who would estimate the calligraphy of the fair sex (may they forgive my tamerity!) by the trembling nervous autographs of a marriage

register? Surely, then, if the flutter of the heart's happiness spoils the efforts of the writing-master, the shame, anger, and vexation of detected guilt may account for a considerable amount of 'imperfect writing.' Then, again, is the *present knowledge* of an adult a test of his *past education*? If Sir John Pakington or Mr. Milnes Gibbes, after their school and college careers had, by a reverse of fortune, been compelled to labour twelve hours a day in a coal mine or a cotton factory, what would they have been now?—Most probably, innocent of Latin or Greek, oblivious of decimals, and altogether 'imperfectly educated.' The head that has wielded a pickaxe during the whole day, is scarcely in a condition to dot's, cross's, and to practise the graces of penmanship or 'the elements of linear drawing', in the evening; and yet, most assuredly, neither the knowledge nor the capabilities displayed in youth will continue to manhood unless they are kept up by constant practice. Honest Master Dogberry asserts 'that to read and write comes by nature,' and advises those possessed of such attainments to 'let them appear where there is no need of such vanity,'—are not the assumption that knowledge once gained 'stays by nature,' in spite of circumstances almost precluding its exercise, and the expectation that a criminal will always 'let such vanity appear' for the edification and amusement of his gaudy chaplain, somewhat slavish imitations of the Dogberry style of argument?

After all due allowances have been made, however, we willingly admit that many of our criminals are grossly ignorant; our second great inquiry, therefore, is—*What does this fact prove?* We are told that it shows that ignorance is the chief source or parent of crime. This is the belief which so sorely 'mistrusts' our political Andrews; let us test it by analogy. The paupers who seek admission or relief at the doors of our workhouses are generally ragged in the extreme; may we then lay down the proposition that rags are the cause of pauperism, and bring in a bill to clothe the working classes in a Government livery? The drunkard is almost always poor and dirty, can we cure him by the present of a pound of soap and a purse of money? The three propositions are on a par in point of logic;—Criminals are ignorant; therefore state-education will eradicate crime. Paupers are ragged, therefore state-clothing will put an end to pauperism. Drunkards are poor, therefore state-pensions will ensure sobriety. In all these cases we have connection,—but have we also *causation*? Who will be bold enough to answer affirmatively? Ignorance and crime, rags and pauperism, poverty and drunkenness, are *comparisons*, 'pairs' in point of time, and not batches of 'antecedents and their consequents'; they do not stand in relation of *cause and effect*. Imagine a prisoner at the bar of the Worcestershire Quarter Sessions pleading that he committed theft, arson, or any crime, BECAUSE he was no 'scollard,' or 'didn't know no better.' Can we conceive that Sir John Pakington would listen to such a defence? Yet in the House of Commons he painfully labours through whole columns of statistics, to prove that so many criminals never heard the name of Christ, and can attach no meaning to 'virtue,' 'vice,' &c.; or are unacquainted with the name of the

Queen; all the while assuming that this gross ignorance was the cause of their crimes. By the way, one of his arguments is striking,—‘prisoners don’t know any of the Queen’s names, therefore they rob their neighbours;’ now what inference would the Right Hon. Bart. draw from the fact that comparatively few people in respectable life know *all* the Queen’s names,—would he suspect the honesty of the ignorant majority?

A higher philosophy than that of man has taught us the true origin of crime:—‘Out of the *heart* of man proceed evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false witness, blasphemies.’ With the knowledge of the disease, Scripture has brought us a remedy; and that is *Christianity*. Now we have tried the effect of a Government religion for some ten or twelve centuries, and we are at last waking up to a knowledge of the fact that to use Christianity as a state instrument is an attempt to render unto Cæsar the things which are God’s,—an offence against the genius of true religion. What then is to be done? Why, forsooth! having failed to make men religious by a State-church, we are now to make children religious by a Government religious education! Instead of acknowledging our error, we are to try the same plan, with a change of scenery. State religion is to sit at the desk instead of standing in the pulpit, to teach the catechism instead of reading prayers. Such at least is one scheme; the other is more daring, and (since we cannot apply the remedy) denies the origin of the disease. The political doctors of the Manchester School, finding the heart of man beyond their reach, have resolved to attribute crime to the head. Morality and knowledge are with them to be esteemed convertible terms. They find that they cannot make men moral,—(the end desired), so they start the notable scheme of making them knowing, and *calling* this morality; just as though a doctor finding his patient in an incurable consumption, should resolve to call the complaint dropsy, and to treat it accordingly.

If statesmen, instead of providing religions for the people, were more in the habit of studying the Bible for themselves, most of these vagaries would soon come to an end. ‘Every man,’ says a New Testament writer, ‘is tempted when he is drawn away of his own lust and enticed. Then, when lust hath conceived it bringeth forth sin.’ Here is the true philosophy of crime both in its action and in its treatment. Does a man steal?—it is because opportunity entices to a gratification of the lust of possession. Does he injure or kill?—it is because the victim is within his power and the lust of revenge is strong within. Would you repress crime? Then seek to take away its opportunities; lead not thy brother into temptation, but seek to raise him above it. Has any one a wrong? let his remedy be certain, sure, and easily attainable, lest he revenge himself on his offender. The whole object of our criminal legislation should be to diminish temptation and increase all legitimate restraints upon evil doing. Education cannot do this. No man is so ignorant as to be unable to distinguish between theft and honesty; he may never have heard of ‘virtue,’ but still he knows practically the difference between virtue and vice. If we turn to every day life, we

shall at once see these remarks verified. England is preeminently the country of commerce and property; the crime of England is preeminently that of petty theft.

Here we have cause and effect,—the temptation and its fruits. Take the criminal convictions of 1832, when education was far less general than now. We find in that year, that out of a grand total of 14,947 convictions, no less than 11,408 were for larceny or simple theft. Clustered in densely populated cities and towns, surrounded by enormous wealth and by the multifarious wares of a 'nation of shopkeepers,' our poorer classes are (like schoolboys in an orchard) beset by innumerable opportunities and almost irresistible temptations to dishonesty; hence, as we have just seen, three out of every four crimes committed in this country are thefts—the characteristic failing of the schoolboy. If education, then,—if classics and mathematics, French, German, and drawing, fail to prevent Master Broadcloth, with pence or perhaps even silver in his pocket, from pilfering the pears and pippins of the neighbouring garden, who can dream that a dim recollection of the class-books of a Government free school will restrain the shivering outcast or the ill-clad labourer from stealing a coat, or the hungry and penniless vagrant from appropriating a loaf when the opportunity occurs?

The futility of education as a preventive of crime, and the power of temptation in producing crime, might be illustrated in a variety of ways. The monsters of crime who stand out preeminent in the dark head-rolls of human guilt, have often been distinguished by the advantages of education. Rush, fiend-like in bloody revenge; the Mannings, feasting on the very hearth-stone beneath which they had deposited their victim's corpse; Tawell, who sought to wash out the stain of adultery by the blood of murder; Kirwan, the murderer of his wife; these are specimens of educated criminals, specimens, too, drawn from a very narrow cycle of years. Take another instance. A short time since, betting-houses sprang up like mushrooms on every side, and spread their snares for the unwary and unprincipled of the middle classes. Here we had a fair trial of strength. Temptation was pitted against education, and it triumphed with ease. So futile were the restraints of knowledge, that Parliament was driven to prohibit the establishment and existence of the betting-houses. From the youthful apprentices to the middle-aged journeyman or clerk, everywhere we heard of the fatal effects of this new form of temptation. In spite of respectability and of education, the cash-box and the till of the employer were rifled in order to discharge the debts or to engage in new speculations of gambling. To those open to conviction such facts speak volumes.

Again, in 1842 there were 31,309 commitments for crime in England, in 1845 there were 24,303; how can the variation be accounted for on the educational theory of crime? In four years crime decreased by one-fourth of its whole amount, without any particular increase in the means of education.

One fact more. In England, with her voluntary self-culture, the annual murders (that greatest of all crimes) are about 1 for every 221,000 of the population; in Prussia, where the children are forced

late Government schools and kept there under pains and penalties, for something like eight years of their life, the annual murders there are 1 for 25,000! Prussia, the beau-ideal of the State Educationist, produces 9 murderers where England produces one! Why is this? Is it not because the morality of Prussia—that discipline of the heart which is beyond the province of the schoolmaster—is lower than the morality of England? Reverse the picture; the thefts in Prussia are 1 for every 2,568 of her people, while in England they are 1 for every 1,475. Prussia, less thickly populated, less wealthy, less commercial, and less free, offers not a tithe of the temptations and opportunities for petty theft which exist in England; hence the difference.

What can we think, then, of this constant plea for State teaching —‘Education the cure of crime?’ Is it not a parody on the tale of Andrew Fairservice; crime the ‘bogle,’ and education the political substitute for ‘the 5th chapter of Nehemiah.’ True education, *self-culture*, is a noble aim for national ambition; upon a nation’s glory ‘it shall be for a defence;’ but the mechanics of elementary teaching, and the routine of a Government school-room, are neither charms against moral evil nor a *panacea* for crime.

If these observations are deemed worthy of a place in your columns, as tending to dispel the absurd notion that ignorance is the cause of crime, they are at your service.

I am, in regard to the educational controversy,

Your sincere and grateful admirer,

CAUSE AND EFFECT.”

#### “TO THE EDITORS OF THE LEEDS MERCURY.

GENTLEMEN,—It is gratifying to notice that this important social subject is at present obtaining a due share of public attention, and, as appears from your paper of last week, it has been taken up by some of the West Riding authorities with characteristic and praiseworthy earnestness.

It would be wrong to wish for an abatement of their zeal in an endeavour to cure so great and growing an evil as that of juvenile delinquency; but it may be prudent to question the propriety of exclusive attention to the cure of any malady, to which, in its incipient state, *preventive* appliances have been found successful. And this is notably the case with the subject in question.

Without endeavouring to arrive at the origin or cause of the evil, it may be sufficient to remark here that juvenile delinquents are generally discoverable at a period of life considerably prior to that of their first conviction; for the thoughtful visitor, or Christian philanthropist, who, in any town with a few thousand inhabitants, has humbled himself to look upon his squalid brethren in the meanest locality of that community, may have had little difficulty in discovering the helpless chrysalis of the coming criminal in his encasement of filth and rags, in the shape of a cheerless looking object, who scrapes his living from our dunghills, or begs it at our doors. To him no advantages could arise from the curative provision of a criminal reformatory while he remains in this state of existence.

And is it not like playing with his temporal and eternal interests to throw him day by day a crust or a copper, and tell him—or indulge the hope—that when he is perfectly transformed into the full-fledged criminal, and acquainted with the police, you will then take him and kindly cure him of his evil habits? Why not befriend him now, when his case is more hopeful, and the expense would be less? For though juvenile delinquents do not all arise from youthful beggars, yet, for the majority, it is the rule, the minority is a trifling exception. It is with the youthful criminal in this stage of his career that the benevolent philanthropists of Aberdeen, Edinburgh, and other towns, have mostly dealt, and in so dealing, diminished to a cheering degree the amount of juvenile crime.

This is a fact which if not unknown to, was seemingly overlooked by, the West Riding Magistrates in their recent deliberation. They seemed rather to apprehend that a gigantic establishment for the reception of convicted offenders was the great desideratum, and the sure means for removing the evil complained of; and I have been induced to seek the favour of publicly addressing you on this subject, mainly from their having made mention of certain towns where much good has been effected by Reformatory Schools, leaving the public to infer that such means had been employed there as they now seek to establish in the county of York. But six years' practical experience in carrying out the methods so successfully practised in these places, enables me to state, and I deem it a duty to do so,—that the means employed are not of the same nature that the Magistrates seem to think,—that they partake more of the preventive than the curative character, so that no one establishment, however ample or perfect, could effect the same end, as an evil so general can only be met by means so extensive; that is, every town must feel responsible for the state of its own morality, and provide for that class which furnishes the greater proportion of juvenile delinquents with the means of physical and moral improvement, in the shape of Ragged Schools, as carried out in places where statistics now prove their great efficacy, in removing individual misery and subduing social evil. Let the beggars' daily alms be accompanied by a morsel for his mental and moral capacities, and there is reason to believe that in a short time, in Yorkshire, as in other parts of the country, the necessity for large Reformatories will happily grow less.

I am, yours respectfully,

Ragged School, Bradford.

GEORGE DAVIDSON.

Commenting upon these letters, and referring to an error of the Editor of the *Mercury*, in assuming that Hardwicke School was closed, Mr. Baker addressed the following letter to the paper:—

TO THE EDITORS OF THE LEEDS MERCURY.

GENTLEMEN,—Your kindness in receiving my letter on a former occasion has inclined me to trouble you now.

I have just seen an article in your columns, personally flattering

to myself, but stating that our school had come to an end. Now, had it been the other way—that the school was flourishing, but that I had come to an end—I would on no account have troubled you to correct so unimportant an error; but, with regard to the school, I must plead guilty to a little touchiness. I cannot imagine how such a report could have originated; and yet it is not so far from possibility as might be supposed. I must confess that it is falling off in one point. When Mr. Bengough and I began our experiment three years ago, we were told that a school of *eighty boys* would scarcely be sufficient to provide for the requirements of Cheltenham—to say nothing of Stroud, Gloucester, and the mining districts of the Forest of Dean. We began with a school of *three*. We increased it till we had at one time *thirty-six*. We have at present thirty-two. But for nearly ten months we have proclaimed that we were ready and willing to take *all the boys of the county whom the Magistrates thought fit to send us*; and the Magistrates have never found boys enough to raise our number above 36, nor do I now believe that they ever will do so.

This falling off in the supply of *youthful offenders*, I suppose, must, by a slight exaggeration, have been turned into a report of the school having ceased. But I assure you there is no fear of the latter. I am in hopes shortly of *feeling safe*—I had always rather move too slowly than too quickly—in attacking the Bristol boys, and I have no fear of getting a sufficient supply from thence to keep up the school for many years. Such a diminution in crime as I have stated will appear incomprehensible to those who have not tried it. Many things are incomprehensible to those who will not enquire. But a very short explanation may give some idea of the fact.

I do not consider that two years' imprisonment in a reformatory school is the proper punishment for every child who gives way to a childish temptation and steals an apple that lies within its reach. I do not believe it to be just or right to violate the course of nature, and to take away from its parents every child of the lower classes *that is found out* in doing what, unhappily, many children of the higher classes might do without more punishment than a well deserved scolding of the nursery maid. On the other hand, where theft becomes habitual, and still more, where the boy is teaching others to steal, the action of a reformatory school is of the highest importance. *For such* let it be kept—not for every boy whose schoolmaster finds him obstinate and stupid; or whom some overseer wishes to get off the parish rates.

I have now a boy in our school, who for two years had always two apprentices (as thieves) under him. They were often caught and sent to goal, and he then took others. That boy must have trained ten or twelve thieves, and would have gone on training more. He is now one of the best and most trustworthy boys I have, because one of the strongest characters. The weeding out of a few such boys as this from a large district will *partly* explain the diminution of crime, but it wants an actual study of the subject to understand it altogether.

There is a great deal of truth in many of Mr. Ingham's observations at the recent meeting of West Riding Magistrates, but I trust he will forgive my assuring him, that when I met Mr. Sidney Turner, Mr. Recorder Hill, Mr. Adderley, and some others, last week, in Warwickshire, I think that their opinions with regard to establishing a school supported by a rate and managed by a committee of magistrates, would have been as strong against such a system as my own. They could not have been stronger.

I have acted now for nearly a quarter of a century on goal committees, lunatic asylum committees, &c. &c. I know pretty well what they are; and I think them well adapted for the purposes for which they are used. But I think that if Mr. Ingham would give some little study to the practical working of a reformatory school, he would agree with me that while I would lay five to one on the success of a school undertaken by a country esquire who had his heart in it, I would equally lay five to one against one established by a committee supported by rates.

Mr. Adderley, indeed, as Mr. Ingham says, allows that his bill requires amendment, but not with regard to its support. The bill has recognised the great principle of parental responsibility, and had he only procured that recognition, Mr. Adderley would have deserved the warmest thanks of all who care for the repression of juvenile crime; but although recognised, there were not adequate means given for enforcing the payment by the parents. In this point the act requires amendment, but by no means in throwing the charge on the rates.

Six weeks ago I was at a meeting of, I believe, the managers of every reformatory establishment in England, and the question was especially discussed; and I think the opinion was nearly unanimous that any other system of payment than the present one, viz., a weekly payment for each boy, would be highly undesirable. I believe that no good reformatory school has ever yet been established by other than voluntary contributions—from Mettray downwards—if, indeed, we may except Parkhurst, which I take to be the best school yet attempted by any government.

Forgive me if I differ from you as well as from Mr. Ingham in another point, namely, the preliminary commitment to goal. I must confess that I hold far more strongly than I did before I had three years' actual experience on the subject, that the fortnight in goal—*supposing it always to be in separation from other offenders*—has an admirable effect; and I think all who have been used to a certified school will tell you the same. At the same time if a boy cannot be kept separate from others—(you have only to confine him to his night cell for the time,)—of course it will do harm.

But, Gentlemen, on the other score—why cannot the West Riding of Yorkshire do what other counties find easy? In Gloucestershire, a poor county, we can take all the boys the magistrates can find us. In Denbighshire, Cheshire, Devonshire, Hants, Bedfordshire, and Leicestershire, ample funds are found, for beginning it at least. In Warwickshire £1,000 were put down in the room last week. In



many other counties there is great progress; in fact, of fifteen counties with which I have the honour to be in correspondence, the West Riding is the only one which cannot find money, and what is far more to the purpose, men for the work. Nay, I am wrong in saying that either are wanting in your Riding, for Mr. Wheatley, I find, has come forward again, and I cannot believe that he will be the only one if more be needed. While if your other magistrates will only see what reformatory schools are, before they legislate on them; they will find how infinitely preferable three or four such schools as Mr. Wheatley proposes would be to a palace built and supported by county rates.

Forgive my long letter.

I remain, faithfully yours,

T. B. LI. BAKER.

Hardwicke Court, Gloucester, April 13, 1855.

P. S. Since writing the foregoing, I have received a copy of your paper of the 14th. After Mr. Wheatley's kind letter, and your excellent leader, I know not whether you may think my reply worth printing, but if you do I should like to advert to two other valuable letters on the same subject, and which appeared in the *Leeds Mercury* of the same date.

To the one signed "Cause and Effect," I should like to say that I fully agree in his view, that what is called education, *i.e.*, reading, writing, &c., is greatly overestimated by many. As I heard said many years ago, reading and writing are no more education than a knife and fork are a good dinner. True education must deal more with the heart than the head, and what is called education is of value only as it may give you an access to the heart. It is exactly for this reason that I would trust more to such a school as Mr. Wheatley is about to commence, than to a much grander one established by a county rate.

The county can probably beat Mr. Wheatley hollow in the purchase of bricks and mortar, primers and slate pencils, but whether they can buy such hearts as Mr. Wheatley's you, Gentlemen, from knowledge of the county, may judge better than I can. Not that I doubt their being many others who will, like him, come forward if wanted, but I doubt their being quite a marketable commodity.

To Mr. Davidson, of the Bradford Ragged School, I would say, that I would on no account propose to substitute the Reformatory for the Ragged School. I believe the latter, if on the industrial plan, to be at least as valuable as the former. But the first gives the most important assistance to the last by taking away the most dangerous temptation, *viz.*, the skilled instructors in crime, from the weak and sorely tried ragged schools. Our first object has been less the reform of the individual thief—a great but calculable good—than the incalculable good done to honest neighbours, by withdrawing from them the example, temptation, and instruction of the confirmed delinquent.

Amongst the general items to be recorded are the following; by the first it will be perceived that our excellent and philan-

thropic Lord Lieutenant has consented to act as President of the contemplated Reformatory Schools for the East and North Ridings of Yorkshire :

**REFORMATORY SCHOOLS FOR THE EAST AND NORTH RIDINGS OF YORKSHIRE.**—A numerous and influential meeting was held at the Town Hall, Hull, last April, for the purpose of taking steps for the establishment of reformatory schools for juvenile offenders. Sir Henry Cooper, the Mayor, presided, and among other gentlemen who were present and took part in the proceedings, were the Hon. Captain Duncombe, M.P., Samuel Warren, Esq., Q.C., Recorder of Hull, W. D. Seymour, Esq., Recorder of Newcastle, Rev. J. H. Bromby, Vicar of Hull, Mr. Travis, police magistrate for Hull, &c. It was resolved to form a society for the reformation of juvenile offenders, of which the Earl of Carlisle had consented to act as president. A committee was appointed to draw up rules, &c.

A county meeting was held at the Shire Hall, Bedford, on the 28th April, to consider the subject of establishing a juvenile reformatory institution.

**REFORMATORY SCHOOL IN DEVONSHIRE.**—At the last Devon county sessions Sir Stafford Northcote, M.P. (the chairman), stated that the Reformatory School for the western counties, which was set on foot by gentlemen residing in the county of Devon, would be in operation in a few days in the parish of Brampford Speke, near Exeter. The cottage for the residence of the youthful offenders is an ordinary labourer's cottage, and there is a quantity of rough land surrounding it, which will be cultivated by the inmates. A master, who has had considerable educational experience, has been appointed, and great hopes of success have been formed. The subject was alluded to at the recent Cornwall county sessions in very flattering terms, by Mr. J. K. Lothbridge (the chairman), and by Mr. C. Rowe, and it was intimated that the county of Devon would be supported by the neighbouring county in this laudable work.

With the following admirable letter, addressed by Mr. Baker to a friend, and reprinted in pamphlet form from *The Leeds Mercury* of April 28th, we close the Record of the quarter :—

TO CHARLES THOMAS HYGOINS, ESQ., CHAIRMAN OF QUARTER SESSIONS OF BEDFORDSHIRE.

" My Dear Sir,—You ask my opinion on the principal points to be considered in commencing a Reformatory School for a county. If I give my answer curtly and strongly, I trust it may not be construed into an assumption to dictate, but simply for the sake of clearness and brevity. If you agree with my views, I shall be most glad to give you every assistance in my power; if you take a totally different view, I shall be equally glad to give any information or assistance that I can.

The first point is, the taking land and buildings. I should hope

that this would be done—not by public advertisement replied to by any man who has a piece of land he wishes to be rid of, and who has no further interest in the matter than the getting the highest accommodation rent he can,—but that some gentleman of consideration in the county may be found who would offer land in his own estate at a fair rent. The sanction and support of neighbouring country gentlemen is, I believe, of greater value than those who have not tried it would suppose.

I say at a fair rent, because, however rich or liberal the landlord may be, I should much prefer that he should charge exactly a fair rent than give it gratis. If he be able, in addition, to take the principal or entire management of the school into his own hands (not so onerous a task as those who have not tried it would suppose), it will be an incalculable advantage, and I believe he would find the pleasure amply repay the few hours a week it would cost him.

As to the terms of the lease, I feel so strongly the mutability both of fashion and law, that I am always anxious not to make a long agreement from which I cannot withdraw; I don't like to ride into a field, if I can help it, without seeing my way out again.

Were I then to suggest the terms of an agreement, they would be a lease of 21 or 50 years, determinable at three years' notice by the subscribers. If there happen to be an old farm house, or a row of three or four cottages on the land, I would make them available, though they might be far rougher than a county committee would ordinarily approve of. But if there be no buildings available, let some plain buildings be put up, which will be easily convertible into four ordinary labourers' cottages, and will not more than four ordinary labourers' cottages would do.

"In case of the lease being determined at any time, the landlord would be bound to take the buildings at a fair price—considering that they were built for the subscribers' accommodation—not his own. Say, if the determination occurs in ten years, the landlord should give seventy per cent. of the prime cost; if in twenty years fifty per cent., varying, of course, according to the solidity of the structure and the rate of cottage rents in the neighbourhood. It should give the subscribers an opportunity of getting rid of their bargain, if necessary, at no great loss; and should ensure to the landlord that he should not have a lot of useless houses suddenly on his hands, at a price at which it would not pay him to let them.

In commencing the school, you know my strong opinion is that there are not one but three objects to be borne in mind from the commencement. First, to establish the school for the reformation of youthful offenders; secondly, to provide places for them when reformed; thirdly, to carefully select the boys whom you should first take.

On the necessity for the first, I need say nothing. If you do not find the crime in your county increasing—if you do not feel that the impossibility of transporting your criminals to other counties compels you to consume your own crime at home, and make the best use you can of it, this letter is useless.

As to the second point—although it has long been the English

practice to seek merely how to *get rid* of our criminals, yet we must now feel that we are driven to another course. The managers of a school cannot be expected to kill all the boys as soon as they have reformed them. If they are to keep them at school till they shall be fit to go out into the world and shift entirely for themselves, I know not at what age they may venture to turn them out; certainly they had need to keep them for a length of time which would try both their patience and their purses. From not having foreseen this, we, in this country, have often had considerable difficulty in finding places for our boys, and, therefore, I am the more anxious that other counties, beginning afresh, should profit by our errors. In Leicestershire, the feeling was admirably taken up, that all the gentlemen who felt an interest in the school should look out at once for fariners fit and willing to receive them. One gentleman, observing that it behoved the landlords to set the example, bespoke the first boy who should be fit to leave the school to be apprenticed on his own farm. Such an example as this, set by a man of consideration in a county, almost secures the success of this part of the undertaking. In Hampshire, where, it appears to me, Mr. Castleman is guarding against every possible difficulty, with more care and discretion than I have any where seen, the Bishop of the diocese has, as I understand, called the attention of the clergy to the subject. If the clergy would take the matter in hand, and would look out for fitting places and also would keep an eye upon the boys after leaving the school, and report occasionally to the manager, they would render the most valuable assistance.

For the third point, namely, the selection of the boys, it is important to check the common opinion that the school is intended simply for the benefit of A., B., or C., certain criminal children. I have always held that our school was to be used more for the benefit of the honest than the dishonest, by removing the former from the latter. But if so, as you cannot take all the bad boys of the county at once, as you must begin with a few and increase by slow degees, it is important that you should weed out the worst boys first.

In this case, Mr. Castleman has suggested the best arrangement I have seen, and I add a copy of the form he now proposes to send round to the magistrates. We do not now need it in this county, because we have so far *needed it*, that for nine months we have taken all that the magistrates could send us, and I have now no fear that they will find more than we can receive; but for a county beginning to weed out its *instructors in crime*, I can imagine no plan more valuable or more judicious than that proposed by Mr. Castleman. In the commencement of the actual working of the school, forgive my saying that care should be taken to get a man fit for the particular work; you will probably find it necessary to have a bailiff and a schoolmaster. The latter would appear at first sight to be the most fit to be the head; but if so, you must take care that the boys are not brought up, more to pass an examination than to work on a farm. I prefer a bailiff for the head man, as I think he is more likely to be steady and less given to change. But whichever you take for your

chief, I should strongly recommend that he should spend a month at least at some Reformatory School on trial, to see whether he is fit for the work or not. A man who feels sure that he understands a Reformatory School because he is used to a prison—or because he is used to a parish school—would probably find himself sadly at a loss when he came to try it.

Another thing I should strongly recommend, would be that you should arrange for your master to take five or six boys from the school where he spent his month or two to begin his own school. If you take three or four of the worst boys your county can furnish and try to reduce them to order, they will naturally be all against you, and it will be long ere you can make any approach to a *good moral tone*. If you begin with some “tame elephants” broken in elsewhere, well known to your master before your school commences, any others who are introduced one by one fall naturally into the habits and feelings of the first settlers. I think we had nine months of sadly up-hill work from not being able to do this. I am sure that it might be avoided by taking some boys who *have been very bad*, but are turned into the right course though not confirmed in it. Were you for instance, to send your master or bailiff here for a month, and to take away six boys, who on an average ought to stay three months longer in the school, I should receive in lieu the *three* first boys recommended from your county, each of whom I should have to keep for twelve months. This would enable you to receive boys much faster than you could, did you begin with your own fresh boys only.

With regard to the *management*, I confess myself strongly in favour of a committee of *one*. A large committee may be useful in getting subscriptions, and in examining and checking the expenditure, but *a committee cannot reform a boy*. One magistrate who lives close at hand and can frequently walk in and chat with the boys, can do more than all the committees in England. A committee can't lay its hand upon a boy's shoulder and lead him apart and persuade him to open his heart in private; one magistrate or clergyman, one gentleman in short who takes interest in the work, can easily do it.

As to the quantity of land, *I should say* that about thirty was about the best number of boys to have, and that they would eventually work nearly an acre each, of stiff ploughed land, and had better have eight or ten acres of grass for cows.

Forgive my enormous letter, and believe me,

Very sincerely yours,

T. B. LI. BAKER.

Hardwicke-court, March 26th, 1855.

The following is the document above referred to:—

Extract from the proceedings of the Hampshire Reformatory School Committee:—

Resolved,—That no boy be received into the school without there having been previously forwarded to the secretary for four clear days a return of the particular circumstances relating to the boy, according to the printed forms intended to be supplied to the Magistrates' clerks.

Proposed form to be printed, which (the boy being remanded for

a week) will be filled up, and sent to the secretary by the Clerk to the Magistrates:—

Name of the boy—Parish to which he belongs, if it can be ascertained—Late residence—Age—State of education—Read, write well, imperfectly, not at all—Offence with which he is now charged—Number of previous committals—For what offences, and times for which imprisoned—The probable circumstances that have led to the commission of the present crime—Occupation of parents—State if he is illegitimate—If either parent, and if so, which, is dead—If survivor married again—If step-father or mother harsh to the boy—Character of parents or friends as to honesty and sobriety, &c.—Wages earned by parents—State of health of the boy and whether able-bodied, &c.—The time it is proposed to commit the boy for—The amount proposed to be assessed on the parent.

We have, during the quarter past, been favored with the following scheme; and at a time when the failure of the Ticket-of-Leave System is a much canvassed point, it is of no little importance that gifted men should devote their attention to the consideration of the employment of convicts:—

#### A PLAN FOR SUBSTITUTING HARD LABOR AT HOME IN LIEU OF TRANSPORTATION.

In certain selected localities, throughout Great Britain and Ireland, where there is a sufficient extent of waste land, let erections on a moderate scale be made as a beginning, for the safe custody of a certain number of hard labor prisoners, to be located there, whose first operations should be directed to the enclosure of part of the waste into fields, by means of stone walls, to form "hard labor wards," and places for the reception, safe custody and easy supervision of hard labor prisoners, in fact efficient substitutes for our costly gaols, where if they labor at all now, it is but a waste, or "beating of the air," and a heavy burden to the rate-payer; and as the erections, and hard labor wards are completed, send to them a further supply of hard labor prisoners, (from so many counties classed together) and so add to their numbers as accommodation is provided, until the establishment is complete, and sufficient for the reclaiming and permanent cultivation of the waste by spade husbandry, and for carrying on the various trades required for the necessary wants of the mock-colony. This would also probably tend to the doing away with the present unavoidable and inconsistent occupancy of our gaols by able-bodied men, who on the pretence of want of employment, commit some trifling offence, for the purpose of obtaining what they believe to be a comfortable asylum, whereas, by the proposed plan, the just punishment of hard labor prisoners would, in reclaiming and cultivating the waste, be converted into a gain to the community. They should be allowed rations, in proportion to the extent of the work performed, but never to the full value of it when in health, carrying the balance to the credit of the counties.

This would relieve our over-crowded prisons, the purposes of which are often much perverted, for in some instances they are more comfortable than the Union Workhouses.—The system to be adopted towards all prisoners should be carefully reformatory, and a portion of each day set apart for education and religious instruction, and some of the suggestions I have ventured to make in another paper, on the Reformation of Juvenile Offenders, might also with good effect be applied to adults. The objection taken by some, namely, that employing prisoners in labor which may interfere with the employment of the poorer classes does not apply at all, for the employment proposed is one newly created, (therefore did not previously exist) and with our increasing population, and the enhanced value of the fruits of the earth, is obviously of great national importance, as tending to the increase of the production of our native soil; as well might the objector condemn the system of improved farming, for that has for its object, the same end; and moreover, as I have stated in another paper alluded to, they are the very class, not added as competitors to, but merely removed temporarily from the free labor market, and to which they must return, or prey upon the means of others.

Let such establishments so complete, and with every convenience for carrying out the system of separation, as well as of subsequent association after the probationary period, then form penal prisons for the reception of convicted felons, whose crimes have hitherto been visited with transportation, and there, instead of sending them to some unwilling colony, let them labor out their term of transportation or confinement, which shall extend over a period of time sufficient for reformation, adding to the sentence of each felon, words to the following effect, "and at the end of such term of imprisonment to be then transported beyond seas, and there set at liberty, (or otherwise, according to the place selected) unless by good conduct and reformation he shall have earned for himself a free release," a recommendation for which shall be signed by the chief officer of the prison, and endorsed by the whole or a majority of the visiting magistrates, as well as the chaplain, previous to its receiving the royal sanction through the Secretary of State for the home department. This would also act as a passport for him negatively, on his beginning again in the world, and place him in some degree above the taunts and influence of his former evil associates.

Mitigation of the term of confinement should also be granted on good conduct and reformation, well and sufficiently proved and attested as in the former case; and let us all inculcate the christian principle of forgiveness, and act upon it, let not the crime of *the truly penitent and reformed criminal*, be once named to him, but rather let him be hailed with rejoicing, as the sheep that was lost and is found; we must not hunt him down, he has already paid the penalty which the law of his country has inflicted, and is out of debt, nor must we forget that we are all criminal in the sight of God, and need forgiveness for direct breaches of His divine law, for none of us are good, no, not one; let us be ready

as a nation to forgive them (conscious of our own need for forgiveness) as we hope to be forgiven. Then exercise the punishment of transportation only in peculiar cases, for life, where the offence is too heinous to allow the criminal to be let loose on English society again, or where a previous conviction is proved, and the criminal after a carefully reformatory course of treatment is found incorrigible. The terror of imprisonment under a stringent reformatory system at home, would probably soon become greater than anything now inspired by transportation, and speedily be communicated to that class for whose reformation it is intended. The new prisons should be judiciously constructed, with a circular watch tower in the centre, the upper part made of glass, commanding a view of the whole, and communicating by telegraphic wires with the governor's house, &c., &c., with a view of concentrating in any given point the energies of the whole staff when required, and thus economising their numbers—part of the erections might be made moveable, with a view to their being transferred to another portion of waste, as the former portion becomes reclaimed.

With our rapidly increasing population and the high price of provisions, it seems inconsistent while we have wastes at home and in Ireland, equal in extent to a little colony, that we do not reclaim them, before emigrating to distant lands, or increasing the number of our penal settlements. B.B.

St. Leonard's, Spital Hill, Morpeth,  
18th April, 1854.

NOTE.—The Falkland Islands appear to offer the least objectionable position for a penal settlement; there are no natives to dispose of, no free-settlers to exasperate in the way so obnoxious in Australia, no chance of escape, and the cost of detention and conveyance comparatively moderate: the almost impossibility of escape is important in carrying out the proposed plan, since under it only the very worst and most irreclaimable class of felons would be sent out of the country.

P.S. Since writing the foregoing I am glad to find that my suggestions on the propriety of making the labor of criminals contribute to their own support, are fully borne out by the remarks of Mr. Moore at a meeting held in Liverpool on the 1st January; he says speaking of England, "instead of reforming offenders, the operation is quite the reverse; they are taken in for a time and then turned adrift without a shilling in their pockets; and the first thing they do is to go and commit some robbery. Gaols in other countries were reformatories."

Mr. Moore then goes on to state, he visited a number of Gaols and particularizes one in Canada, where there were several hundred prisoners—and that the prison instead of being a burden to the state, was a source of profit; he further states, that "the gaol alluded to, with the exception of the first wing, which was built by the country, the entire building was raised by the hands of the prisoners themselves."



We have, in the present Record, presented merely the leading movements of the quarter; and we are forced, by pressure on our space, thus to shorten the roll of facts. However, as we print, in the appendix, the valuable notes of his last summer's Reformatory Tour, most kindly furnished to us by Mr. Recorder Hall, and as we supply, in addition, a special paper on Irish Reformatories projected, we trust those who feel an interest in the Record will consider that we have made amends for the incompleteness of the Record itself.

Since writing the foregoing we have received, from Mr. Baker, the following list of names of those gentlemen who are in communication with him, and who are endeavouring to found or conduct schools upon the cheap and successful, because cheap and well designed, plans of the Hardwicke establishment. It appears, from Mr. Baker's letter, that Reformatories are now formed, or being formed, in nineteen English, Welsh, and Scotch counties, and may be classed as follows:—

COUNTY.	PROMOTER.
1. Cumberland, - - - -	- G. Head.
2. Denbighshire, - - - -	- Townshend Mainwaring.
3. Yorkshire, West Riding, - - - -	- E.B. Wheatley and others.
4. Worcestershire, - - - -	- Rev. Thomas Pearson.
5. Hants, - - - -	- Charles Castleman.
6. Devon, - - - -	- Sir Stafford Northcote.
7. Sussex, - - - -	- J. G. Blencowe.
8. Leicestershire, - - - -	- J. Hodgson.
9. Northampton, - - - -	- Rev. Lord A. Compton, Rev. H. Barton.
10. Cheshire, - - - -	- G. W. Latham.
11. Valleyfield, Edinburgh, - - - -	- John Cowan.
12. Bedford, - - - -	- C. T. Higgins, J. Harvey.
13. Warwickshire, - - - -	- C. B. Adderley, M.P. and others.
14. Wilts, - - - -	- Rev. A. Fane, Lord Nelson and others.
15. Berks, - - - -	- T. Bligh Mouck and others.
16. Dorset, - - - -	- J. C. Mansell.
17. Liverpool, - - - -	- The Mayor, Rev. T. Carter and others.
18. York, North and East Ridings, - - - -	- Earl of Carlisle, J. Fulleine and others.
19. Norwich, - - - -	- John Wright.

Some time ago Mr. Wright established, on his own land, an Asylum for prisoners on their release from Gaol. They worked a farm, and by the second year it was nearly self-supporting, the third year quite so. So far all went admirably, but a few days since Mr. Wright wrote to Mr. Baker, and informed him that "the particular race for whom he established it were gone into the Militia or the Line, and so he is having the School certified with a view to take boys." We hope that Mr. Wright may succeed, we hope that Mr. Baker may be enabled to establish, under the recognition of Government, his Farm for adults; and, above all, we hope that in our next Record

we shall be enabled to declare, that every county in the sister Kingdoms has adopted the Reformatory principle, and that Reformatory School, and Lodging House, Acts shall have been passed for Ireland. For a more detailed disquisition on this latter subject we beg the attention of the reader to Article IX, p. 410, of the present Number of this Review.

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### QUARTERLY LIST OF PUBLICATIONS.

The following Books and Pamphlets will give much information on the principles and working of Reformatory Institutions, and of Prison Discipline, and they will be found to contain references to all other works of any great value on the same subjects.

**Reformatory Schools.** A Visit to Mettray: a Lecture given before the Dewsbury Parochial Reading Society. By E. B. Wheatley, Esq., M. A. Dewsbury: T. M. Brooke. London: Longman & Co. 1855.

**A History of The Home for Out-Cast Boys, Belvedere Crescent, Lambeth, Hungerford Bridge, South.** By A Member of The Committee. 4th Edition. London: Hatchard. 1855. Price 6d

**Home For Out-Cast Boys, Belvedere Crescent, &c., &c.** First Annual Report, Read February 21st, 1855. London: Hatchard. Price 6d.

**The Philanthropist.** Nos. 4 to 7, London: 4 Wine Office Court, Fleet-street. Price 6d. per number. [This excellent little serial was discontinued with the 7th number, April 14th.]

**The Edinburgh Review** for April, 1855.

**Thirty-Third Report of The Inspectors General on the general State of The Prisons of Ireland, 1855; with Appendix.** Dublin: Thom, 1855.

**Ecoles Agricoles de Réforme de Ruysselede et de Boernem, Cinquime Rapport sur la Situation des Ecoles Agricoles de Réforme, Pendant l'année 1853, Bruxelles. 1854.**

**A Letter on Reformatory Schools, addressed to O. B. Adderley Esq., M.P. By the Rev. S. Turner. Ridgeway. 1s.**

## APPENDIX TO THE RECORD.

*Visits to Continental Reformatories, a Lecture read before the Leeds Mechanics' Institution, and Wakefield Mechanics' Institution.* By Robert Hall, M.A., Recorder of Doncaster.

At one of the anniversaries, of this (the Leeds) institution, I took the opportunity of dwelling upon the importance of such societies as yours, as instruments for enlightening the public conscience, since it would be all in vain that we should have wise laws, wisely administered by upright judges and intelligent juries, if the public sentiment was blind to the wisdom of the legislator, and sympathised with the wrong-doer rather than with the law. The subject to which I invite your attention this evening, is one of those on which it is desirable that the opinion of the public should be in full accordance with the action of the legislature. An act was passed in the last Session of Parliament, by which young persons under the age of sixteen, who shall be convicted of any offence, may, in addition to the punishment inflicted on them, be sent to a reformatory school for a period of not less than two years and not exceeding five. This act I believe to be a first step towards a complete revolution in our system of punishments; and, though it is unreasonable to expect that any system will prevent offences from coming in the moral world, any more than the most perfect science of medicine will put an end to disease and death in the physical world, I am convinced that in the moral, as well as in the physical world, Providence has placed within our power the means of alleviating much pain, of strengthening many a feeble constitution, of arresting many a pestilence by simple sanitary applications. It is because the changes which are taking place in our system of punishments may, at first sight, and in different points of view, seem to be open to both of the apparently contradictory objections of being too severe and too lax, it is because the new system is likely at the outset to offend many most amiable, many most respectable, I had almost said many most valuable prejudices, that I selected the subject of this paper, for the purpose of calling upon you to join me in a cursory survey of the different points of view in which different persons regard one of the most important social questions of our time, "what shall we do with our criminals?"

You will however, easily conceive that in developing my argument, and applying the practical illustrations which are suggested by different institutions, both the argument and the illustration have run to a length far exceeding the reasonable limits of a lecture; and as, of the two, the illustrations will probably be the more amusing, I will trouble you with only a very short abstract of the argument.

What shall we do with our criminals? You are aware that for a very long time the general answer to this question was, Away with them to the gallows and hang them, but that in course of time this system was found to be too severe to be carried out, and there has been an almost universal substitution of transportation or imprisonment, and even of these transportation has been virtually given up. Thus we are reduced to imprisonment as our sole ordinary punishment, a circumstance which considerably complicates the difficulties of the position.

No one now-a-days would answer the question "what shall we do with our criminals?" by suggesting a return to the old sanguinary system, but when the capital sentence was really carried into effect, there was at all events no longer any danger to society from the particular criminal. Now this is one of the principal foundations of all penal legislation, perhaps the only one the validity of which is not liable to serious question. What then are we to do with our criminals? *At all events let us hold them fast until we have a reasonable certainty that they will offend no more:* we put our lunatics out of harm's way until they cease to be dangerous, we must put our criminals out of harm's way until they cease to be dangerous.

But this is a principle which as regards the punishment by imprisonment seems hitherto to have been entirely lost sight of. All the legislatures, and all the tribunals on the face of the earth, have been endeavouring to apportion different terms of imprisonment by a sort of scale, graduated according to the presumed enormity of the offence, and the guilt of the offender: so that if the offence is a light one, the offender is discharged in a few days with the moral certainty of his offending again in as many hours: and, if the offence is a grave one, he may be kept in prison for years after a reformation so thorough that there is a moral certainty of his never offending again. This is retribution: the attempt is to make

a man undergo the precise amount of pain which by his misconduct he has deserved ; and I freely admit that we must still assert the truth, that sorrow is the inevitable penalty of sin, that for grave offences the punishment must be of sufficient severity not to shock the public conscience, and to prevent the retaliations of private vengeance : but, subject to this qualification, the human tribunal has very little to do with what a man deserves, human tribunals have not the means of measuring it, and neither judge nor jury dare submit to such an ordeal : the true question seems to be, not "what amount of punishment does a scoundrel like this deserve?" but, "what amount of punishment will make this scoundrel behave like an honest man?" This is the reformatory system.

But how are we to do this ? The combination of correction with punishment, of reformation with retribution, has been steadily kept in view for many years : but the leading idea has been that of retribution, and the correction has been made to turn on intimidation, and on appeals to the self-interest of the criminal : it is considered that by inflicting a certain amount of pain, confinement, and instruction, the man will learn that it is very bad policy to go about lifting shops, and will be deterred from committing the offence : and so he might be, if he never acted without counting the cost, and made an accurate calculation of the chances of detection : but mankind in general act without counting the cost, and are very indifferent calculators of chances ; and the result of long and wide experience is, that the system of intimidation by the only means of intimidation that are left to us, is a total failure, that prison has no terror for those who have once been in it, that, as between the danger of prison and that of the workhouse, self-interest may not unreasonably find the balance in favour of the prison, that punishment of any kind is regarded by the dangerous classes as only one of the chances of the never ending warfare between them and society at large, and that the dangerous classes are animated by a sense of injustice and feeling of hostility as regards society at large, which cause all attempts to benefit them by education to be received with incredulity and suspicion.

In the midst of all this failure, a question has been asked, which impeaches the whole system. It is asked, whether the best way of making a scoundrel behave like an honest man is not to make him really an honest man, and as sincere con-

version is never effected by intimidation, whether kindness, not kindness out of policy, but kindness out of love, is **not** the true remedy; and whether the fear of God, which alone is the beginning of wisdom, is not likely to be lost sight of when the fear of man is made so prominent.

True, you will say, but what can exceed the kindness with which for many years our criminals have been treated: if the schoolmaster has been abroad, it is most certain that he has been in the prison in all the plenitude of his power, and if schooling applied with great judgment, and good counsels inculcated with much tenderness, had been sufficient to make industrious citizens, the question, what shall we do with our criminals, would have been satisfactorily answered long ago: and you will point out the disheartening fact, that, not only does prison education seem in most instances to be thrown away upon the formed habits of the adult, but the constant recommitals of juvenile offenders show that prison education has little reformatory effect, even during the docile and impressionable period of youth.

Now you will probably be surprised to learn that the experience of persons who have devoted themselves to the reformation of adults, by the new process of treating them *not as prisoners*, has led them to the conclusion that the reformation of adults is an easier work than that of juvenile criminals. However that may be, it is agreed on all hands that the adult and the youth require to be dealt with very differently and in separate institutions; and, merely calling your attention to the fact, that persons of great experience entertain warm hopes even as regards adults, I shall during the remaining part of this lecture confine myself to the more important branch of the subject, the treatment of juvenile offenders.

Why is it, that the kindest and most enlightened treatment of the youthful criminal whilst he is undergoing his punishment in prison so generally fails to attain its purposes of correction? simply because it is administered *as punishment*, and is almost invariably received in that spirit of hostility and suspicion with which all punishment is in general received: they don't believe that you wish to do them good, and they suspect that your kindness is dictated by interested motives and not by love. Can any man say that their suspicions are not well founded?

It is now more than forty years since the compilers of the

French Code Pénal struck out a new course of treatment, and enacted that young persons under sixteen years of age should, under ordinary circumstances, not be found guilty of offences which they should be proved to have committed, but should be acquitted as having acted without discernment, and then not punished, but detained for education ; within the last twenty years establishments have been formed in various parts of the continent for the education of these children. In the spring of the present year I called the attention of my fellow townsmen to one of these establishments, that of Mettray in France, which has now been in operation for upwards of 15 years : I have since that spent three days there, and my favourable opinion has been more than confirmed ; I may take occasion to mention incidentally a few points which escaped my observation on my first visit, but I am not going to repeat anything that I have already published in print : it will be sufficient to state, in general terms, that Mettray is a private establishment, with government assistance, which receives for reformatory education boys under the age of 16 who have committed offences but have been acquitted as having acted without discernment ; of these it has at present near 600, divided into families of forties, each family has its family house, and is governed by two young men specially educated for the purpose, who are assisted by two boys, members of the family, elected quarterly by ballot by the forty members of the family : the boys are taught agriculture and the common handicrafts which are necessary to agriculture : the place is the reverse of a prison, for there are neither walls nor gates ; the boys are most carefully impressed with the assurance that they are not undergoing punishment ; and there is an infinite variety of contrivances for giving to each family a common interest, and encouraging the family feeling : the result of all this is, that during the whole of last year there was not a single attempt to run away ; in fact, the directors have fully succeeded in gaining the affections of their children : during the whole fifteen years the number of relapses amongst the young persons who had been set at liberty is only eleven per cent.—a very small proportion when we consider that they had all of them exhibited vicious tendencies by the early commission of offences, and that simple vagrancy would be counted as a relapse.

Besides thirty-five private institutions for the education of this description of détenus, France possesses several govern-

ment establishments for the same purpose ; and, in his report on prisons for the last year, the then minister of the interior, M. de Persigny, seemed to regard the government establishments, as being, at the very least, as efficient as the private institutions. I found on enquiry that the one which is situate at Gaillon in Normandy, is considered to be second to none, if not itself the very best, and having procured the proper authority, I proceeded to inspect it. The *Maison Centrale* of Gaillon, stands on a hill in a very pleasant healthy situation, more by token no inmate was attacked by the cholera, during either of the former visits of that pestilence, nor up to the time of my visit during the last year's return. It consists of various ranges of buildings divided into courts, the general effect of which is best seen from the outside : they had a considerable fire a little while ago, the work of some of the prisoners : a whole pile of building seems to have been destroyed and is now in progress of re-construction. The château was formerly the residence of the Cardinal d'Amboise, and presents a few interesting remains of architectural decoration, for which see Murray's *Hand-book*. Thanks to the politeness of a fellow traveller in the omnibus, I easily found the residence of M. Le Blanc the director, but it is a curious illustration of the insouciance of the French character, that neither the porters, nor even the servant at M. Le Blanc's house, had the slightest notion as to whether he or the aumônier (chaplain) were then present at the establishment or not, though they were both of them in fact actually engaged in the *prétoire*, holding their court for the trial of prison offences, at the precise time and spot at which they perform the same functions six if not seven days in the week from year end to year end.

M. Le Blanc is a slightly built vigorous man, apparently between 30 and 40 years of age, with a pleasing countenance and easy manner, but evidently accustomed to absolute command : he bears the decoration of the legion of honour. He received me very politely, and himself conducted me all over the establishment at the house itself.

The total number of inmates is 39 guardians, including the chef and two sous chefs but not the directeur and aumônier, who do not live within the walls, 1214 adults and 686 young persons all acquitted under article 66 : no females are confined there : the aumônier is the only ecclesiastic : there is no female assistance or superintendence at all, "*ni frère ni sœur.*"



Of the 39 guardians 15 are assigned to the children ; of the remaining 24 there are 3 chefs and sous chefs, 5 porters, 5 affected to special services, 1 always absent on leave, and allowing for sickness and other accidental absences, the number of guardians actively engaged in looking after the 1214 adults is from 7 to 8, or, adding the director and chefs, about 1 to 100. In the superintendence of the workmen, there are a few contre maitres whom I understand to be free workmen, and surveillants selected by the director from the prisoners of good conduct ; the system is silent but not separate. M. Le Blanc is not in favour of the cellular system, except as a punishment for prison offences.

The principle of the system adopted for the adults is that of teaching them a trade and making them work at it. I was taken through rooms in which various trades were being carried on. In the adult department the work is done for manufacturers at certain prices fixed by contract, in some instances by the piece, in others by the day ; a tarif of the prices is put up to view in every work room. These wages are received by government, who pay over a portion to the prisoner partly in direct payment, partly by carrying half of this allowance to his credit so as to provide him with a sum of money on his liberation. The total amount of this allowance varies from five-tenths to one-tenth of the wages paid by the contractor, according to the gravity of the sentence, or the number of convictions : but an individual in the lowest class may by good conduct raise himself into a higher class till he gets to three-tenths, so by bad conduct a prisoner in a higher class may reduce himself one-tenth ; they for the most part became good workmen : I was taken through a room in which they were at work making shoes, bottines, slippers, fine brushes, coarse brushes, accordeons, and the several parts which enter into the construction of an accordeon, and probably some other articles which I have forgotten ; also, other rooms in which the work was the carding of silk and the weaving it into the stuff of which silk hats are made, and another room in which the work was the making of straw plait. All the men seemed to be working with a good deal of energy, without any appearance of dejection physical or moral, only in the finer work which required close attention they seemed much more serious ; I rushed to an a priori conclusion that the ameliorating influences of industry would be more discernible amongst the

latter, but M. Le Blanc assured me that there was no distinction of that kind.

The dietary consists of rations of brown bread, soup, vegetables and meat twice a-week; such prisoners as have earned a little money may buy a few comparative luxuries, such as butter, milk, sugar, and the like at the canteen. In consequence of the fire, the dormitories are at present crowded with additional beds, but, with the exception of one very large dormitory, they generally contain about twenty, each prisoner having his bed to himself as clean and comfortable as could be imagined; at least one guardian sleeps in each dormitory, the rooms are lighted all night, and the surveillants are constantly walking their rounds.

The general effect upon my own mind, of my inspection of the adult department, was that the prisoners were palpably much better off than they would have been if they had been at liberty, and that, as a body, they must be fully conscious of the fact; indeed it is clear that, to some extent, the French prison serves the purpose of our workhouse. The liberated convict has a place of residence assigned to him, where he is to find work as best he can, though it is constantly happening that he is sent to a place where he has no friends, and where there is no market for such labour as he has to supply: he goes to seek labour elsewhere, and thereby becomes guilty of rupture of ban, of which he is convicted and is sent back to prison, and this new conviction is counted against him a case of *récidive*: M. Le Blanc called my attention to the fact, that the worst subjects under his care are by no means those who have the greatest number of convictions set against their names, as these consist for the most part of ruptures of ban in the honest attempt to seek for work. This is shewn by the fact, which I take from the tables published by M. le garde des sceaux, that of 8068 *récidivistes* who were discharged during the quinquennial period 1848—1852 and were again convicted before the end 1852, the relapses by vagabondage and mendicity were 1435, and those by rupture of ban 1346, and the figures seem to shew that the latter generally take place in the first year after liberation. No persons, however, are sent to the *maisons centrales* unless the sentence exceeds a year's imprisonment, for shorter terms the committals are to the departmental prisons, where the confinement is cellular, and the treatment in other respects

stricter. Whilst M. Le Blanc was inspector at Rennes, he knew a case of a liberated convict, who, being desirous of resuming his quarters in the maison centrale committed some offence, for which to his infinite disgust he was sentenced only to six months imprisonment. Having no taste for passing that period in a departmental prison, he forthwith began abusing the magistrate, in consequence of which his term was increased to ten months, which was the reverse of what he wanted, as it was four months more in the departmental prison. Upon this he redoubled his invectives, adding threats of what he would do to the judge at the end of the end of the term: this was visited by a change of sentence to fifteen months, but as these would have to be passed in a maison centrale his end was answered, his mask of turbulence was laid aside, and he retired from the tribunal with a respectful bow.

I was now conducted to the department of the jeunes détenus. These are principally, according to their antecedents and the employments of their families, divided into two bodies, the industrial who occupy part of the maison centrale itself, and the agricultural who are located on a farm about three miles from the maison centrale, to which they come twice a week, on Sundays and Thursdays, to attend divine service, and the court which is held on those days for the trial of prison offences committed by the jeunes détenus. I was first introduced to the quartier des preuves in which new comers are first placed in order to try them, and see what they are fit for; there was nothing particular about it, but this difference at the very outset from the system at Mettray excited an involuntary smile. No one was in it at the time, and we proceeded to a large garden laid out with walks, which are open to the young détenus during periods of recreation, but, if I understood aright, they have nothing to do with the cultivation. The young people were just turning out of the class-room in double file; their dress did not differ much in character from that in use at Mettray, but it looked older and not so tidy; the body had very much the appearance of a workhouse school, and there were no marks of that esprit de corps which animates almost every countenance at Mettray: they did not even fall quite naturally into the military step, but their teachers had to excite them to it, and to beat time; one of them had his head clean shaven, of which more anon; others

bore complimentary tablets on their backs, with characteristic legends such as "Voleur" &c. We then passed through the workshops of the different trades which they are taught: here the work is not done for contractors, but for the government, and no wages are paid, it being considered, that the board, lodging and education are more than an equivalent for the work done; I understood that there were some slight pecuniary rewards to the surveillants and others, but my attention was diverted at this point of my enquiries, and I omitted to return to it. The children are thus taught a great variety of trades, the particulars of which have escaped my memory; all the building and other work in the establishment is done either by the children or the adult convicts: the employment which struck me most was that of the ornamental wood carvers, who were turning out some very clever specimens of workmanship, which would have excited a great sensation had they been sent to the educational exhibition: as part of his day's work, each child has an hour and a-half's schooling, more than that is found to be tedious at the time, and to make them conceited at the end. The director selects a certain number of the best behaved to act as surveillants, these wear a distinguishing badge. The dormitories are large rooms, containing a great number of beds, all exquisitely clean, with each boy's Sunday clothes neatly folded and placed upon his bed: my visit was on a Monday morning, Sept. 11th, 1854: all this had a much more comfortable look than the hammocks at Mettray. The refectory is a large hall used also as the class-room, and as the chapel, of which it forms the nave when the folding doors which separate it from the chapel, properly so called, are thrown open. There is nothing peculiar in the dietary, except that on Sundays and Thursdays they are allowed what is called a gratification. What that gratification is on Thursdays I did not catch, on Sundays it consists in the distribution to each boy of half-a-pound of preserve, which he is allowed to eat as he likes: the glutton dispatches it forthwith, and his propensity is noted; on the other hand those who wish to make a better use of it, as a seasoning for their bread during the week, are supplied with the means of keeping it for that purpose. They are justly proud of their bakehouse, the produce of which, *experto crede*, is excellent.

For my visit to the farm, M. Le Blanc committed me to

the guidance of the excellent inspector M. Delaunay, and finding that I wished to return to Paris by the three o'clock train, which I could not do if we performed our expedition on foot, he was kind enough to order the tilbury of the establishment to be placed at our disposal, and right pleasant was our drive through a steeply undulated and well wooded country. The farm consists of 214 hectares including 40 hectares of wood and a small portion of moorland not yet brought into cultivation, it is traversed in various directions by well made private roads, the work of the colonists. I was taken to two farm houses, one an old building of no great size, the other a new construction of considerable size, built by the colonists for the purposes of the colony. In the refectory of the latter we found the children in class, pursuing according to their several ages and abilities the usual course of primary instruction; there were no particular marks either of energy or lassitude, but I thought them too much crowded; the dormitories are exactly like those of the industrial colonists at the maison centrale: everything was extremely clean and rather left an impression of over comfort. They are very proud of their horned cattle, from which they draw a large quantity of milk, which finds its way to the market at Evreux in the shape of butter: they have some very fine specimens of the Dutch, Flemish, Cotantin and Breton breeds: the latter are very small, smaller than the Alderney with which, however, they seem in shape and colour to have affinity. There I learned that the peculiar grain in the colour of the Norman horses is called pommel  , whilst the broader and more variegated dapple of a cotantin bull was called   caille. They did not ordinarily breed or feed for the market, but some beautiful little Breton calves were destined for Fontevault. There is no peculiarity in the mode of cultivation adopted. The farm yards are walled like other farm yards in the country, but in other respects the colonists are not confined by walls; in the classes I noticed three more shaven heads, and learned that the shaving of the head is one of the punishments for evasion. Attempts at evasion are not unfrequent, but they are always unsuccessful, as the dress is peculiar, and a reward of twenty-five franks is given to any person who brings a fugitive back.

I have already mentioned the punishment for evasion; in both the adult and the juvenile departments the usual punish-

ments are inflicted for prison offences, but are preceded by a formal trial before a tribunal consisting of the director, the aumônier and I think, the chief guardian ; for the adults this is held daily, in a room fitted up for the purpose, and called the Prétoire : for the Jeunes Détenus it is held twice a week in the presence of the colony assembled in their Salle à manger. The punishments are standing with their face to the wall, standing out whilst the others are eating, deprivations of the gratifications of the palate, reduction of diet, cellular confinement, and, as a last resort, confinement in chains. M. Le Blanc encourages correspondence of the prisoners with their families, and the visits of the latter to their relatives in prison, as a means of keeping up and strengthening the family tie : it also supplies him with a means of punishment by the suppression of it, and, in the case of the juveniles, by making them come in disgrace before their parents ; for juveniles he also makes occasional use of whipping ; that being a domestic punishment, he considers that he who stands in loco parentis may sometimes apply it with advantage.

I may be wrong, but the impression on my mind was, that the system was likely to be less deterrent than that of Mettray ; in the first place, there is a less complete change in the mode of life, they sleep in ordinary beds like other people, they are in more close association with each other, and there being only one guardian to 40 or 50 colonists, with only one aumônier to 1900, and no sisters of charity or the like, they are comparatively free from that constant surveillance and interference of superiors which is so very disagreeable to the wild unreclaimed character ; but what impressed me most strongly was, the instruction which is given in branches of industry which command very high wages : when I saw wood carvings, the work rather of an artist than of an artizan, I could not help asking myself whether this was not likely to be regarded in sober truth as a college for the poor ? There is no such danger about agriculture or the trades immediately ancillary to it, nor even about the military profession. The danger being one that is adverted to by M. de Persigny, I enquired of M. Le Blanc how the matter stands according to his experience. He says that many parents do unquestionably send their children out begging, with a feeling that the worst that can happen will be that the state will relieve them of the charge of their children ; this

however is by no means the same thing as bringing them up as thieves.

There does not seem to be much difficulty in obtaining employment for the young persons on their discharge, and exertions are made in each particular instance to obtain the patronage of some charitable individual in the neighbourhood ; such as are placed in Paris are confided to M. De Berenger's society ; when unable to obtain work, and totally friendless, they sometimes come back to the colony and ask to be put to their old work, an hospitality which is accorded until a place is found for them. M. Delaunay however considers that the case of the orphans requires special provision, and suggests that something might be done for them on the tracts of unreclaimed land in various parts of France, which are the property of the state. I asked him if they ever succeeded in gaining the affections of the young people committed to their care : he said no, the numbers were too large for the teachers to establish any individual hold. Both he and M. Le Blanc expressed themselves strongly against some of the private colonies, as being mere private speculations conducted without any real regard to the welfare of the children, but they did not affect to place their own work on a level with Mettray, on the contrary they assigned reasons why it could not be so : the refuse rejected by the private colonies as being incurable is necessarily sent to the Maison Centrale, which has no such means of purification or punishment : M. De Metz too is absolute master, he may spend his money as he likes, and may make any changes in his system and try any experiments that occur to him according to his own judgment and good pleasure : the director of a maison centrale on the contrary has a limited sum placed at his disposal for every sou of which he has to give a minute account, and both in expenditure and general management he is tied down to a strict routine in which the Minister of the Interior has alone the power to make the slightest variation.

*Le Blanc and Delaunay* : I could not help wondering how far up the stream of ages we should have to go before the descent of the one would be found diverging from that old Sir Simon, and that of the other from the line of the gallant and faithful governors of the Bastille. Though it were to the period of the deluge, it is something to bear an honorable name and to bear it with honour.

The next establishment to which I have to call your attention is Petit Bourg near Corbeil in the department of the Seine et Oise; the gate of the park is close to the Railway station at Evry, and there is a servant to meet all visitors coming from Paris: we visited this institution on Monday 25th September 1854, and met with a hospitable reception from Mdme. Allier and her daughters, and a son who went with us over the establishment; nevertheless a subsequent perusal of the various reports which they were so kind as to give me has mystified me not a little, for on comparing my personal observations with the only report which goes into details on the system, that of 1845, I find that very considerable changes had been made, so that my description of it must be in very broad outline, leaving details to be filled in when I shall have ascertained how far several arrangements, some of them of great importance, which are described in that report but of which I saw no traces and heard no mention, have in fact been retained or been abandoned.

In or about the year 1842 a society was formed at Paris for the patronage of poor boys by bringing them up to farming or gardening, and afterwards providing them with places. The original object of the Society was to provide for poor children who had never been charged with crime, at least as good an agricultural training as was provided at Mettray, and similar institutions, for children who had been charged with crime, and been acquitted on the ground of having acted without discernment. On this footing the Society proceeded apparently with great success until the Revolution of February 1848, when the greater part of their supporters were struck with ruin, and their annual subscriptions fell from 50,000 francs to 2,000 francs a year (£2,000 to £80.) In consequence of this it was necessarily changed into an institution for the education of young persons acquitted under article 66, for whom the government pays a daily sum per head, not quite equal to the actual cost. One of the first acts of the Society was to take, and afterwards to purchase, the estate of Petit Bourg, consisting of a handsome château, formerly the residence of the notorious Madame de Montespan, and about 100 hectares of land, and adapt it to their purposes by removing all the objects of luxury and magnificence, and fitting it up to receive its humble inmates. The parts used for habitation and recreation are walled all round and locked up at night,



the estate is walled round except on the side of the railway : the consequence is, that there is neither the material security of efficient walls, nor the moral security of an appeal to the feelings of the children by the total absence of walls : attempts at evasion are therefore frequent, often under the very eyes of the surveillant, the runaway springing "like a viper" under the cover of some standing crop, in which he cannot be discovered without a damage for which his recapture is not an equivalent. The security really relied on is the very peculiar party-coloured dress, two quarters white two quarters check, and the reward which is paid to the person who effects the recapture.

The first objects that we were taken to see by the gentleman who acted as our guide, were the offices in what Londoners would call the area, and Yorkshire-men the cellar-kitchens. For all purposes connected with this part of the establishment, the capacious cellar departments of the château of course afforded every convenience : there was nothing that called for special remark : we were too late to see the dinner, but we were informed that the cooking is conducted by colonists, under the superintendence of a chief. The food of course is very plain, the only beverage is water ; at first there was an allowance of wine for Sundays, but on the request of the children themselves, that was suppressed ; our friends the teetotalists will say that this speaks well for the children ; Boniface the publican will reserve his opinion on that point, until he knows the quality of the wine. The average cost of what we should call board seems in ordinary times to be about 4·5 pence per day for each colonist, that of the employés about 7·6 pence : for all ordinary purposes, and classing all persons on the establishment together, the average daily cost per head, is about 8·9 pence : the government allowance is about 8·0, leaving near one penny a day to be received from other sources for ordinary expenses only. The report represents every meal as being seasoned by a lecture, an observance which it is to be hoped is amongst those that have been abandoned. All the colonists dine together in one large room, which is also used as a class-room ; the arrangements are of the most simple, and the general aspect not inviting : perhaps immediately after dinner was not the best time for seeing it.

We then went to the play-ground, passing on our way a very long shed with a trough from end to end, in which the children wash themselves at all seasons; close by are some cisterns in which they wash their own linen, under the superintendence of regular washerwomen. The play-ground is a large yard, surrounded by buildings and high walls: we entered it during the time allowed for recreation: there we found from 200 to 300 children in their party-coloured attire before mentioned: being the working dress, half worn and dusty, it had a specially workhouse look. Some of them were sauntering about idly in groups, others were playing, but so listlessly! Nothing like a game! and, although the weather was by no means excessively hot, at least two-thirds of the whole body were lying on their backs under the walls, some preferring the sunshine, some the shade, none of them reading, very few of them talking; if they were chewing the cud of sweet and bitter fancies, there was no importunate hum of merry voices to disturb them; I should have liked to see them roused by a reveille from the clarions of Mettray, but the exclusion of the military principle would satisfy the most pacific, and the most rigid economist would be assured that there was no waste of animal strength or spirits. On one side of this yard, we visited two large dormitories, the larger of them containing beds for upwards of 100 colonists and four superintendents; there are other dormitories in the château itself, also in large rooms. One almost necessary consequence of establishing the colony in the buildings of an existing château, was the non-adoption of the divisions into small families, which is the corner stone of the Mettray system; and though, for the purpose of exciting a little emulation, the different divisions are in some respects treated as different houses, there is nothing like the sustained attempt to create the *esprit de famille*. If I rightly understood M. Allier, jun. the monitors are now nominated by the director, which is a great change, for in 1845 they were elected by the colonists; and there is a change in the material arrangements of almost equal importance: originally the colonists slept in hammocks, and some of them continue to do so until the hammocks shall be worn out, but it was discovered that as, in order to be safe, the hammock must be constructed of very strong materials, a bedstead consisting of two planks laid on an iron frame, would be cheaper; in the new building there-

fore, this was introduced instead of the hammocks; then the eye of the economist saw its way to a further saving: two or three bits of deal rudely fastened to the floor, would cost less than the iron frame, and, according to the last improvements, the Petit Bourg bedstead, consists of two deal boards, resting on bits of deal rudely fastened to the floor. The bedding itself is clean and comfortable.

Between the two outer dormitories, is the quarter of punishment; here again there has been a complete change since 1845, when the confinement was cellular, the change being apparently dictated by the same spirit, perhaps I ought to say the same necessity for minute savings. The offenders are now confined in common under the guardianship of a keeper, who enforces silence and keeps them to their tasks. They did not seem to be much distressed. Here however we found in full operation, a peculiar and interesting arrangement: several of the prisoners were undergoing punishment merely as "protectors" or bondsmen, the meaning of which is this: when a boy has made himself liable to imprisonment, he is sometimes set at liberty, on procuring security for his future better behaviour, by getting a boy of good character to engage himself to undergo the punishment should the culprit thus let out, offend again. The report gives a somewhat fantastically graduated scale of punishments, and though we neither saw nor heard of any other than this confinement in company in a light airy room, and a reduction of rations, there must of course be some greater severity. We next went to some of the workshops for the making and repairing of agricultural implements and the like, and from thence to the old vadaric or cowhouse, which was in a dilapidated state, undergoing that most effectual of all repairs, the building of a new one; nearly the whole of the stock of horned cattle was in the fields, but we saw a few very fine specimens of prize bulls and calves, for which the institution enjoys a well merited renown: from thence we went to its greatest glory, the porcherie. No expense is spared in the purchase of the finest individuals of bovine swine and porcine breeds for the purpose of ameliorating the races by crossing, no expence is spared in lodging, boarding and attendance. Let us take for example the swine: they live in a pig palace! what the Sydenham people would call the culinary department is

placed in the centre with its stoves, boilers and apparatus of vessels : after being boiled the food is set to ferment for a couple of days, so that the pigs take their meat, as the cockney baker puffed his bread, with the gin in it. Each pig and its little ones lives in a separate compartment, kept most scrupulously clean, so that not the slightest perceptible bad odour arises ; each pig is washed clean and brushed every morning, in winter it is indulged with the luxury of warm water. Most of the animals came from England, one sow, the queen of the race, had been brought all the way from Yorkshire ; her farrow were nestling round her to her great delight expressed in most intelligible grunts : these little ones were already sold for delivery at six weeks age, for the moderate price of £8 sterling a head. In fact M. Allier has within the last fourteen months gained twenty medals for his agricultural productions. What a pity it is that no one offers a prize for the best educated colonists.

We next took a short walk in the grounds immediately adjoining the château, and saw several parties of colonists going in a quiet orderly manner to their work. M. Allier junior, proposed taking us to another farm house, but as he said it was a mere repetition of what we had seen already, we did not think it worth while. Everything was in excellent order and condition, and the walk on the noble avenue under the clear blue sky, with the riant valley of the Seine at our feet was very pleasant : we found that the chesnuts which in the gardens of the Tuileries are gathered with such ardour by the infant sculptors, are here collected and given as food to the sheep. The garden is very extensive, and kept with great care, the vines are as elsewhere a failure, not however from the malady but from the bad weather which prevailed at the critical season of the fruiting. The hospitality of Mme. Allier enabled us to bear the strongest testimony to the superior quality of the produce, both of the farm and of the garden. Looking into the garden is the infirmary ; the sickward is a light airy room, kept scrupulously clean, and containing a considerable number of beds, next to which is a sitting room for the convalescents ; the whole is under the care of a very decent looking young woman. I was not surprised to hear from the ladies that there is a strong desire amongst the colonists to put themselves on the sick list, and make the most of a plant which, when rubbed upon any limb, causes

it to swell, to most alarming dimensions, and of another plant, a species of *Euphorbia* with yellow milk, which is efficacious in producing sore eyes; one poor fellow actually caused his own death by constantly tearing the bandages off a real sore for which he was in hospital. Mme. Allier herself discovered a specific for this class of diseases in the applications of repeated blisters.

We now returned to the château and visited the department of the economat and store rooms where we tasted the three kinds of bread, all very good; first of the finest quality, for the soup of all parties: second made of fine flour, seconds and rice, for the employés: third made of fine flour, seconds, rice, and bean meal for the colonists: a most minute account is kept of everything, insomuch so that, when a colonist has to be punished by any alteration in his rations, it is not until the day but one after the sentence that the punishment can be carried into effect, since the estimate for the intervening day has been made out, allowing him full rations. There is a special department for the care of the colonists clothes, not merely the articles in stock, but all the changes for each individual colonist. This is an illustration of the system. The arrangement by compartments and letters is admirable, and the cleanliness and neatness not to be surpassed, but the opportunity of habituating the individual colonist to keep his clothes with cleanliness and neatness is sacrificed to the centralised action of a department, which, so far as regards the immediate result of all the clothes being kept clean and neat, is doubtless more efficacious. We concluded our personal examination by inspecting the dormitories and workshops in the first floor of the château; in the tailors shop they seemed to be all cheerful and happy, and were working with spirit; as regards the condition of the children, this was the most satisfactory part of the establishment that we saw.

There is an auminier or Chaplain attached to the institution, and two rooms are used as chapels: the time devoted to general instruction varies with the season of the year, and in harvest time is reduced to nothing: taking the whole year round it averages two hours a day; the report in addition to the ordinary heads of primary instruction mentions singing, military music, gymnastics, working the fire engines, and courses of agriculture and horticulture; it speaks of séances d'émulation and

justice held every Sunday, and colours for every division, the colonists in which are arranged in order of merit, the best being the colour-bearer, and the colour of the colony being given to the best division, and of pecuniary prizes to the chefs d'atelier and employés, of certificates of capacity, of medals of honour, of quarterly elections of monitors, of weekly reports, of a monthly fête de famille, of a somewhat sentimental system of rewards, and cites numerous instances of industry, zeal, generosity, brotherly love and filial affection. How much remains of all this I cannot say, for our informants on the spot mentioned none of these things, still though the mouth spoke not the heart might be full : but what *was* said left a painful impression on the mind : some really well merited compliments on what we had seen were responded to by the remark that the director and his family did their best, but the undertaking was one of never-ending anxiety ; I then applied my usual pierre de touche, the question whether they ever gained the affections of any of their young people.—Never ; the children were essentially selfish and ungrateful, sometimes coaxing and well-behaved out of policy, but never returning the slightest kindly feeling for the most assiduous attention. I suggested that the family had at all events the consciousness of devoting themselves to a most charitable work, and trusted that the table of récidivistes shewed their attempts at moralization not to have been thrown away. The reply to this was that they hoped they did some good : that they always procured places for the children, that some who had gone into the army had when their time was out, applied to be received into the colony as employés ; as for the number of récidivistes they knew nothing about it, the police perhaps might know : that the employés were a still more difficult and ungrateful set than the colonists, that there was no satisfying them either with meat or drink, no animating them with the spirit of the undertaking, no inducing them to comply with the rules : a strict system of fines was enforced, such as 5fr., for the first act of drunkenness, 10fr. for the second, dismissal for the third, but it was all in vain.

I am afraid indeed that M. Allier has not succeeded in assembling a body of assistants, (there are 40 in number) sufficiently inspired with the genius of the place. This deficiency is intelligibly hinted at in the report of 1845 and has not been remedied—Partly from this reason, partly from the insufficiency of the Government allowances, though he has suc-

ceeded in forming a first-rate farming establishment, he appears to me not to present us with so satisfactory a solution of the educational problem as is to be found in some other places.

Our next visit was to the reformatory institutions of Ruysselede and Beernem in Belgium; and I must premise that Belgium is governed by the same laws as France, having adopted the various codes of the first Napoleon; the scale of living amongst the peasantry is lower than it is even in France; the religion is much more exclusively Roman Catholic, and the observances of that religion are much more generally and more scrupulously complied with than in France: the population is less warlike, and less easily acted upon by the stimulus of honour; and the hard-hearted quality of their parsimony is attested by the fact that the paupers who become chargeable to the parish used until very recently—indeed I doubt whether the system is entirely abolished—I say these paupers used to be put up by auction to be let out to the person who would undertake to maintain them at the lowest charge to the parish. Every one was allowed to calculate the disadvantages which childhood or infirmity would entail, and the profits to be derived from the remaining strength of the aged or the growing powers of the young. They were often knocked down to the highest bidder amidst the most revolting remarks, and when handed over to their task-master were for the most part exposed to severer treatment than the greatest criminals in the worst organized prisons; even very young children were so put out, and were generally bought to be used as instruments of mendicity.

Such a state of things as this called loudly for the interference of the legislature and government: the legislature and government did at last interfere, at least as regards the children and young persons. By a law passed in 1848, it was ordered that Government should create special establishments for young paupers, beggars, and vagrants, and employ the boys, as much as possible, in agricultural labour, and bring them up to callings capable of being profitably exercised in the country. The first of these institutions was established at Ruysselede for 600 boys, in 1849, and at Beernem near Ruysselede for 300 girls, in 1853: they may in fact be regarded as one institution, being both under the management of the same director, and being made to work into one another as will appear in the sequel. We first visited Ruysselede, the

establishment for boys, and, as the day was a thorough soaker, our observations were necessarily confined to the house and its immediate vicinity.

You will observe that I speak of *the house*, not of *the houses*, for though the system at Ruysselede has in a great measure been modelled upon that of Mettray, where the young people live in separate families, the paramount consideration of expense caused the Belgian government to adopt the cheaper course of purchasing the buildings of a large sugar manufactory and adapting them to the purposes of a reformatory institution : but this unfortunately rendered it quite impossible for them to adopt the formation of distinct families. There is another fundamental difference, which is of more importance to the English student than to the Belgian : the inmates do not belong to precisely the same class as at Mettray. At Mettray they are exclusively young criminals, acquitted on the score of ignorance, at Ruysselede less than half belong to this class ; the rest are poor children sent by the parishes, or by benevolent societies or individuals : in other words the same establishment serves both as reformatory and as industrial school. There appears to be very little difficulty about this where the principle of qualified acquittal is acted upon, but there will be strong objections against adopting such a course in England as long as we adhere to the principle, of first convicting the youthful offender and inflicting preliminary punishment for his offence.

M. Pol, the director of the Institution, received us very cordially, and conducted us personally over every part that could be visited on a thoroughly rainy day : he is a man of powerful make, with an open, good natured countenance, and a frank easy manner, and no one can be long in his company without discovering that he has a heart cast in the same mould as those of De Metz, Verdier, and Ducpétiaux : he considers that his system is that of Mettray, simplified and reduced to a scale of expenditure more compatible with Belgian notions. Thus, as at Mettray, there are no prison walls ; there are such walls and means of ordinary security, as would be found in ordinary farm buildings of the same magnitude, but nothing to remind the inmates that they are kept in as prisoners : at first the desertions and attempts to desert were numerous, but last year there were only five attempts at desertion, and these were unsuccessful. His success in this respect affords us a most valuable example, for he worked under great disad-



antages ; instead of beginning as at Mettray with a staff of assistants twice as numerous as the first consignment of children, he began with two assistants to manage 60 children, so that the work of assimilating the raw material of the untutored population was necessarily very slow : now that the body at large have been brought into good training, new comers are introduced only in small numbers, and the assimilating powers of large majorities upon small minorities are brought into full operation. At present the whole body of officers and servants, including the director and the chaplain, who have to manage, teach and overlook 600 boys, amounts to the number of eighteen, and M. Pol seems to consider that the force is sufficient : I must confess I came to a different conclusion : not from any deficiencies that could be detected in the arrangements, or in the working of the system, but, with the exception of M. Pol himself, they had all of them the heavy careworn look of men who are hard worked ; the results shew them to be a most conscientious zealous body of men, indeed any assistant who should show any indications of being otherwise would be quietly withdrawn on the earliest opportunity. The right kind of men are difficult to find, but when you have found them, there is something almost sublime about the thorough devotion with which they give themselves up to their Mission. For example at Mettray, the other day, there was too much reason to believe that certain pecuniary support would be withdrawn, to such an extent that the establishment must be wound up, and the further prosecution of it abandoned ; whereupon the different employes, a body of young men from 21 to 35 years of age, not helpless creatures without resource to whom half a loaf would be better than no bread, but men of tried ability and vigour, who could at any time command more remunerative employment elsewhere—I say these young men waited on M. De Metz in a body, and offered to continue their services at half their salaries.—Why ? because their hearts were in the matter.

But to return to Ruysselede, “as in water face answereth to face, so the heart of man to man,” the heart of the teacher must sound the key note, or there will be no response in the heart of the taught : as soon as M. Pol had given me a short explanatory outline of his system, I applied my *pierre de touche* ; do you sometimes gain the affections of any of your young people ? The reply was given with a smile almost amounting to a laugh—“We should do very little good if we

did not gain the hearts of the great majority: yes, I trust we do gain the affections of almost all of them who remain any length of time with us, but the parishes remove some of them before any good effect can be hoped for."

I have already intimated that the domestic arrangements have in great measure been dictated by the original construction of the fabric, which afforded no facilities for subdivision into families, but several of the long large galleries which are to be found in factories. The consequence is that all the colonists take their meals together in one large refectory, and for sleep they are distributed in two or three large dormitories. For, bed, board, and general superintendence, they are divided into divisions of 100 each, at the head of which is placed an overlooker, who is also the overlooker and teacher of a workshop, and, as he sleeps at the head of his division, has literally no relief by day or night: each division is subdivided into two sections, and the overlooker is assisted by a chief and under chief selected by the director, quarterly, out of each section, and respectively distinguished by a red or yellow stripe on the left arm: the beds of each division and section are placed together, and they dine together at the same table, the members of each section taking it by turns to prepare the tables &c.: when meal time arrives the divisions form in military order on the grand square, and march off to their several tables to the music of a brass band, when all are in their places the trumpet sounds, the superintendents take off their caps, there is a dead silence, silence that may be felt, for a minute and a half, but there is a frequent motion of little fingers figuring the sign of the cross as in Roman Catholic devotions, the children are saying grace before meat, in all the noiseless solemnity of the Society of Friends: again the trumpet sounds, and the whole body of hungry workers sits down to the quiet orderly enjoyment of its frugal repast: oh, it was a goodly sight to see six hundred rude but happy little faces smiling over their basins of soupe maigre and their scanty allowances of bread, yet it being a Friday, that was all their diuner, and at half past five they would have a supper on boiled potatoes; hard work and hard fare, aye and hard sleep o' nights, each in his clean comfortable little bed, with two little shelves for his Sunday clothes behind his pillow, in which, mid the cleanliness and neatness that reigns throughout the dormitory, he is taught to keep his own little belongings with cleanliness and neatness.

In ordinary times the board of each child costs  $2\frac{1}{4}$ d. a day, and his total cost for board, lodging, clothing and everything, amounts to less than  $5\frac{1}{4}$ d.

There is such a strong general resemblance between the workshops, schoolrooms, baths and chapel of any one reformatory establishment, and the workshops, schoolrooms, baths, and chapel of any other, that I shall not enter into a particular description of those at Ruysselede: all the children are taught more or less the ordinary duties of a farm labourer, and, according to their various capacities and tastes, some of the employments ancillary to agriculture: the object is to create a peasantry, not a school of philosophy: the cultivation of the intellect is limited to reading, writing, and arithmetic, and elementary information on the employments on which they are engaged; and the result sought for is the production of cartwrights not carriage makers, harness makers not saddlers, joiners not cabinet makers: yet genius would not find it utterly impossible to emerge, for one of the rewards of good conduct is admission to a good library. I don't know what some of our friends would say to it, but both here and at Mettray I found that the processes of buying and selling are held in very little honour, there being a general notion that communities of such magnitude ought to supply their own wants without losing time in going to market: thus as regards flax, every process is worked in the colony, from sowing the seed to making the blouse and wearing it: hitherto they have been in the habit of selling their cattle and buying their butchers' meat, but the other day, having a fat cow to sell, they could not get a bid above £4, probably through some short-sighted understanding amongst the neighbouring butchers: for the colony slaughtered the animal themselves, and found that the produce in meat would have cost them above twelve pounds: the colony has ceased to be a purchaser of butchers' meat.

There are two special heads of instruction on which I must say a word. As a reward for good conduct the colonists who have a turn for music are taught it, both vocal and instrumental; as we approached one of the classrooms we heard a volume of heterogeneous trumpeting, and on opening the door found from 40 to 50 youths, each practising his own part with as much abstraction and composure as if he were miles away from the sound of any instrument but his own. A mannerly salute from all immediately on our entrance; then a full brass band,

supported by a big drum and two small ones, performed the last scene in *Norma* with admirable precision; one little fellow, the first trumpet, shewed himself a master of his instrument and he knew it, and the boy who presided over the big drum struck it with an aplomb that was meant to tell us that he had a hand above drumsticks: I had heard the same music at either opera house, but I must confess that there was a moral beauty about the scene in the classroom at Ruysselede, that went beyond *Grisi* and *Jenny Lind*. They then gave us *God save the Queen* in a satisfactory style, and we took our leave of the melancholy looking master and his promising class. M. Pol considers that music exercises a most salutary influence both on the performers, and those who take part in their concerts only as hearers; at Ruysselede it has this further advantage, that the proficientes are admitted into the regimental bands, which for children of that rank is a piece of valuable preferment.

The other special head of instruction that I alluded to is instruction in seamanship, so far as that can be given on dry land, on a piece of ground fitted with the bulwarks, masts, rigging, and sails of a large ship. When I first saw this kind of contrivance at Mettray, I could not refrain from intimating a doubt as to its practical utility, but I find that I was quite mistaken. In France the experiment was tried at the suggestion of the Minister of the Marine himself, and the youths so exercised at Mettray are received on real ship board as sailors, not as lads. At Ruysselede the success is still more striking: in the course of last year, the second of the experiment, no fewer than 64 colonists entered the mercantile and 3 the military marine, and their conduct has been so superior, that the establishment is overwhelmed with applications from ship owners. This is certainly a most important result, and most suggestive as regards reformatory institutions in our own country. We want sailors, and in all probability the supply will never fully meet the demand; the reformatory may be made a nursery for sailors, which will make up in religion, morals, and general instruction, more than will be deficient in experience of the actual rolling of the waves.

One of the young men that I have just spoken of brought with him on his return from his first voyage from the far ends of the world an offering of wax lights for the altar, a little act of acknowledgment creditable both to him, and to the institu-

tion, in the eyes even of those whose creed has little regard either for altars or wax lights. It can hardly be necessary for me to remind you that Belgium is eminently a Roman Catholic country: in fact they look down with some contempt upon the laxity of their co-religionists in France; at Ruysselede there is a regular chaplain, and a chapel so arranged that the prisoners in cellular confinement may take part in public worship, and there is on the part of the director the greatest anxiety that the young people shall perform their religious duties. There is the same anxiety at Mettray, but there are some striking differences in point of practice: in fact there is a little controversy on the point between M. Blanchard at Mettray and M. Pol at Ruysselede. At both institutions the children are brought to the point at which they ought to say their prayers, at Mettray the prayers are said aloud, at Ruysselede all is solemn silence. "How do you know that your children pray at all?" asks M. Blanchard. "How do you know that yours pray with the heart? for, if not, they had better not pray at all:" retorts M. Pol. "Man is a creature compounded of body and spirit, and must worship with the body as well as with the spirit: and the outward act at all events assists in preventing the mind from wandering." Such is the reply of M. Blanchard: You will be amused at finding that as regards confession both the practice and the reasoning is reversed. You are doubtless all of you aware that particular confession by the penitent to the priest is one of the cardinal observances of the Roman Catholic Church, one most generally rejected by English Protestants, though retained I believe to some extent by the Lutherans. Now every serious Roman Catholic master of a family, as a matter of course, sends all the members of his family to confession four times a year. Says M. Pol, "We have substituted ourselves for the parents of the children: we must deal by them as a pious Catholic parent would deal by his children: we therefore compel all our children to go to confession four times a year: we have then done our duty: what follows rests with the chaplain, who has the sole care of the children as regards religion." Now hear M. Blanchard: "There is nothing in religion so much to be dreaded as hypocrisy; laxity, lukewarmness, infidelity are none of them so bad, because none of them are so hopeless as hypocrisy: we are determined to spare no pains to prevent our children from becoming hypocrites,

we therefore hold out no inducements of compulsion or reward for the performance of individual religious duties. Our church exhorts to retirement for purposes of meditation, and requires periodical confession, and the chaplain enforces the observances by precept and example: but the director and managers do not even by a look express a preference for the boys who comply with them: the chapel is open for meditation, but the boys who choose to retire must do so during play time: nearly all of them do in fact go to confession, but some neglect the duty entirely, and are not made sensible of the slightest difference of treatment or consideration on that account, we cannot forget that the conductors of the most infamous journal that disgraced the Revolution of 1848 were educated at an institution where religious observances were strictly enforced." This difference of principle and practice in two systems both of them eminently successful is very striking.

When M. Pol pointed out the arrangement in the chapel for prisoners in cell taking part in the services, we naturally fell into a discussion of the system of rewards and punishments. At Ruyselede, as well as at Mettray, the system is based upon the undeniable fact that the maintenance and education of the young men are a great deal more than a full remuneration for all the labour that they can perform; they therefore pay no wages even for the most efficient work, but at Mettray, as a stimulus to industry, small monthly sums are awarded as prizes to the hardest workers, and invested for them in the savings' bank, whilst at Ruyselede there is no money recompense whatever, and in consequence no savings' bank, no savings' bank book for the colonist to learn a little bit of accounts by studying his own, no practical knowledge of the use of money, no opportunity of punishment by inflicting fines, but a very great pecuniary charge to the Institution is avoided. The rewards in use at Ruyselede are honorable mention, public praise, instruction in music, promenades beyond the limits, visits to their families, admission to the library, gifts of tools and other articles, admission as candidates for inscription on the list of honour, inscription on the list of honour, which is a list made up quarterly and hang up in one of the principal rooms of the institution: in addition to these rewards to individuals the director is authorized to award collective rewards to the divisions and sections which are distinguished by good behaviour, and count the

greatest relative number of inscriptions on the list of honour : the only collective reward that I heard spoken of is the custody of the standard of the colony, which is entrusted to the best behaved division. The punishments in use are reprimand private or public, exclusion from play, exclusion from music, forced march with or without handcuffs, and with or without reduction to a bread and water diet, loss of confidential employment, erasion from the list of honour, cellular confinement. No punishment is inflicted on the instant, the culprit is simply told that he will be reported, and the case is brought before the council, which is held every evening by the director and his assistants, after all parties have had ample time for cooling down : every instance of punishment is registered. You will hardly believe it, but during the whole of the year 1853, on an average population of more than 500 colonists, there were only 160 inflictions of punishment, 65 of which were for mere infractions of discipline. A solemn assembly of the whole colony is held once a month, at which the awarding of recompences, and the administration of remonstrances, is gone through with much form.

M. Pol has strong objections to the punishment by cellular confinement, which is so highly thought of at Mettray : M. Pol considers that the prisoner does nothing but brood over his own evil thoughts : M. De Metz finds that the salutary reflection that is forced upon him makes him reconsider the error of his ways : perhaps the difference may be that at Mettray, where the employes are numerous, even the prisoners in cell can be well looked after, whilst the very limited number of employes renders that somewhat difficult at Ruysselede. "How do you cure idleness?" I asked of M. Blanchard at Mettray. He replied, "when I find a boy will not exert himself notwithstanding our exhortations and the example of his comrades, I tell him that we have no wish to make him work unless he likes, but we can't let him set a bad example to the rest, and I look him up in a cell with access to an airy yard in which he may take as much exercise as he pleases : he has the same meals as if he was at liberty, but whilst prisoners for other offences are compelled to do their share of work, he is rigidly deprived of all means of employing himself : he thinks it fine fun for the first day, but he soon gets tired of it, and as soon as he chooses to ask for work he is set at liberty : after this he very seldom relapses into idleness."

Full of the success of this treatment at Mettray, I asked M.

Pol, "Don't you apply cellular confinement as a remedy for idleness?" "Never," said he, "it is the very worst thing you could do: when I find a boy is downright idle, I tell him that all men are fallible, perhaps he is right and I am wrong, perhaps idleness is the right thing and industry wrong, and that I have no wish to make him work against his will, but that I can't let him stand in the way of the workmen, he must sit somewhere where he won't be in the way: so I get a chair, and make him sit doing nothing in the middle of the workshop in which his companions are all lustily at work: this treatment for a very few hours brings him to his senses."

"How do you punish idleness?" asked I a few days afterwards, at the reformatory institution at Redhill in the county of Surrey. "Idleness is its own punishment here," was the reply: "we allow a small pecuniary recompense for work done, so that an industrious boy will earn from 8d. to 1s. a week, and is allowed to take 1d. of it out in treacle: three times a week the dinner is suet dumpling, which the boys are very fond of with treacle, and if a boy is idle he has no penny to buy treacle with." Thus it seems that morals as well as medicine have their allopathy, their homœopathy, and their hydropathy.

We did not see the Infirmary, for it contained no patient at the time of our visit; the attendance upon the sick is not by sisters of charity but by the colonists themselves, that being one of the duties and privileges of the chiefs and underchiefs.

We did not see the cemetery, the weather was too rainy for us to go there, or into the farm, but the fact of there being a cemetery assigned for the burial of deceased officers and colonists exercises an important influence. In France and Belgium, as elsewhere, the mortal remains of the dead pauper are buried out of the sight of the survivors with no great ceremony: a few deal boards and shovelfuls of quick lime, and a hurried formula in a dead language gabbled over with little sympathy,—such are the earth to earth and dust to dust of the poor wretch that dies in prison, and there are not wanting persons who consider that it is quite enough. Not so thought the founders of Mettray: not so thought M. Ducpétion and the Belgium government. It was a noble inspiration that led MM de Courteilles and de Metz, from the very beginning, to include in their arrangements one of those solemn sepulchral gardens which I never see without being reminded



of the German word for cemetery, Gottar Arkner (God's acre) : there, from the very first, at the end of the principal avenue, was prepared the tomb in which are already deposited the honoured remains of M. de Courteilles, fulfilling, as far as human foresight could contribute thereto, the aspiration expressed so fervently in his last will, "With them would I live, with them would I die, with them would I rise again:" the same tomb in which, when the spirit of the just man is called to its reward, the remains of M. de Metz are to be deposited, by the side of those of his friend, whilst all around arise in severe serenity, the plants and headstones that mark the last earthly resting places of the officers and colonists who have died in the institution. A gentleman of the French bar gives an account of the funeral of a colonist which took place during his visit, with all the imposing ceremony of a procession headed by the clergy, and the emblems of the Roman Catholic church, and made solemn by the cadence of funeral music. It is said that no single act of forethought or kindness had so powerful an effect in winning the affections of the survivors, as the first funeral: there could be no suspicion of interested motives in caring for the dead: "It is true then that they value us for ourselves," was the general observation: "they don't shovel our dead bodies into a hole with quick lime." I have already mentioned we did not see the cemetery at Ruysselede, but I believe it is constructed on the same principle, and attended with the same effects.

And what is the general result of the system at Ruysselede? The result is that the most of the young people look back to it as their home, revisit it whenever they can, and always find a welcome to bed and board, as at home; for these visits of former colonists are much encouraged, as they are found to exercise a most salutary influence on those that are still in pupillage. Though the average period of detention is little more than a year, the number that have turned out ill after their being placed out in the world seems hitherto to be about 5 per cent: any comparison in this respect with the French institutions would however be fallacious, for less than one half of the Belgian colonists have criminal antecedents, and they are generally placed out because they are considered fit to be placed out, and not merely because some definite period of detention has arrived. That the success of the institution at Ruysselede has been most complete it is impossible for a moment to deny;

its young men are in such demand that the farm of the institution itself has to be worked with youthful hands of which the vigour hardly comes up to the goodwill ; and all this is effected at so small a cost, indeed necessity is here as elsewhere the mother of invention, if the parsimonious farmers and peasantry of Flanders saw their youthful poor maintained on the same footing as at Mettray, they would burn the buildings, and stone the director. But I am satisfied that in the long run Mettray will be found the cheaper system ; for, as I have shown in my description of that establishment, it contains within itself the elements of reproduction : it would be invidious to cite names of persons as being qualified to succeed M. De Metz, but there they are, selected, trained, exercised for the purpose of commanding as chiefs, and not merely assisting as subalterns ; much of the extra expense is caused by this very element in the system ; and the nearer approach to self government through a body of elective elder brothers will make the task of the successor all the easier ; but what is to become of Ruysselede should M. Pol be removed ? Why is St. Hubert, the other great Belgian reformatory, a failure ? Is some one of the untiring camels, that I saw performing their never-ending tasks with so much patience, suddenly to be endued with the vigour and paces of the war horse ? Go to Ruysselede, observe it minutely, study it carefully, no chapter of practical wisdom will better repay the study, but beware of its self-consuming penny policy.

From Ruysselede we went to the girls school at Beernem, which is conducted by sisters of charity, under the same director and chaplain as the boys' establishment at Ruysselede, of which it is in fact the complement, and is conducted on exactly the same plan with such alterations as are dictated by the difference of sex : the boys do themasonry, joiners' work, and the like of the female establishment, and the girls are to do the washing and the like for the male establishment. The superintendent sister conducted us over the buildings, which were admirable in arrangement and of the most scrupulous cleauliness and neatness ; time forbids my entering into details, but the only points for criticism that the scrutinising eyes of some of us could detect were the use of the same room as refectory and chapel, and the absence of the provisions for regular bathing that we found at the boys' establishment. The instruction is in reading, writing, and arithmetic, sewing,

spinning, knitting, washing, getting up linen, simple cottage cookery, the management of the farm-yard and cow-house, and the cultivation of the kitchen garden. There we saw them all silently at work learning to be farm servants, and in due time to bless the homely store of the Flemish peasant, not qualifying themselves to inundate the world with a deluge of nursery governesses. On the whole they looked less sprightly than the boys; how should this be? Is it that working in silence is less congenial to the female nature? Or has the fact that they have no instrumental music something to do with it? It is, to say the least, a singular coincidence that of all the reformatory institutions which I have visited, those only can be said to be absolutely successful in which a prominent place is given to instrumental music. Is not the secret to be found in the words put by an acute observer of human nature in the mouth of his itinerant exhibitor of horsemanship—"People must be amused. They can't be always a-learning, nor yet they can't be always a-working, they arn't made for it. You must have us, Squire. Do the wise thing and the kind thing too, and make the best of us; not the worst."\*

Of the results of the girls' institution, at Beernem, I cannot speak, for it has only just been established; but with all my difference of creed, I cannot for a moment doubt but that a blessing will attend the faithful labors of those unpretending sisters.

I must reserve for some other occasion my visits to Reformatories in our own country. I can assure you that private zeal has made some glorious beginnings in England, but, for want of legislative sanction, these have hitherto worked at great disadvantage, and nevertheless, with great success, for if at Ruyssede the demand for young sailor-boys exceeds the supply, so at Red Hill the demand for farm-servants in the colonies exceeds the supply. Our Parliament has, in the act which I referred to at the beginning of the lecture, taken a long step in support of the movement, and no one can now pretend that the grand undertaking of reclaiming thousands of spirits run to waste wants the sanction of the law, or such facilities as mere law can afford.

There is the law, the money will not be wanting. Where are the men? Let no persons presume to say "we are the men," without counting the cost, without feeling the mission. Hard

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\* "Hard Times."

work, constant anxiety, small pay, no promotion, little worldly esteem, a life spent in the noiseless routine of subordinate duties, and, as regards temporal prosperity, continuing and ending just where it began, such is the prospect; ambition, love of distinction, comfort, wealth, spirits of the earth earthy, will find no resting place there: but I cannot believe that the land of Sunday School teachers will not produce also some of those more sublime self-devotions that are called for by the work that we are at last thinking to take in hand.

In more poetical times I should now have concluded with some classical allusion, some apposite illustration embodied in immortal verse, some fable pregnant with its moral. But at a time when writers are found who can speak of descriptions in Homer as disgusting, when we are absolutely bound up in facts, facts, all facts, nothing but facts, I will conclude with a fact, a dry fact, a fact which you may all of you verify at six o'clock to-morrow morning, but a fact pregnant with its moral.

About a mile to the E., perhaps E. S. E., of the place in which I am addressing you, there is and for a long time has been a large factory, but not for one of the staple industries of the town, it is in fact a silk mill. If you enquire into the history of that mill, you will find that formerly in preparing the raw silk for exportation from the countries in which the raw silk is produced, there was a large quantity of refuse which was thrown away as useless. It occurred however to the enterprising mind of our fellow townsman that even this refuse was rich in silky fibre, the extraction of which might possibly pay: he tried the experiment in that very mill, and carried it out with such success that the Italian states, in which this material was formerly thrown away as refuse, have now imposed a duty on the export, and such of you as visited the Great Exhibition in 1851 can answer the question, whether the spun silk of our friend Mr. Holdforth was second to any other in that vast collection.

My friends, let but the proper machinery be applied by the proper hands, and of the very refuse of our population, of the youths that people our prisons, that infest our streets, that desecrate our sabbaths, you will, by God's blessing, work up a large proportion into fair average members of those most important branches of society, the hardy, intelligent emigrant, the skilful sturdy mariner, the bold industrious peasant.





## QUARTERLY RECORD OF THE PROGRESS OF RE- FORMATORY SCHOOLS AND OF PRISON DIS- CIPLINE.

*Report on Agricultural Colonies, read at the International Meeting of Charity, by M. Demetz, Honorary Councillor of the Imperial Court of Paris.*

Something would have been found wanting in the "Universal Exhibition," if, together with the products of human industry, which have been collected in this vast assemblage from the different parts of the world to invite the admiration of all, and solicit the rewards of the State, we had neglected to exhibit, in some way, the treasures of that inventive charity, the duty of exercising which is, from day to day, better understood and more actively practised.

Among the establishments for beneficent purposes which should attract public attention, the International Reunion of Charity could not fail to indicate agricultural colonies, and it has been pleased to confide to us the care of causing the utility of these institutions to be appreciated, of explaining how they have been established among us, what are the conditions most favorable to their development, and, finally, by what laws they are regulated.

Agricultural colonies may be divided into two classes according to the nature of the population they contain. Establishments under the first head are open to orphans, to deserted children, and sometimes to poor children: those under the second, contain young detainees. Some of these asylums, very few in number however, may be considered as of a mixed character, and receive indiscriminately, orphans, deserted children, and young detainees.

The idea of occupying in labours of husbandry, children whom desertion, evil dispositions, or bad examples, expose, without defence, to the dangers which surround them in the great centres of population is one of long standing. The moral influence of agriculture was recognized at an early period—antiquity proclaimed it by the mouth of Cato: "He who tills the earth," said this sage, "thinks not of doing evil." The labourer, it is true, receives but a small salary, but he knows neither the excitements which beset the *ouvrier* of the cities, nor the expensive habits which swallow up, and render useless, a larger remuneration, nor those frequent failures of employment which so often expose him to a destitution very indifferently provided for, owing to his want of fore-thought. I do not insist much on this point; it is a truth, so incontestable, and so triumphantly proved already, that I feel we need not dwell on it further.

It is to the charitable efforts of Pestalozzi that we owe the foundation of the first agricultural colonies. In 1775, this excellent man opened at Neuhoﬀ, in the canton of Argau, for poor and deserted children, an institution of which husbandry and the employments connected with it formed the basis; but his establishment, always

surrounded by untoward circumstances, successively removed to Stans, to Berthoud, and finally to Yverdun, could nowhere find the conditions of a prosperous existence. Fellenberg, the friend of the poor, followed in the foot steps of Pestalozzi, and adopted his views. He was more fortunate than his predecessor: the institution which he founded in 1779, at Hofwyl, near Berne, saw prosperous days, and shortly after, Vehrli, who was trained in his school, gave an impulse of skill and energy to those institutions of which we are now treating. At the present day they are spread all over Switzerland, and there are few cantons which do not possess, at least, one. Among them it is only just to mention the school of Carra, which owes its existence to Vehrli, and dates from 1820; the colony of Bächtelen organized in 1840 by M. Kuratli, and later still, that of Garance of which M. Aubanel laid the foundation, and which he has not ceased to aid and support by his great experience.

England followed close on Switzerland in this work of regeneration. In 1788 the Philanthropic Society attempted to initiate a penitential colony, the success of which was unhappily of short duration. In 1820 an asylum was opened at Stretton which has recently ceased to exist; and at an epoch nearer to our own time, the English government established the penitentiary of Parkhurst. Latterly, many private institutions have been founded to meet the same wants, and among others, Red Hill, to which we can hardly give all the praise it deserves.

The colonies of Holland are well known; our notice of them will be brief. It was in 1818 that General Van Den Bosch laid the foundation of the 'Netherland Society of Beneficence,' and collected adult mendicants and vagabonds into its vast agricultural asylums. Two years after, in 1820, destitute children and orphans were admitted into the institution of Veenbunizen. If the Netherland Society has not produced all the good effects which were at first expected, we must not forget that it was the first to direct attention to the means of relieving the unfortunate, and that from its origin to the year 1848, it has supported and sheltered no less than 49,000 individuals.\*

The colonies of Belgium did not, in the beginning, present any more favorable results, but since that time this state of things we know is changed, and among the institutions which are highly successful at this day, we may venture to name Ruysselede under the admirable direction of our distinguished fellow laborer M. Ducpétiaux, and which may be considered a model establishment.

In 1838 when we proceeded to the United States for the purpose of studying the penitentiary system, there were, in that country, only some agricultural *ateliers* for the reformation of the young, and these were on a very confined scale.

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\* We cannot pass over in silence all the good which is being effected at the present time in an agricultural colony, founded in Holland by the efforts of M. Suringard, and to which this genuine apostle of charity has been pleased to give the name of the "*Netherland Mettray*."



If France has been backward in engaging in this career, we must acknowledge that she has made rapid progress. Though she did not initiate the idea, she has had the good fortune to perfect it, to bring it into light and give it expansion. All Europe now looks to the beneficent institutions which are daily increasing amongst us, and to those countries where the early attempts proved unsuccessful, ours now serve for instruction, and frequently as models.

The first agricultural colonies founded in France are those of Neuhoﬀ and Mesnil Saint-Firmin: both date from 1828. The first is a small Protestant establishment which has never exceeded very humble limits, but which has not done less good, notwithstanding. The second was organized by the zeal of the worthy M. Bazin, one of our most learned agriculturists. At first he received the children of the poor, but their destitution was so extensive that he was obliged to give up this class of individuals. Under these circumstances the Society of Adoption for orphans and foundlings, which is at this day in prosperous action, was founded in 1843. These attempts have been successful; we must however bear in mind that it was in 1839, a new era of extension and progress commenced for agricultural colonies. In that year an industrial and agricultural establishment was organized at Marseilles by M. l'Abbé Fessiaux, to whom that city is indebted for many other works of charity; and also the institution of Mettray, founded by the Société Paternelle under the presidency of M. le Comte de Gasparin. These are reformatory colonies intended for young criminals, and the first which have been established on a large scale in this country.

In order to estimate the results produced by these institutions, it is necessary to consider the evil state of things they were intended to remedy.

Prior to these establishments, the child who was pronounced 'not guilty' was remanded to prison, and, though confined in a quarter separated from the other detenues, 'tis true, was subjected to the same regimen as the most hardened prisoners. In the interior of a prison he could be taught none but a handicraft calling, which obliged him at the end of his confinement to go swell the working population employed in our manufactures, and share its vices and dangers. These children, mostly of a feeble constitution, ended by falling ill in the vitiated air of the workshops of our prisons. They also proved unfit for military service; and 'the tribute of blood,' as it is called, the heaviest of all tributes, fell on the good son who was the honor of his family, and oftentimes its only stay.

Life in the fields supplies a remedy for all the evils we have specified. Vigorous exercise in the open air strengthens the body; and the spectacle of the beauties of nature excites in the human heart a profound sentiment of admiration and gratitude towards the Creator; A poet has said, 'God made the country and man made the town.'

The most correct opinions have at all times met with some opposition, and the system of correctional colonies cannot expect to escape censure. 'It is only necessary,' it is said, 'to have infringed the laws, to ensure your sympathies; and among

so many children that have a just claim to the succour of your charity, you always select those who merit it the least.

Now in the first place we assert, that the object of colonies founded for young criminals is not to assure them a condition of comfort, but to prevent them from further depravation. It is a serious mistake to believe in the pleasures of agricultural life: it is on the contrary particularly severe: it obliges the husbandman to brave the inclemencies of the seasons, and to endure the fatigues of long and painful labor. In winter he has to struggle against the severity of cold; in summer against exhaustion, the result of excessive heat: hence we so often see field labour deserted for handicraft work. In proof of our assertion, we can affirm that we have very rarely met with a child just brought to the colony from the *maisons centrales*, who at first has not expressed a wish to return to his former condition.

‘But,’ it is said again, ‘these children are better treated in those asylums than in their own families.’ Gentlemen, there are families (such as these) where they perish of hunger! Let us deplore the miseries which we cannot relieve, and not be instrumental in reproducing them. For the rest, let us listen to the words of the legislator in order to fix public attention on the regimen which should be adopted for the population of agricultural colonies.

These are the terms in which M. Corne, the Reporter of the law concerning young detainees, expresses himself:—

“Who, in general, are those children that even before the age of discernment, have offended, and incurred the rigor of the law? They are for the greater part, young creatures destitute of any kind of home education: some are born of miserable parents who have trained them to beggary, and very often even to theft and robbery; others, sprung from parents who are regardless of their parental duties, or entirely absorbed by their daily occupations; or who let their children wander about the streets, and who, in default of moral restraint, abandon themselves to the most pernicious influences. What is wanting to these unhappy children? A home which will imbue them betimes with honest feelings and moral and religious aspirations.’

“It is then ‘a home’ which is necessary to confer on them, in the bosom of an establishment where just and benevolent teachers know how to join to strict regularity of discipline, that goodness of heart that attracts and attaches, and that exalted morality which gives a relish for integrity, and confers a power of contracting honest habits.

“Now what is wanting in a moral and physical point of view, to those children to whom idleness has given an evil bent, whose passions have been developed at an early age, to whom their parents, subject themselves to all kinds of misery, have communicated a vitiated being, a constitution infected by the germs of serious maladies? To give a right direction to their passions, to restore calmness to their minds, and imbue them with amiable desires and pious aspirations, to purify their blood, and impart robust health to their bodies, they need air, life in the open fields, peaceful habits, and the strengthening labour of the husbandman.”

Here we find the legislator proclaiming the advantages of field labors for the young deteneues, and urging the founding of agricultural colonies in order to receive them. Even before the establishment of colonies, improvements had been introduced, which we feel it our duty to particularise.

M. Lucas, inspector general of prisons, had conceived the benevolent idea of promoting the foundation of a Patronage Society at Paris for juvenile offenders. It was definitely established in June 1833, under the direction of a man as eminent for merit as charity, M. Beranger (de la Drôme.\*)

This work produced a considerable reduction in the number of the relapsed. Among the means employed, we may particularly mention conditional liberation.

The placing out of the liberated deteneues was not without its difficulties. Besides that they had rarely acquired in their business a degree of skill sufficient to place them in the class of good workmen, they inspired the heads of *ateliers* who were acquainted with their antecedents, with not unreasonable mistrust; for these did not feel themselves qualified to subdue the vicious inclinations or evil dispositions which might reappear in their young auxiliaries, freshly liberated, and of whose perfect reformation there was cause to doubt.

The Society of Patronage obtained permission from le Ministre de l'Interieur, that the young deteneues who during their sojourn at the penitentiary of Roquette had exhibited proofs of amendment, should be put in a condition of provisional liberty, but on this understanding, that at the first serious transgression, it should be legal to recal them on a ministerial order, without any judicial formality, and at the simple request of the Society of Patronage.

This measure has produced the most satisfactory effects. In consequence of it, places have been more easily obtained, employers less backward, and apprentices more submissive. It also enables us to repress certain blameworthy actions which unhappily elude the authority of magistrates and public punishment. For instance, with us, drunkenness is no excuse when it leads to the commission of an act declared culpable by the law, but in itself it is not considered an offence; and there are many other acts which outrage morality, but yet are unpunishable by laws.

Who but can feel, after this simple explanation, the salutary influence which the system of provisional liberty might exercise over adult criminals, instead of absolute pardons which those who profit by them too frequently abuse.

The following is what we thought expedient to say on this subject, in a work published by us in 1838 on the penitentiary system.

"The work of reform will not be complete till we can assure to the discharged prisoner a means of turning his good intentions to account, and can offer sufficient guaranties to those persons who consent to employ him

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\* See the report of M. Lamarque on the Societies of Patronage, in which will be found arranged in a most complete form, the history of these institutions (*Annales de la Charite*, Juin 1855).

"The number of individuals, who have been liberated and have again relapsed, is considerable ; but we could hardly expect it should be otherwise. In the present state of the law, the transition from restraint to freedom is too abrupt ; and if we desire that the newly-freed man should persevere in the good resolutions which he has adopted, he must make a trial of liberty under certain restrictions.

"Provisional freedom, substituted in certain cases for absolute pardon, can alone furnish a hope of solving a problem hitherto considered insoluble. It is, in fact, the sole means of arriving at a composition between the unhappy, but legitimate mistrust of society, and the necessity of procuring employment for those with whom misery and need are sufficient to annul the effects of the best reformatory system, and who, despite amelioration acquired with labour, will be infallibly thrown back on crime by the rejection of society, if they cannot find means to support existence."

England has already adopted this measure ; but we have reason to fear that, up to the present time, its application has not been made with all the precautions which might be desirable.

We have been made acquainted with a similar project, elaborated with the greatest care, which is to be submitted to the approbation of the legislature in Belgium, and from which there is reason to expect the happiest results.

The Society of Patronage which had already done so much to improve the moral condition of young detainees, did not consider its task as yet accomplished ; it procured the nomination of a commission in order to collect all the documents calculated to produce a still more satisfactory state of things. The members of the Society were pleased to request us to make part of this commission ; and from the beginning, all those who composed it, when seeking the means of reforming juvenile offenders, were unanimous in the choice of agriculture. Indeed if it is necessary as we have above hinted, to employ in field labor orphans without family or means of support, how much more necessary still, is a country life for those who have already given way before the evil influences which accompany a residence in large towns.

But as soon as the commission determined to pass from theory to practice, and to arrange a plan for an agricultural colony, their embarrassment commenced, and they felt that they were not prepared with sufficient knowledge on the subject. They commissioned two of their members to study on the spot, the Colonies of Belgium and Holland, and they selected for this purpose, the late lamented Leon Faucher and myself.

This took place about eighteen years ago. It was known that the experiments made in the countries above mentioned had not been successful. The Dutch colonies were dragging on a languishing existence, and making enormous sacrifices for a very indifferent return ; and the Belgian colonies exhibited still more disastrous results. So we did not proceed to these countries to look for models, but we were in hopes to learn some useful lessons. We are no less indebted to him who indicates hidden rocks, than to him who points out the safe channel.

From the first we were aware of an important fact. All the colonies had been established on heaths, or on barren land. The founders seemed to have had it more at heart, to bring the land into cultivation than to win the worker over to the love of labour. This idea of the reclaiming the soil by the aid of arms hitherto useless, employed in colonies, we acknowledge to be very seductive, and at first sight to appear very just; the culture of a stubborn soil by such means presents an appropriate penal picture; it makes men useful whose lives hitherto have inflicted only trouble or danger on the State, and on whom it is but reasonable to impose the severest labours. We should have nothing to oppose to this theory, if the question merely concerned men who have merited severe punishment, and if the colonies of which we speak had their punishment alone in view; but it seems to be forgotten that their principal object is the moral transformation of the unhappy beings whom they receive.

We must expect failure, if we entrust bad land to ill-disposed labourers; and we have no hesitation in believing, that the sterility of the soil has been the chief cause of the ill success of the colonies of Belgium and Holland.

In order to create the habit and relish of labour, in those whom dissipation, indolence, or laziness has reduced to utter destitution, it is essential that this labour should, at least, offer some attraction; and that prompt and satisfactory results should recompense and encourage their ill-sustained efforts. And how often may we not apply these considerations which are true as far as adults are concerned, with still more justice to the child whose wandering imagination can neither foresee nor patiently wait, whose ardour so easily roused is as easily depressed, and whose entire future is limited by "to-morrow!"

"To deserve to be sent here," said a Belgian colonist to me one day, with an accent of despair, "one need have killed his father and mother; there is not a blade of grass which has not cost a drop of sweat." Now does any one really believe that it is by exciting such repugnance, such hatred, we can hope to win over long resisting, obstinate natures to the love of labour?

The Administration seems to approve the opinions we have just now advanced, and we have taken care not to overlook so important a testimony. The government has lately resolved to found penal colonies in Corsica for adults; and too much praise cannot be given to such a measure. It has already initiated this useful project, and we have seen, with very lively satisfaction, that it has selected lands remarkable for their fertility, for an experiment so worthy of public attention.

To return to our researches in Belgium and Holland. We were not long in confirming our previous opinion, that we had nothing to learn from the establishments of these countries. M. Leon Faucher was obliged to return to Paris, and I was left alone to continue the search. This was to terminate at Hamburg, where I do not hesitate to say that I found the solution of the problem which we had in charge to study. It was near the village of Horn, in a fertile and picturesque country, and on the slope of an eminence

which overlooks the fine valley of the Erne and the Bill, that I had occasion to visit the reformatory school called the *Rauhe Haus*. I will not pause to describe this now celebrated establishment, and which, since my visit, has received considerable additions; I will content myself with pointing out its principal features: It was founded towards the end of 1833, by the excellent Mr. Wichern, to receive young children whom vicious habits were threatening to pervert, or had already perverted. The skillful founder had sought the means of reform in the "*esprit de famille*." He endeavoured to excite in these young hearts, those sweet and healthy emotions which home influence calls forth and which had never been felt, or had been forgotten by these wretched children.

The colonists were divided into groups of twelve, each group being called a family. This title was justified by the bond of intimate affection and kindness which had been established among its members. To each of these families was appointed a father, or rather guide, whom the children called their Father. Each family inhabited a separate little house, constructed by the hands of its own members, and divided from the neighbouring one by gardens or orchards. Four existed at the period of my visit: they formed as it were, a little hamlet, and had no communication with each other but such as was required by the exigencies of the institution.

The discipline of the colony was firm and severe, and yet we are bound to say, tempered by paternal tenderness. Moral reform was its object; energetic, persevering labour, and, at the same time, a profoundly religious education were its means. Daily memoranda recorded the conduct of each child, his progress, or his backslidings: the affectionate solicitude of the chiefs did not interfere with the rigor, still sometimes necessary, of a system which was essentially correctional; and no one but an eye witness could imagine the depth of the sympathy which bound these poor pupils to the parent colony, after they had become honest members of society.

Thus we see that the basis on which the Colony of Horn was established, and to which it owes its wonderful success, is the family system.

It was not the first time that this excellent means of reformation had been employed; and in every instance it had been followed by happy results. The agricultural and reformatory school founded in 1786 by the Philanthropic Society in London, had successfully adopted the same organization; and on going back a space of nearly fifty years to that institution, incomplete, doubtless,

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\* "The literal meaning," writes Mr. Elihu Burritt in his interesting account of this Institution, "as nearly as it can be given in English, of this appellation is, 'The Rough House,' or a house of refuge for the rudest, most hopeless little vagabonds."—Whether this interpretation be correct, or whether the original building was so called before, it was devoted to reformatory purposes we do not know.—E.B.

but admirably conceived, we find singular and striking analogies with the establishment of Horn. The Swiss colonies which have survived and prospered, had also effected the division of their pupils into small distinct groups. They had even extended farther the resemblance to the a real family, by placing at the head of each group, a female housekeeper along with the chief; and, moreover, they had no hesitation in admitting children of both sexes. They report that this arrangement was not attended with any inconvenience.

The examination of the establishment of Horn, and the excellent results which the institution had produced, furnished us with the information we were seeking; and we could no longer entertain a doubt as to the efficacy of the principle which had presided at its formation. Division into families then, it appears, should be the fundamental principle of every penal and reformatory colony; and we are happy to see that this conviction, which takes stronger hold on our judgment from day to day, is making increased progress among our public writers. Unhappily, up to the present hour, these convictions have scarcely advanced beyond theory, so far as France is concerned.

In December, 1849, M. Corne, acting organ of a commission named by the Legislative Assembly, "looked on the division of the children into small groups as the most certain element of their moral regeneration." Those men, in the different states of Europe, who have given themselves to the study of these questions all profess the same opinion.\*

The division into families renders superintendence, at once, more easy, more active, and more zealous: more easy, because it extends over but a small number; more active, because it makes all the responsibility rest on the head of one person only, whose authority is well defined, and whose duties are exactly prescribed; more zealous, because it produces in the minds of the superintendents, sentiments of sympathy and benevolence, under the influence of this responsibility, and of a life spent in common with their charge. The influence of the division into families is not less salutary for the young colonists; the authority exercised being neither imperious nor oppressive; they become attached on their part to the master who loves them, and whom they learn to regard as a confidant and a friend; they allow themselves more easily to be influenced and convinced, and, while discipline loses none of its vigor, education finds in this mutual affection a lever of incalculable power.

Besides, shall we count as nothing, that not only harmless but salutary emulation, which a multiplicity of families excites? In a large establishment, in the midst of a numerous population, common interests are few and weak, unless unhappily an *esprit de corps* should arise among the colonists, inspired by a feeling of opposition to their chiefs. But that spirit of rivalry which springs up

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See, as regards public men in England, besides the testimony of Lord Brougham cited before, the opinion which he expressed in so remarkable a manner in the House of Lords on the 11th of May, 1854. See, also, the speech of Mr. Adderley in the House of Commons on the 1st of August, 1852.

between the different families, produces nothing but advantages, and creates energy only for good.

It has been objected, that the construction of isolated buildings costs more than a general one, and that too large a staff of officers is required for the application of the system. A preference has consequently been generally given to old houses; so that, in some degree, the stones have made the law, rendering the execution of the programme sketched out, subservient to the locality. Thus it has frequently failed in its most essential parts.

In our times, an unhappy tendency prevails to economise in the salary of officers when the education of children is concerned. Moral force can only be efficacious when we grasp as it were, body to body, heart to heart, intelligence to intelligence, him whom we wish to gain over to the love of good.

We must engage in *single combat*, so to speak, and that such great efforts are necessary we should not wonder since we must acknowledge, that with all of us in a greater or less degree, our natural tendencies incline to evil. If in point of education we have gained but little up to this hour, it is because we have substituted disciplinary for moral action. We may easily manœuvre a regiment by the word of command, a crew of sailors by the blasts of a whistle, but these means would ill suffice to render them moral agents.

The German Reviews have blamed the directors of Mettray, for having raised the number of children composing a family to forty, and then entrusted its guardianship to one sole chief: in some respects they are quite right. They object that Providence has not, in the order of nature, permitted a family to attain to so high a number, although the heart of the father, and above all, that of the mother, which may justly be called the masterpiece of nature, watch over the education of the children. Those persons who do not reckon in the account, the moral results obtained at Mettray, find its system of education even now too costly; though, of course, by augmenting the number of officers, still more considerable expenditure must be incurred. We must, unhappily, make concessions to public opinion, however blind it may be in some cases. There are but few who comprehend this great truth, that in the matter of political, and much more, christian economy, there are profits which ruin, as there are losses which enrich.

After my visit to Horn I had no need to prolong my journey. The studies of a life had convinced me that agricultural occupations, united with a good moral and religious education, could alone rescue from a life of disorder and evil deeds, youth already engaged in a career of vice. The study of the Dutch and Belgian institutions had shewn me that a sterile soil can produce none but sterile works: the examination of the establishment founded by M. Wichern had taught me that 'the family' system was the path of safety for the regeneration of (evil) man. Nothing remained now but to set to work.

My own strength doubtless, would not have sufficed for such an enterprise, but Providence came to my aid, in renewing my acquaintance with an old school-fellow, M. le Vicomte de Courteilles. He adopted my views, promised his services, and went



so far as to offer his estates upon which to found the institution we had resolved to establish together.\*

We did not conceal from ourselves, when putting our hands to the work, that the care of forming men's minds, and turning them from evil to good, should not be entrusted to the first assistants that came to hand. This important ministry requires trained minds, a sincere self-devotion, and a morality above suspicion. There is with us no lack of ideas, but rather of men capable of putting them in practice, especially when these ideas are of serious import.

Being convinced of this truth, we resolved to establish, in connection with the colony, even before a single child had been entrusted to us, a special school, where youths of respectable standing, and of a truly christian spirit, might be trained to become, by and by, the chiefs of our families.†

It is to this foundation that we must attribute the prosperity of Mettray. We shall be excused, we trust, for not having passed it over in silence. This school has been daily improving since its institution, and among the excellent pupils which are sent forth from it every year, some, engaged with ourselves, perpetuate the good traditions of the colony; others spread them abroad, and being sought for by charitable institutions, they render valuable services to establishments similar to our own.‡

It was with the aid of such auxiliaries that Mettray was founded. On the 22nd of January, 1840, it received its first inmates.

Between that and the present date, more than fifteen years have past. Many successful efforts have been made during this period; much progress has been effected; many establishments have been founded, which are now prosperous, and spread blessings around them. None can sympathise more warmly than we do, in the hopes which the development of agricultural colonies appointed to receive orphans, and foundlings, is calculated to call forth.

Let us trace in a few words, the history of that branch of legislation which regulates these institutions, and indicate the principal traits, at least, of the important act of the 5th of August, 1850.

Before speaking of this law, we must mention the instructions issued on the 17th of February, 1847, which confided the patronage of liberated detainees to the municipal authorities, and raised some rather complicated questions into the discussion of which it is not here possible for us to enter.

The law of the 5th of August is of paramount importance; it is in some sort the charter of penal agricultural colonies. It embraces

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\* I am writing the history of agricultural colonies; and on this account I should fail in fulfilling my mission and still more in the duty of friendship, did I not pay a just tribute of regret to him who has contributed most to the success of these institutions.

† One of our political savans has called this School a *Lay Seminary*. It is impossible to give an idea of the spirit of this institution, in a more concise manner.

‡ One of our earliest pupils, M. Guimas, who occupied an important post in the colony, has been recently called to the direction of the colony of Ostwald, whose very existence was threatened by the vices of its interior administration. M. Leteur, who was similarly circumstanced, had been already placed as sub-director at the colony of Montagny.

in its regulations, young children detained for correction, by desire of the father, children sentenced for crimes and offences, and, finally, children acquitted by the application of Article 66 of the Code Napoléon. It proclaims the necessity of subjecting all to a moral, religious, and professional education.

Two principles pervade this law, principles to whose profound wisdom we cannot pay too much respect, and from which we cannot depart without compromising those cherished interests which it is intended to protect. We find them in the articles 3, 5, and 10.

The first consists in the employment of young detainees in the agricultural labour and the principal branches of industry connected with it.

The second proclaims the frank and cordial adoption of the co-operation of private establishments. The law reserves to these last a delay of five years, during which they can prepare and perfect the founding of penal colonies.

It is only in the event of the insufficiency of private establishments, that State colonies are to be founded, as is expressed in the last paragraph of Article 10. "If the total number of young detainees cannot be placed in private establishments at the expiration of five years, they shall be provided for by the foundation of reformatory colonies, at the expense of the state."

The system adopted by law, thus depends on the existence of private colonies; it is from these colonies that the State demands the moral education of the young pupils whose guardianship it has undertaken. In itself it has no desire but to complete them, or supply their insufficiency if such should exist.

This large and truly liberal spirit of the law was no less manifest in the short discussion to which it gave rise. A Deputy had expressed his opinion that the State ought not to trouble to any (private) person, the education and reformation of young detainees, and that the law should authorize none but public establishments. The commission hastened to protest against such a system.

The law encourages charity, as it is always and everywhere its power, and hopes much from its influence. On the other hand, the government eagerly forwards its views, and it was on the formal proposition of M. le Ministre de l'Intérieur, that the assembly raised, to five years, the delay accorded for the operation of private charity, for which two years only had been asked by the commission.

The course taken by the administration merits the greatest praise. To appeal in this manner to the knowledge and co-operation of all, shows a sincere desire to provide a happy future for the country. Oxenstiern has said, *'On the good training of youth, depends the prosperity of the State.'*

It must be acknowledged that education is a difficult and complex undertaking; perhaps the most difficult of all. It is a problem capable of receiving different solutions; and it has this peculiarity, that every one of these solutions is the best in some particular case. The meditations, the studies, and the experience of a great number

\* The law of France empowers a parent to send (under certain conditions) an intractable child to prison. — *Ev.*

of peculiarly gifted men, and the trial of many different methods, will not be found superfluous in fructifying this greatest of all sciences, to produce a race of good men.

At the same time that the administration was making its appeal to the devotedness of individuals, and calling on them to come to its aid in this great work of penitentiary reform, of which the education of young detainees may be considered as the starting point; it was also itself at work on this; and co-operation was the more desirable, inasmuch as the private establishments were far from able to contain all the children of this class, whose number is ever on the increase: we shall have occasion to return to this subject. An agricultural colony was then annexed to each of the maisons centrales of Laon, Gaillon, Fontevault, and Châlons. These colonies have realised all the good that was expected from them.

While a system calculated to reform young detainees was thus being established in France, either by administrative action or the intervention of the legislature, the public authorities of England were giving the most serious attention to these important questions. The wound which, with our neighbours, we sought to heal, was no less deep than that whose enlargement we were striving to prevent; and that country where so many improvements have been effected, could not hesitate to follow in the path upon which we had entered.

A law of recent date, and which was passed on the 10th of August, 1854, authorises and even calls upon individuals to found agricultural colonies. It seeks to turn to use, with more steadiness, and unity of effort than has hitherto been done, those private institutions which have been founded for this object, and authorises the Minister for the Home Department to confer on these establishments which after inspection are judged worthy thereof, the title, *Reformatory School*.

We do not feel it necessary to enter on a very close examination of this act, framed by the way under the influence of French legislation; but one of the clauses which it contains, appears so conformable to equity, and so fit for imitation, that we cannot pass it over in silence: we speak of the pecuniary responsibility which it imposes on the family of the delinquent.

The statesmen of 'practical' England have considered that it was not just to exonerate parents from the burdens imposed on them by the laws of nature, especially in those cases where the bad conduct of the child, as is only too often the case, is the result of the bad example of the father.

Thus the English, like the Belgic legislature, has decided that a sum not exceeding five shillings per week may be exacted by way of fine from the family of the young delinquent during the period of his detention.

Nothing can be better adapted than such a measure, to disappoint those guilty calculations which sometimes induce unnatural parents to violate the most sacred of all human duties.

The increase in the number of young offenders in France ought to make us desire more than ever, the application of this measure which we have thought it our duty to point out.

But let us conclude what we have to say concerning the French law.

This law appropriates (Art. 2,) special and distinct quarters in our gaols to the special reception of young detenues of every class—it creates two orders of reformatory establishments; penitential colonies for the special reception of young delinquents acquitted under article 66, but entrusted to administrative guardianship (Art. 4 and 5); and correctional colonies (Art. 10,) established by the State either in France or in Algiers, for young offenders condemned to an imprisonment of more than two years, and also for young detenues, from reformatory colonies, who may have been declared insubordinate.

Let us be allowed here to express our regret that by an interpretation little in accordance perhaps with the general spirit of the law, government has authorised the reception in the same colonies, of young detenues condemned under Art. 67 of the penal code, to an imprisonment of more than six months, and not exceeding two years, with children declared not guilty, and acquitted under Article 66. This confusion which, at first sight, seems of no importance, always produces inconveniences of more than one kind. In the first place, it perplexes the comprehension of the acquitted young detenué, in whose understanding it upsets all notion of justices; he is astonished that the law, while declaring him innocent, imposes on him a detention of four or five years, while it retains, generally for a very short period only, him whom it recognises as culpable. We will only add, that this tends to maintain in the public mind, as in the minds of those who are eventually called on to use the labor of the liberated convict, prejudices very hurtful to his interest.

The active administration, it is true, has done all in its power to counteract that which we must be permitted to call a vice of the law. The magistrates convinced of the evil of mingling in the same place, children of different degrees of depravity, rarely sentence under Art. 67, of the penal code. On the 31st of December, 1852, the number of young detenues amounted to 6,443, and of this number, 197 only were convicted under articles 67 and 69.

In stating so high the number of young criminals, which in 1837 was only 1,493, we cannot dissemble the melancholy feelings with which we must necessarily write such a revelation.

But let us take comfort: 'this progression,' as M. the Minister of the Interior says in his last report, 'does not imply a corresponding increase in juvenile crime. The existence of penitentiary establishments intended for the young, encourages and multiplies decisions from which tribunals would have recoiled at an epoch when their life in a prison exposed the young detenues to intimacies and influences worse than those outside its walls.'

In concluding our review of the laws which exercise so great an influence over agricultural colonies, we must direct public attention to one measure which has hitherto escaped notice, notwithstanding its great importance.

The legislator while adopting the principle of agricultural colonies for young convicts, ought to have equally taken into account those children whose vicious inclinations, or obstinate characters stubbornly resist all instruction, all efforts of domestic discip-

line, and who, without having been guilty of an infraction of the penal laws, do not the less deserve severe punishment. We speak of children detained at the request of the father, under articles 375 and 376 of the Civil Code.

If we wish to achieve a reform as complete as it possibly can be, we should come to the aid of youth whatever be its social position, and combat its evil propensities wherever they manifest themselves.

In France, detention under the head of *correction paternelle* is the only means of repressing the transgressions of youth. But Paris alone offers, and there but in an insufficient manner, a house for the reception of such children, which holds out some guarantee to the heads of families.

In the provinces there exists no establishment of this kind. Children under age, whom their parents might wish to correct by withdrawing them from the evil counsels and evil examples which are perverting them, would there be mixed pell-mell with the suspected and even the convicted: thus they would be exposed to greater dangers than those from which it is wished to guard them. What father of a family would venture to give to his son, for companions, malefactors and others, subjected to penal treatment.

The inexpediency of resorting to this mode of correction is so fully recognised, that there is no family in easy circumstances, who would not reject such a means; and there is scarcely even a poor but honest family, who would not hesitate to use it. Is it not indeed to be feared that he who had once been obliged to pass the threshold of infamy, would regard himself as disgraced for ever?

Rich families frequently send on long journeys and at great expense, sons of whom they have cause to complain; but this plan has often only the effect of substituting one kind of dissipation for another. By this course studies are suspended; the habit of application is lost; the young people meet abroad the temptations from which they were sought to be rescued at home; and they yield to them with the less reserve, as they feel themselves now free from all surveillance: they begin to entertain ideas of independence and insubordination; and after having brought trouble into their families, they, later in life, introduce disorder into the State.

The legislator has imagined that he could remedy the deplorable state of things which we have just described by authorising the transmission of children from the parental jurisdiction to the agricultural colonies, but we fear that in this instance he has not discovered the true remedy.

By the terms of the Articles 375 and 376 of the Civil Code, a child under 16 years of age may be detained one month, and the youth from 16 to 21 years old, six months. We must then, if we wish to produce a salutary effect upon the mind of the young offender in so short time, employ a species of discipline which will *punish fast*, if we may be allowed such an expression.

Besides, the discipline of reformatory colonies to which young criminals are for a long time subjected, can scarcely present a sufficiently repressive character: the children in these establishments enjoy a certain degree of liberty: field labour would appear, especially to boys, much to be preferred to the study of Latin, for which the greater part

entertain a profound aversion. Mettray affords, at the present time, a case in point. One of our colonists not being able to obtain from his parents permission to leave school, did not hesitate to set the building on fire. Moreover, this state of mixed society exposes the children to form connections which would sadly compromise their future prospects in the world of the higher classes.

We do not hesitate to say, that solitary confinement only can act with efficacy in such cases. It is necessary to have witnessed its effects in order to form a correct idea of the happy influence which it obtains over the character. A complete transformation is effected in the individual submitted to its operation. As he cannot procure either indulgence or amusements, nothing is at work to remove from his mind the exhortations and counsels he has received. Reflection is perpetually holding before his eyes the picture of his past life. In solitude there is no place for pride, for self-love. The child is obliged, in his own despite, to enter into himself: he no longer blushes for yielding to the promptings of his conscience; which has been so justly called the 'voice of God.' Little by little, he becomes accessible to religious sentiments; labour now becomes an occupation for him, and very soon a pleasure; he gives himself up to it with ardour; and that which he has hitherto considered as a painful task, becomes a comfort, even a necessary, so that the greatest punishment that can be inflicted on him is to deprive him of employment.

The short period of his detention dissipates whatever fears the solitary system may excite in the minds of some individuals.

I have been enabled to witness these effects of solitary confinement, which I have just described, at Mettray, where children under paternal correction have been sent for some time past. A penitentiary constructed under the direction of M. Blouet, architect, entirely on the model of that of Philadelphia, is now specially set apart for this class of individuals.

The chapel is so constructed that the children can assist at the divine office without being able to see each other. Every boy has two cells at his disposal; one in which he sleeps, the other in which he is occupied, either in manual labour or in his own improvement. The vicinity of the Lycée of Tours enables us to procure for the children, such professors as parents in easy circumstances would wish to give them. In this way their studies are not interrupted, and the walks\* afford healthful exercise. All these advantages, which we have been enabled to realize at considerable sacrifice, cannot be obtained in the greater number of private colonies. Mettray is consequently an exception, and, elsewhere, the inconveniences we have pointed out, exist in full force. Such is the last objection we will allow ourselves to make to the law of 1850, of whose wise regulations in the main, as we said before, we cannot speak with sufficient praise.

We have dwelt on the penitential colonies, and on the law which ratifies their existence, because they appear to interest us as much

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\* *Promenoirs*. Probably walks in covered galleries or in the open air with walls on each side.—Ed.

in their agricultural as in their industrial relations. To improve the labourer by the land, and to improve the land by the labourer; such is the immense advantage we derive from these institutions.

The reformatory colonies in France are twenty-three in number. They are subdivided into private colonies and colonies of the state. Every thing about these institutions has been explained, either in the work of M. M. de Lemarque and Dugat, or in that of M. Buequet, inspector general of prisons. These publications explain the material and moral situation of those colonies since their foundation. Statistic researches enable us to go back from effects to their causes, and to appreciate the chief points which should secure, in a particular manner, the attention of public men. We consider ourselves unable to add to the interest of these documents.

We would gladly see a similar work undertaken for colonies of orphan and foundlings. Notwithstanding the investigations we set on foot, and the information furnished to us, we still find ourselves unable to present any thing complete on the subject. Besides, it is only on the very spot, and in seeing the institution at work, that we could point out their advantages and appreciate their merit. We cannot, in consequence, delay the publication proposed to be issued till the very moment when we can complete the examination of these numerous establishments on which we have already entered.

We shall be at all times eager to lay on your table those documents which have been communicated to us; among them will be found facts of the highest interest and excellent subjects for meditation.

And now, Gentlemen, we will consider ourselves fortunate if, in the simple report which we have made, we have been able, in consonance with your wishes, to point out some branches which it would be desirable to see repaired; to indicate facts of a nature to fix public opinion on certain points still undecided, and to propose some questions whose solution may exercise a happy influence on the legislation and the discipline of agricultural colonies.

The discussion now awaking here on the different subjects mentioned in your programme, and in which the public men who have obeyed your call are about to bear their part, cannot fail to excite a lively interest. It is thus that you will study in turn, and under all phases, the various problems of social government, and that you will pursue without interruption, and with untired zeal, the ameliorations which the lot of the poorer classes claim at your hands. It is to the pious initiative you have taken that these benefits will be due, and, Gentlemen, you may rest assured that your country will give you full credit for your generous efforts.

Do the admirable wisdom, increased in its authority by the great practical experience of M. Demetz, developed in this paper which we have translated, no words, or proofs, or arguments of ours can add anything. The paper was read

before the Réunion Internationale de Charité, of the objects of which our readers are already aware.\*

We have, in our last Quarter's RECORD, inserted a very excellent paper read before the same body, by M. Jules de Lamarque, on *Patronage de Jeunes Détenus et des Jeunes Libérés*, but this paper of M. Demetz is the most important of all those placed before the philanthropic and christian men who were assembled at the conference. In another portion of this RECORD we shall refer to the visit paid by M. Demetz to England last October, and shall state the probable results of his addresses, delivered to most influential audiences.

Amongst the chief contributions to the advancement of the reformatory principle, and to the elucidation of the great problem—What shall we do with our convicts? are the charge of Mr. Recorder Hill, to the Grand Jury, at the Birmingham Michaelmas Sessions, and the Sixteenth Annual Report on the Berkshire County Prison, by the Rev. John Field, and read before the justices assembled at Reading, at the Michaelmas Sessions. Mr. Hill's charge is as follows, and we beg the earnest attention of every reader to this most able, and logical, and important document. Never has a difficult subject been more ably handled, never more truly, or more clearly explained in all its bearings. Mr. Hill said:

"Gentlemen of the Grand Jury,—I have chosen for the subject of my present charge that mode of treating criminals which has been called 'the ticket-of-leave system.' Of late this plan has attracted much attention in Parliament, in courts of justice, and in the public journals. The general impression seems to be that it does not work well. For myself, I am disposed to think that the effect of its operation, so far as it has hitherto been tried, has been exaggerated both for evil and for good. But, I should be grieved to find the system condemned in its theory, even supposing its practice has hitherto been open to some animadversion, because it embodies what I hold to be two most salutary principles:—First, that the criminal should have the opportunity of working his way out of gaol; and second, that he should, for a limited period, be liable to be deprived of his liberty as regained, if his course of life should be such as to give reasonable ground for belief that he had relapsed into criminal habits. To understand the true bearings of the questions which I intend to raise for your consideration, it will be necessary to take a comprehensive view of that general treatment of criminals which results from the operation of a public opinion making itself felt in the Legislature and the executive Government, and often, unconsciously, to the agents dictating the verdicts of juries, and qualifying

\* See IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, No 19, Record, p. lxi.



the sentences of our courts, combined with other circumstances over which none of these authorities have any effective control. Time was—and the era is not so long past but that many of us have a vivid remembrance of its horrors—when our penal code was the most sanguinary of the civilized world. The list of offences punishable with death presented a fearful catalogue, descending from wilful murder down to privately stealing in a shop to the amount of 5s. Nor were the terrors of the law permitted to sleep; so that when the feelings of the people at last awoke to the cruelty of these inflictions, they were outraged at every turn with appalling scenes of legal vengeance. As might have been expected by reflecting minds conversant with history, and learning from its pages the vicissitudes of public sentiment, an overwhelming force of opinion became directed against the ferocious policy which had so long prevailed; and, as you know, the list of capital offences was not only promptly reduced to the narrowest limits, but the disposition towards lenity outstripping the course of legislation, we are at length arrived at the point when even in deliberate murder it is not an inflexible rule that conviction should be followed by execution. Gentlemen, during the period while so many offences were punished with death, the commutation of the capital sentence to one of transportation being an act of mercy, the minor, though still heavy penalty, was not regarded as severe; but when capital punishment became applicable only to a small class of crimes, transportation began to be looked upon in a different light; and now, that by the refusal of all our colonies, except one, to admit convicts among them, transportation has been in great part abolished. A similar feeling begins to prevail against long terms of imprisonment, which makes way all the more quickly, because long imprisonments not being imposed by sentence during the period that capital punishment and transportation were freely resorted to, present a deceptive aspect of novelty, since a large proportion of convicts sentenced to transportation were at all times left in the hulks to be punished by imprisonment, which might extend through the whole period for which they were adjudged to be sent abroad; although it was, and is, usual to discharge them after a detention of much inferior length. How far this disposition gradually to lessen the amount of punishment will be carried, it is impossible to predict. All I can say is, that its progress is very rapid, and that it shows no sign of having approached its termination. We might suppose, at first sight, that shortening terms of confinement would furnish a means of relieving the pressure on the capacity of our prisons, and would enable them to provide for the surplus numbers caused by the stoppage of transportation. But those who are practically acquainted with the subject, know that a short imprisonment is likely to be followed by a speedy relapse; and that the prisoner often returns to captivity, bringing with him companions whom, in the interval of liberty, he has seduced into crime. Recollecting these difficulties, gentlemen, you will not, perhaps, be surprised that the Government has not yet discovered a perfect solution of the hard problem—what are we to do with our criminals? In this state of perplexity it resolved on adopting, to a limited extent,

the first principle to which I have adverted—that of making the duration of the imprisonment dependent on the conduct of the prisoner. It did not apply the principle universally, possibly, because it was not prepared to contend with the strong, although, I must think, morbid feeling in favour of slight imprisonments, under which the culprit remains too short a time to benefit much by any reformatory system however potent. Thus, it restricted the experiment to the cases of such convicts as had incurred the penalty of transportation. Gentlemen, I speak upon conjecture, but I must presume the existence of some strong reason which induces the Government to deny to the lesser offender the privilege of earning his discharge by his own exertions, while it concedes it to the greater criminal, who has incurred the heavier punishment; and I am not aware of any other reason than the one which I have pointed out. If, however, the reason suggested should be that on which the Government is really acting, I trust it will be remembered that many convicts not liable to transportation or penal servitude are sentenced to imprisonment for as long a period as two years, and that many instances may be found in the returns made to the House of Lords, in which a less time has been held to furnish a sufficient length of probation to justify the grant of tickets of leave. But, gentlemen, if you desire, as I most earnestly do, to see this principle universally adopted, you must be prepared to strengthen the hands of Government, by advocating such a change in the law as will enable those who administer the criminal justice of the country, to retain in custody all such as are convicted of crime, until they have, by sure and unequivocal tests, demonstrated that they have the will and the power to gain an honest livelihood when at large. You must be content that they shall be retained until habits of industry are formed—until moderate skill in some useful occupation is acquired—until the hard lesson of self-control is mastered—in short, until the convict ceases to be a criminal, resolves to fulfil his duties both to God and to man, and has surmounted all obstacles against carrying such resolutions into successful action. But as no training, however enlightened and vigilant, will produce its intended effects on every individual subjected to its discipline, what are we to do with the incurable? Gentlemen, we must face this question. We must not flinch from answering that we propose to keep them in prison until they are released by death. You keep the maniac in a prison (which you call an asylum) under similar conditions. You guard against his escape until he is taken from you, either because he is restored to sanity or has departed to another world. If, gentlemen, innocent misfortune may, and must be so treated, why not thus deal with incorrigible depravity? This is a question which I have asked times out of number without ever being so fortunate as to extract a reply. It is always tacitly assumed that imprisonment must not be perpetual; but whether that assumption is founded on any reason supposed to arise out of the nature of things, or whether it only rests on the present state of public feeling, I know not. If the former ground is taken, I would give much to learn what the argument is. When disclosed, I must either answer it or yield to it; but while I am kept in the dark each

alternative is shut against me. If, however, this assumed inadmissibility of perpetual imprisonment is rested on the present state of public sentiment, I have seen too often the change from wrong to right in that great power to despair of its becoming an ally instead of an opponent. It is my belief that if long terms of imprisonment, even to perpetuity, were placed before the public mind as indissolubly connected with the privilege to the convict of working out his own redemption from thralldom by proving himself fit for liberty, it would require no great lapse of time to produce the change in opinion which I contemplate. Alarm on the score of expense ought not to be entertained, for two reasons. First, because no unreformed inmates of a prison, however extravagant its expenditure may be, cost the community so much as they would do if at large. This fact has been so often proved that I must be allowed to assume it as undeniable. But the second reason is, that prisons may be made, either altogether or to a very great extent, self-supporting. In some of the western States of the North American Republic this important object has been more than accomplished, as the labour of the prisoners yields a revenue greater than is required for their food, lodging, and clothing, their government, and their instruction; in short, for all the various items which form the total expense of a gaol. It is quite true that labour is more valuable, and that food is cheaper in those States than it is with us. But, notwithstanding these facts, it was shown by the evidence which Mr. Charles Pearson adduced before the committee of the House of Commons appointed to investigate this subject in 1850, to be in the highest degree probable that similar results might be obtained here. Whoever shall read that valuable testimony will, I cannot but think, even if not perfectly convinced, arrive at the conclusion that sufficient proof has been given to justify, if not to demand, such an experiment as would set the controversy at rest. Let me now, gentlemen, call your attention more specifically to the ticket-of-leave men. By a statute passed in the year 1853, a new penalty was created under the name of 'penal servitude.' This penalty only differs from that of imprisonment with hard labour by the provision for restoring the prisoner to liberty without waiting for the expiration of his sentence—namely, by a license from the Secretary of State, the instrument certifying that such indulgence has been granted, being called the ticket of leave. Until, however, the expiration of the term of penal servitude to which the convict has been adjudged by the sentence of the Court, the license is liable to be revoked at the discretion of the Minister, and, when so revoked, the prisoner is recommitted in execution of his original sentence. This new penalty must now be substituted by the courts in all cases formerly punished by transportation, except where his offence renders the convict liable to transportation for a period not less than 14 years, while it may be substituted even for the longest terms. It was also provided that convicts under sentence of transportation at the passing of the act, or subsequently sentenced to that punishment, should be made capable of benefitting by the license of the Secretary of State, on the same conditions as to revocation with those sentenced to penal servitude. Gentlemen, it is the provision

for a conditional discharge from prison which has attracted public attention and has given to the system its name. That both provisions are founded on sound principles is my firm belief, as I have already stated. It is obvious, however, that it is the first upon which the greatest stress ought to be laid, for this plain reason, that, in proportion as the means of reformation are furnished to the prisoner, and the tests of reformation are well chosen and faithfully applied, in exactly that same proportion will the necessity for the second provision—viz., the power of recalling the ticket of leave—be diminished; so that if we could ensure perfect tests and a perfect application of them, the enlargement of the prisoner might be made absolute in the first instance; while, on the other hand, a convict imperfectly reformed will scarcely be deterred, by reason of the power of revocation being hung over him, from yielding eventually to the temptations to which, when at liberty, he is certain to be exposed. As a protection to society, it is also, as it now stands, imperfect in this further particular, that the power of revocation terminates with the period fixed by the original sentence, which, at the time when the license is granted, may be nearly expired. This defect, however, might readily be amended. The power of recall might remain in force until a certain fixed period after liberation, to be further extended if during that same period the recall should be made. And this brings me to what I consider the most serious defect in the statute. The condition which is set forth on the ticket of leave is as follows:—

“The power of revoking or altering the license of a convict will most certainly be exercised in case of his misconduct. If, therefore, he wishes to retain the privilege which by his good behaviour under penal discipline he has obtained, he must prove by his subsequent conduct that he is really worthy of Her Majesty's clemency. To produce a forfeiture of the license it is by no means necessary that the holder should be convicted of any new offence. If he associates with notoriously bad characters, leads an idle and dissolute life, or has no visible means of obtaining an honest livelihood, &c., it will be assumed that he is about to relapse into crime, and he will be at once apprehended and recommitted to prison under his original sentence.” It is not, gentlemen, that I disapprove putting these men again under restraint without evidence of their having committed a new crime. I must have greatly changed my opinions before I could raise any objection of that kind. Possibly it may be recollected by some of those whom I have now the honour to address that, in the year 1850, and again in the year 1851, I ventured to advise that all persons who had been convicted of acts of dishonesty should be liable, when, in the belief of competent witnesses, they were leading a life of crime, to be called on for proof that they were in the enjoyment of the means of subsistence, drawn from lawful sources; that, in default of such proof, they should be held to bail for a limited period, and, in default of bail, should be committed to prison. The principle on which my proposed measure was founded has now been adopted by the Legislature, but without the safeguard of a trial. According to the act, the prisoner is deprived of his liberty by the mere

stroke of the Minister's pen. The Legislature probably proceeded upon the ground that, as it is the confidence placed in his reformation which gains him his liberty, so if that confidence be lost his privilege ought to be withdrawn. Nor am I, for one, much afraid that a power of this kind, however arbitrary, will be often abused. On the contrary, I believe the danger lies on the other side. It is so repugnant to the other side,—it is so repugnant to the spirit of our laws to condemn without a trial—that an English Minister is under a much stronger temptation to withhold the exercise of such a power in cases where it is justly demanded than to use it oppressively; and, accordingly, symptoms of such forbearance are not wanting.\* Mr.

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\* These observations are fully supported by the following cases which came before Mr. Sergeant Adams, at the October Adjourned Sessions held at Westminster:—

George Roberts, 25, pleaded guilty of robbing a gentleman of a gold watch, value £25; and Jas. Trelawney, 25, and George Williams, 23, pleaded guilty to a charge of feloniously breaking and entering the dwelling house of Ludwig Oerthing, and stealing certain articles, his property. The prisoners Trelawney and Roberts were ticket-of-leave convicts, and Williams was stated by a police-constable to have been the constant associate of thieves. The Assistant Judge said that it was almost beyond belief that theorists should continue to act in positive opposition to the practical experience of the ticket-of-leave system. Its results were of the most mischievous kind. Take the case of the prisoner Trelawney, for instance. He was a notorious thief, and in 1851 he was convicted as a burglar and sentenced to ten years' transportation. On the 2nd of last month he was set at liberty on a ticket-of-leave; and in less than three weeks afterwards he was found in the company of a known companion of thieves, breaking into a house, and, when detected, making a savage assault on the landlady. In one case which came before him a man was found, two days after he had been liberated on a ticket-of-leave, teaching a boy of thirteen the art of picking pockets in the street. Such was the result of letting these men go at large; they were turned loose on the town, with sums of money in their pockets, on condition that they returned to their former place of residence, where they joined their old companions in crime, and began their career again. He should sentence Trelawney to seven years' penal servitude, Roberts to six; and, if the authorities thought fit to reduce that term, and again set them at liberty, that lay with them. As to Williams, he would be remanded for further inquiry as to his previous character.

Edward Edwards, aged 52, a pork butcher, was indicted for attempting burglariously to break open the dwelling-house of George Cruikshank, the well-known artist.

On the night of the 27th of September the house of the prosecutor, in Mornington-place, Hampstead-road, was securely fastened at ten o'clock. At two on the following morning, the cook was awakened by the breaking of glass and the ringing of a bell attached to the shutter of the back window. She called her master, who, in conjunction with the police, found that an attempt had been made to enter the house by breaking the first floor landing window. A watch was then kept; and in about ten minutes the prisoner came up to him and asked him if they had caught the fellow. Mr. Cruikshank replied, "Yes, you are the fellow," whereupon the prisoner took to his heels and got over a wall. The

Jardine, the London magistrate, lately complained that 40 ticket-of-leave men infested the neighbourhood of his court; meaning, doubtless, to intimate by that statement that he had in his vicinity 40 of such convicts who had incurred the forfeiture of their licences by disappointing the expectations on which they were granted. If this be so, it would seem but reasonable that in each of these instances the ticket of leave should be recalled, unless, indeed, the sentences have expired, when it would be incorrect to denominate these convicts ticket-of-leave men, since they stand only in the same position with all other prisoners who have received their absolute discharge. But, gentlemen, it appears by a return made at the end of March last, that the practice is not to withdraw the licence until the convict stands charged with a new offence—a deviation from the terms of the warning written upon the ticket of leave, which I am unable to explain except by the conjecture which I have offered to your notice. Gentlemen, I have said that the working of the system has been, as I think, exaggerated both by its opponents and its admirers, for evil and for good. For evil, because I feel certain that convicts who have now tickets of leave would have been released unconditionally after a detention not very much greater than that to which they have been subjected under the new system. And I ground this opinion on three important facts—1st, on the growing impatience of severe punishments evinced by the public; 2nd, on the usage of liberating transports not sent abroad long before their terms of transportation have expired. To these two facts I have already adverted. The third is that the Legislature, when it substituted penal servitude for transportation, very much abridged the duration of the punishment. Gentlemen, the real evil with which we have to contend stands thus:—So long as we could impose our criminals on other communities we did not trouble ourselves to cultivate the science of reformation, and now that this lazy and selfish resource has failed us, we, in the stress of our difficulties, are compelled suddenly to call upon the functionaries of our gaols to perform a task demanding qualifications with which, without a long previous training, it is unreasonable to expect them to be endowed; or at least in such full measure as to insure success. Having weighed these circumstances, you may, perhaps, gentlemen, arrive at the conclusion that no small portion of the unpopularity which has fallen upon the new system is produced by

police went in pursuit, and chased him to an area in the Crescent, and thence to a wash-house, where they found him crouched down. On being asked what he did there, he said, nothing that he knew of, and afterwards he said drink had brought him to his last penny, and that he was regardless of what occurred to him. In the course of the morning a life-preserver, two knives, and a piece of wax candle were found in the area into which the prisoner had jumped.

The jury found the prisoner guilty.

A constable proved that in 1852 the prisoner was tried at the Old Bailey for burglary, convicted, and sentenced to ten years' transportation. Mr. Payne said, if that was so, the prisoner must be a ticket-of-leave man, and there was no doubt the system of liberating convicts on ticket of leave was working great mischief.—Mr. Witham sentenced the prisoner to eighteen months' hard labour.—ED.

its having come into existence just at the time when the country was beginning to suffer from the augmented number of convicts which the stoppage of transportation had liberated at home, instead of their being thrown into our colonial population as heretofore. The disease, if I may so illustrate my meaning, results from the obstruction of the accustomed outlet—namely, transportation; but the remedy,—the ticket-of-leave system—failing to work a perfect cure, has been censured as if it were the cause of the malady. Gentlemen, the reason why I think the system has been over-estimated for good as well as for evil is, because it applies only to a comparatively small class, and because the evidence of reformation remains doubtful, although, I must admit, much more cogent and applying to a larger proportion of the licences than I had expected to find it. And I make this admission without forgetting that large subtractions may be required, from the estimated results. The estimate is that from 80 to 90 per cent. of convicts discharged with tickets of leave are permanently reformed. Gentlemen, there is, as you well know, an establishment at Mettray, in France, for the reformation of juvenile offenders, which stands at the head of all reformatory institutions. Mettray enjoys every possible advantage. Its founder and chief director, M. De Metz, who by his visit here last week may be personally known to you, is a man of unrivalled ability, long experience and unexampled devotion to his great enterprise. His institution has gradually attained its present exalted height by 15 years of enlightened administration, conducted with sedulous care and assiduity; and yet even Mettray does not reclaim a greater proportion of its inmates than 90 per cent. Nevertheless, gentlemen, 90 per cent. is to my mind a result so wonderful that nothing short of the very searching investigations which I have had the opportunity of making could induce me to accept it as worthy of confidence; and, that being so, I must be permitted to receive the estimate of reformations effected among the ticket-of-leave men with some doubt and misgiving, though with implicit reliance on the sincerity with which it is promulgated. The truth is, that permanent reformation demands years to test its reality, and the system has not been in operation for a sufficient length of time to furnish the required proof. The probabilities certainly look the other way. Mettray deals with young and plastic minds and bodies. It retains its wards a long time—often for many years. None of them leave Mettray until employment is procured for them. Each is placed under the superintendence of some benevolent person residing in the neighbourhood of his master, who watches over the youth with the care of a guardian. Mettray is looked upon by those who have been its inmates as a home. It is a high gratification to them to visit their "*colonie*," as they are taught to call it. If they have not failed in their duties they are always kindly welcomed, and, should they through misfortune be thrown out of work, they find hospitable reception at Mettray. Gentlemen, I shall be most agreeably surprised if experience shall justify those who superintend our ticket-of-leave system in placing their estimate so nearly on a par with the proved results of Mettray. It must, however, be remembered that we have all much to learn on the subject; and I do

not forget that, in the opinion of Captain Macdonochie, it is easier to reform adult than juvenile offenders. I will own that I have always regarded this view as paradoxical. Still it may be confirmed by experience, and may explain away the difficulty which now prevents my yielding a complete assent to the estimate on which I have been commenting. Gentlemen, it has been surmised that the tests on which the authorities rely for the reformation of the candidate for a fief are of an unsatisfactory nature. It is said—I know not on what authority—that too much weight is given to the opinion which may be entertained of a convict by the chaplain. It is assumed that the chaplain will be very much guided by what he may suppose to be the depth and sincerity of religious impressions made upon the heart of the prisoner; and, reasoning on such presumption, it is argued that the life of a prisoner, subjected, as his actions are, to minute regulation and constant supervision, affords no tests by which it could be ascertained how far such impressions are genuine and of a permanent character. If, gentlemen, the premises are well founded, I shall be compelled to concur in the conclusion at which the objectors have arrived, at least until more freedom of action is allowed to prisoners than they at present enjoy. But it is my good fortune to know several of the able and exemplary men who fill the office of gael chaplain; and, judging of the body by those of its members with whom I am acquainted, I hold them as little disposed to depend on such fallacious tests as the most jealous objector can himself be. It is so obvious that the fate of the prisoner should not depend upon a vague general opinion, but should be founded on an accumulation of facts day by day recorded, that I should require strong evidence against the authorities of any prison before I could be led to believe that they had fallen into an error so glaring. Doubtless, gentlemen, a punctual attention to religious observances, where the prisoner has an option to fulfil or neglect them, must not be omitted in the account. But there is danger in giving any very great weight to manifestations of this kind, inasmuch as even when they are based in sincerity the prisoner is tempted to exaggeration in their display; so that what is pure in its inception becomes corrupt through the hope of temporal advantage. This danger is felt so strongly at Mettray that a provision is made against it which perhaps will startle those to whom the treatment of prisoners and its difficulties is a novel study. The conductors, when they have confidence in the individual, are well pleased to see him begin to join in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, having found by experience that after this event an improvement is generally visible in his moral conduct. But as such an effect can only be produced when the communicant is acting from pure motives and on settled resolutions, not only is it provided that no secular benefit shall accrue to him from taking part in this communion, but as an admonition not to approach the table in a rash or presumptuous spirit, every fault he may commit for the week following receives punishment of double severity. Yet, gentlemen, although it has not been given us to search the heart of the prisoner, and to distinguish by any sure criterion between those manifestations of his spiritual condition which are sincere and those which are merely specious,



still we are not left without tests on which we may safely rely. "By their fruits ye shall know them" is one the value of which the highest authority has taught us to prize. We may rejoice that it is of easy application to that quality which, of all others, it is most essential should be acquired by the prisoner to insure him against relapse. I mean industry. We can measure the quantity of labour and estimate its value, especially if it be of the simpler kinds, with some approach to accuracy. Let, then, an account be opened with each prisoner, placing to his credit value of his labour—the real value, if productive labour, can be found; an assumed value, or rather a value upon an assumed scale, if his labour be not of a productive kind. Let him clearly understand that each day's labour will tell upon his liberation. If large in quantity and good in quality, it will materially advance him on his way. On the other hand, if deficient in either of these attributes his progress will be retarded. But a distant future, however bright—and no brighter prospect can open to the eyes of a prisoner than that of liberty—will not suffice without some hope of benefit nearer at hand. Let the prisoner, then, be allowed to expend a part of his earnings in the improvement of his diet. By acting on these principles we shall have provided for training him in habits of industry. But, although industry will, when he leaves his prison, furnish him with the means of honest maintenance, yet, unless he has learnt the art of self-government, he will not be effectually protected against the temptations to fall back into evil courses by which he will be assailed. Let him then be informed that every subtraction from the fund created by his labour for the indulgence of his palate will, like indolence, retard the hour of freedom. Thus he will be taught economy. Gentlemen, other habits are very desirable, but these are essential; and, having explained how they may be induced, I must not dwell on the means of reformation at greater length. Those among you who desire to give full scope to your inquiries upon this interesting subject, to learn into how many ramifications reformatory science of necessity runs—how its difficulties are to be overcome and how contending claims are to be adjusted—must consult the works of Captain Maconochie. The principle that the convict should be detained until by industry and good conduct he has earned his right to be free, was first enunciated by Archbishop Whately; but it was developed into a system, and thus rendered capable of practical application, by Captain Maconochie. May his services even yet, late though it be, obtain from him some recognition from his country, before the day shall arrive when earthly recompense will avail him nothing!

Rev. Mr. Field thus writes:—

Berkshire Gaol, Michaelmas, 1855.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—I have the honor to present you with my sixteenth Annual Report of the condition of your prisoners, with observations thereupon.

It is gratifying to observe that there has been a reduction of 18 per cent. in the number committed during the last twelvemonths as compared with the preceding year. If this diminution must be in

a measure ascribed to a sufficiency of employment and perhaps, more to the increase of our army, yet on the other hand, the inclemency of last winter and the high price of provisions conducted to an opposite result; and although the enlistment of some dissolute characters may have prevented their committal, any decrease on that account is counterbalanced by not less than 42 committals from the the Royal Berkshire Militia whilst quartered at Reading. When it is remembered that this regiment was for nine months billeted in public houses, and that very inadequate provision was made for their mental and religious instruction, it is surprising that a larger number did not become criminal. As respects other causes of crime, the observations in my report of last year equally apply to the present. The statistical tables which I have appended show that gross ignorance was a characteristic of your prisoners. About two-thirds of the entire number were unable to read with the common accuracy needful to obtain the ideas of which the words were significant, whilst not a third could write their own names. A still more lamentable proof of neglected education is evinced by the fact, that not one in ten possessed such knowledge of religious truths as might be expected effectually to restrain vicious propensities. Men thus destitute of motives to resist have been seduced by many temptations—especially those of the beer-house—and crimes have been committed that means of sensual indulgence might be secured.

Reverting however, to the reduced number of offenders, I hope it may be chiefly assignable to the preventive efficacy of more extended education throughout the county, and next, to the corrective tendency of your prison discipline. That education has been so extended, and that so few of that consequently enlarged proportion of the instructed have been imprisoned, whilst on the other hand so many of your criminals have come from the reduced number remaining ignorant, are facts of deep interest and which demand serious attention. They not only show, more clearly than ever, the connection between ignorance and crime, but prove likewise, that crime is on the increase amongst the uneducated, since the diminution in the number committed is by no means in a ratio corresponding with the reduced number of those still uninstructed. This may easily be accounted for, the temptations to self-indulgence to which this class is addicted have been multiplied, and the victims have been proportionally more numerous. Whilst therefore every Christian must deplore the continuance of such incentives to vice and seek their removal, these statistics show that we cannot over estimate the importance of religious education as a counteracting agency. Far better thus to prevent offences than by the best penal discipline to correct offenders: yet I thankfully repeat my conviction, confirmed by larger observation and additional proofs, that the system pursued in your county gaol does in many cases prevent a recurrence of crime.

But as I rejoice that our prison discipline is thus corrective when applied long enough to afford the reasonable hope of such a result, so I regret that in the case of five-sixths of those committed last year the term of imprisonment—not exceeding three months—was

too short for reformatory influence.\* I have often deprecated punishments so pregnant with evil, and prayed that every imprisonment might be of sufficient duration for improvement. "This seems to me," writes one of our learned judges, in a communication I lately received from him, "This seems to me of the greatest importance and yet marvellously neglected in practice. We may use palliatives in chronic cases, for alas! we can do no better, but for curable complaints, who would hesitate in performing a painful operation." The lamentable consequences of short imprisonments are not, however, limited to the prevention of any curative process, but whilst the remedy is inadequate, and the treatment so inefficacious, the disease not only becomes chronic, but, with its inveteracy, far more malignant. It may be affirmed as indisputable, that an imprisonment which fails to amend must demoralise. It degrades the subject of it to the rank of a convict; it affixes a stigma which alike forbids self-respect, and the favourable regard of better men; and whilst excluded from intercourse with them, the wretched outcast is welcomed and becomes—whether willing or not—the associate of those more abandoned than himself, if not more debased. His temptations to offend are therefore of necessity stronger, whilst no new principle or increased power of resistance has been acquired. Reasonably then, might we infer that which experience has proved, namely, that short imprisonments are preparatory to future crimes, and are a most prolific cause of frequent re-committals. So far from regarding a previous conviction which has been thus punished as an aggravation of guilt, surely the re-convicted offender might often with more justice, allege it as an apology for his re-appearance at the bar, and plead his former ineffective sentence in mitigation of penalty for a crime which mistaken clemency was calculated to induce, Whilst I desire to speak on this subject with becoming

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\* We have already frequently referred to this subject, but if proof of the stupidity of justices, and judges, in awarding short sentences to juveniles were needed, it is fully offered in the following police report:—

"Belfast, Saturday, October 20th, 1855.

Before Mr. TRACY, R.M., and W. COATES, Esq.

Archer Murphy this morning was honoured by being first called upon, as it was only his fifteenth appearance, on the charge of stealing a bottle of whiskey from Hudson and Co., High-street. As he had already undergone 84 months' imprisonment. (nearly three years, although not yet fourteen years of age), and being five times well whipped, he escaped with 14 days' hard labour."

We have received this report from a friend, enclosed to us in the following note:—

"I send you the enclosed for your Quarterly Record—I have cut it from a Belfast Paper of Monday the 22nd Inst. It shows a new feature in the working of the *lex talionis*—when Archer Murphy makes his sixteenth appearance before the Magistrates for robbery, I suppose he will get off with a week's hard labour—it will probably take 20 such appearances on the same system before Archer gets off *Scot free*, or obtains his diploma to practise thieving with perfect immunity for life. Thus we reform on the homœopathic plan down here."—Ed.

deference, yet after much inquiry, besides constantly and carefully watching the operation and effect of our criminal law during the last sixteen years, with advantages which few have possessed, I may confidently affirm that its lighter penalties produce many more offences than they prevent. Convinced of this, I look upon the recent popular enactment, "for diminishing expense and delay in the administration of criminal justice" with painful apprehension, on account of its tendency to increase the number of short imprisonments. I am not insensible to the importance of diminishing expense, but whilst as compared with moral influence, this is unimportant; the more probable result is, that the correctional term being reduced, subsequent offences and future prosecutions will cause additional expense. I deeply regret, therefore, that in cases of larceny, in which the value of property stolen does not exceed five shillings, this measure provides as the maximum of punishment, the very least which sound policy and the real welfare of the criminal would demand as the minimum of imprisonment, namely, three months. But I am happy to observe that the very first section of this act gives to the justices an increased discretionary power. It provides 'that if upon hearing of the charge, they shall be of opinion that there are circumstances in the case which render it inexpedient to inflict any punishment, they shall have power to dismiss the person charged without proceeding to a conviction.' My lords and gentlemen, I doubt not that by the judicious exercise of this power, many a short imprisonment with its mischievous and miserable consequences will be prevented. But whilst assured that in Berkshire the authority will not be abused, I should be unfaithful if, after such long converse with criminals, I abstained from adverting to the encouragement given to crime by unconditional impunity. The experience of nearly two thousand years does not controvert the maxim the Roman orator so long since propounded, '*Impunitas est maxima peccandi illecebra.*'

Whilst, then, I trust that the extension of power will be advantageous, I submit that, in the bill prepared by one of your honorable bench, it was far better provided for, because in a manner not merely preventive of evil, but likely to be productive of much good. In the report which I had the honour to present two years since, I

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\* Cicero pro Milone—The sequel of this Report, I trust, sufficiently shows that whilst deprecating short imprisonments, I am not an advocate for severe punishments. I cannot, however, sympathise with many who evince a morbid feeling in favour of impunity, which, whilst it encourages crime, is contrary to the revealed will of Him who has ordained the magistrates to be a "Revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil." Thus the sentiment of the Pagan orator is not inconsistent with sacred precepts. It reminds us too of the maxim of one often described as the Christian Cicero—"Servorum autem filiorumque peccata non coercet, peccatum est: evadent enim ad majus malum per impunitatem."—Lactantius, *De Ira*, ch. xviii. Our great poet was also well acquainted with human nature when he wrote—

"We bid this be done  
When evil deeds have their permissive pass,  
And not the punishment."

prayed that your influence might be exerted with the legislature to obtain an act providing that a discretionary power be vested in magistrates (not under any circumstances to dismiss a person charged with crime, rather than to convict him, by which proceeding, although the dismissal with its circumstances be recorded, as provided in section 7 of the recent act, yet the charge can scarcely, *without a conviction*, be the subject of future adjudication; and even if the party who had been previously so charged be, for a subsequent offence, summarily dealt with under this act, no increased penalty is appointed. Instead, therefore, of this proceeding, I begged your influence might be exerted that magistrates should have power) to record a first or even second trifling offence, the punishment of which should be suspended and conditional, to be, however, inflicted in a cumulative measure if the offender were again convicted. I beg to thank the hon. member for having inserted this provision in the draft of a bill, with a copy of which he favoured me, and I trust that another session of parliament will not pass without an amendment of the present act, by substituting the clause of that bill which is unfortunately superseded.

I have satisfaction in reporting that the penal and corrective plans pursued in your prison have been in no respect inferior to those of former years, whilst some improvements have been introduced. The additional employment provided for your prisoners is advantageous, and the coarser fare supplied to them has been long desirable. Still there are defects which I feel called upon to mention. Although not subjected to any wearisome labour, your prisoners are compelled to spend not less than ten hours in bed. I have for successive years referred to such a practice as little in accordance with the wisdom evinced in your other regulations. It is certainly not required for bodily rest, and is injurious to mind and morals. Allow me, then, to repeat an earnest hope that you will correct a vicious practice which has no legislative sanction, which must be condemned by every intelligent man, and was denounced by the parliamentary committee on prison discipline in 1850, whose report affirms that "no prisoner should be left in darkness more than a *maximum time which can be required for rest, namely, eight hours*." If this remark be applicable to prisoners subjected to severe exertion and constant toil, with how much greater force does it apply to those under that wiser discipline from which penal labour is excluded.

The system under which debtors are still confined is more vicious in its tendencies than can be described in this report. I can never cease to deprecate the continuance of a plan in which, amidst so much to condemn, it would be difficult to discover anything to approve. Recently the father of a young person allowed him to be committed for debt, with the hope that some extravagant habits would be corrected; and if youths of such a character could be subjected for a short time to separate confinement, the happiest results might ensue; but as in this case I advised an immediate release, lest the foolish spendthrift should become an unprincipled profligate, or possibly a convicted felon, so I would warn every parent against the peril, under present circumstances, of adopting such a course.

Although three persons have been removed to lunatic asylums during the last year, yet in no case has insanity been assignable to their imprisonment. In one instance the sufferer had been only a few days in your prison, and had previously been in a similar state of mental derangement. In another the disease was hereditary, both the mother of the prisoner and his father's father having been insane; and the third was decidedly in that condition when committed, besides having three children in lunatic asylums. It has been my duty to express regret that, when these prisoners were certified and reported as insane, they were not more speedily removed. Whilst they remain in prison it is almost impossible to treat such persons in the manner required, and the means needful for their restraint seriously aggravate the disease.

The remarks I have felt called upon to offer concerning short imprisonments are further supported by the annexed tables, descriptive of persons recommitted. They show, that of 685, 256 had been in custody before; of which number 159 had been in separate confinement; but, of these, 131 had not been previously under your penal treatment longer than three months, and but few for even that short time. The recommitment of these, therefore, is accounted for. Of the remaining 28, 18 were hardened offenders, who, having been repeatedly convicted, had been confined in the old gaols, and, it must be feared, rendered incorrigible by associating with other criminals. Thus, the number recommitted, who for their first offence were subjected to a term of punishment which could with reason be expected to prove corrective, is only ten. If, then, the proportion recommitted be adduced as any test of the efficacy of a prison system, certainly one which exhibits such results may not merely challenge comparison with others, but presents such a contrast to them, as should compel its universal adoption.

During the last twelve months 54 juvenile offenders have been committed to prison, and in the table appended, which gives the particulars of 159 recommitted criminals, 41 are described as having entered upon their career of crime before they were sixteen years of age. These have since been imprisoned 211 times—an average of more than five times to each. In my report last year I expressed hope that a reformatory school would be ere long established in this county, in accordance with the 'Act for the better care and reformation of young offenders.' Subsequently, as criminals of this pitiable class were committed, I was encouraged by the courtesy and sympathy of our visiting justices to represent their case to them, and to solicit their more powerful influence; and it is with a deep feeling of gratitude that I revert to the efficient manner in which those magistrates again brought the subject before your honourable bench at the Easter sessions, and second the humane attention and munificent contributions of several noblemen and gentlemen in the county. I cannot doubt that an example of such benevolence and liberality will be admitted by all, and whilst imitated by others, honoured with equal rank and entrusted with like wealth, that those amongst us whose means are more limited, but who are not less interested in the philanthropic plan, or less likely to derive advantage

from its operation, will cheerfully contribute towards its completion. The progress which has been made in this important work—so much greater than would have been anticipated—proves the earnestness with which it has been pursued. A reformatory school is now prepared, and, perhaps, I do not unwarrantably presume, if, after much enquiry, and the personal inspection of several establishments for the same purpose, I express a confident opinion that the zeal which has been displayed does not surpass the sound judgment evinced in the preliminary arrangements. I believe them to be calculated to ensure success; and since, at the important meeting last week, it was desired that I should take part in superintending the discipline of the institution, I shall esteem it alike a privilege and a duty to render any service in my power in furtherance of that which is so wise, just, and merciful in its purpose, and which affords the promise of most happy results.\*

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\* Every day we have proofs of the great necessity for a speedy and complete extension of the Schools; and amongst other cases, the following occurring in the London Police Reports of the third week in last October, shew the advantages which must spring from that branch of the system which permits parents to send their unruly children to the Institution for the purpose of reformation.

#### THE BEGINNING OF CRIME.

John Cable, a little boy, about eleven years of age, was charged with robbing his parents of 6s. 10d.—The prisoner's father is a steady hard-working man, with a large family. On Monday, the mother went out to purchase some food for them, leaving 6s. 10d. on the shelf. On her return she found that the prisoner had absconded with it, and when he was met in the evening he had spent it all. The poor mother said she did not wish to press the charge, her only object for giving him into custody was to endeavour by a night's confinement to deter her child from a repetition of the offence.—In answer to the magistrate's inquiries, she said that he had never robbed her before, and that all the rest of her children were honest and well conducted.—After a feeling admonition, the magistrate discharged the accused.

#### JUVENILE DELINQUENCY.

Lambeth.—Michael Bummerford, a little urchin, whose head scarcely reached the felons' bar, was charged with stealing 4s. 6d. and three pawnbrokers' tickets, the property of his father.—The father, a decent looking man, a stationer's clerk, and who gave his evidence under a feeling of strong emotion, said that the prisoner had from his childhood become addicted to acts of dishonesty, and stole every article he could lay his hands on. He had procured three different situations for him, and from each he had been discharged for dishonesty. After this, and on his solemn promise to change his conduct, he (witness) had entrusted him to take weekly payments to a loan society, and in the end discovered that he had kept back as much as 30s. On Saturday last, while his mother was being confined, the prisoner absconded with half-a-crown and two shillings, and he had not seen him until he was in the custody of a constable. The witness added that though so young, the prisoner had been in the habit of absenting himself from home for several nights together, and every sixpence he could lay his hands on was spent at the

Two boys have been removed from your gaol into reformatory schools since the commencement of the current year; one to that of Kingswood, near Bristol, and the other to that of Stoke, near Droitwich, and the report which I have lately received of them is such as to give good hope of their permanent correction. A girl, too, has been admitted into a similar establishment at Wandsworth, and, although for a time her misconduct almost forbade hope of her reformation, yet the last report I received of her was far more favorable. I take the liberty of saying that I believe if she had been longer under the preparatory discipline of the prison, subsequent treatment would have been less difficult and more effective.

As respects the convicts committed by government to your charge, I do not think it necessary to trouble you with any particular report, having recently placed in your hands a publication on 'The Discipline and Management of Convicts,' in which I felt compelled to describe the pernicious tendency of present plans—especially in lessening the term of separate confinement, in making the duration of punishment dependent upon the conduct of the prisoner, and in granting 'Tickets of Leave' with large gratuities when about half the appointed term of imprisonment had expired. Every week has afforded proof that the tendency of such a system is to frustrate means of amendment; to induce imposture, and to reward the base counterfeit of virtue by affording an earlier opportunity for the further perpetration of crime. Several convicts thus liberated and sent back to this county have been re-convicted; and, having enquired respecting others, I have reason to believe that they, too, will soon be again inmates of your gaol. Surprising, indeed, would be any other result, whether we look to the conduct of these men previous to conviction, or to the regulations by which endeavours to correct are rendered ineffective. Omitting others, I briefly describe the case of one recommitting for a felony during the last fortnight. He was bad, from his birth: his father has been transported, and when himself convicted for the thirteenth time in 1851, he was sentenced by this court to be transported for seven years. When less than half that term had expired he received a 'ticket of leave,' and with it some good clothes, his fare from Dartmoor to Reading was paid, and he was presented with £7. 13s. as earnings—a term surely misapplied! Hearing that he had been released on the promise of employment from a man who had been himself six months in prison, I went in search of him, and was informed that, having in less than a week proved still dishonest, he had left the county.

I deem it unnecessary in this report to repeat any description of the evident benefits which attend and result from the system of prison

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Bower Saloon and Victoria Theatre, to see *Jack Sheppard*, the representation of which, he was sorry to say, was the ruin of thousands of youths in the metropolis.—The police-constable said that on taking the prisoner and telling him the charge, he said he was sorry the amount stolen was not twice as much.—The prisoner had nothing to say in defence, and was committed to the House of Correction for a month, and ordered to be whipped.—Ed.



treatment which you have pursued. The experience of another year has confirmed my opinion that, whilst the punishment it provides is severe, the opportunity it affords for moral and religious discipline renders it the most corrective ever adopted. It is a system in accordance with God's revealed will, and upon which His blessing has been vouchsafed: and, therefore, in the continued exercise of ministerial duty--often arduous, perplexing, and painful--I am animated by the retrospect, and still confiding in the Divine favour, I shall persevere, in the full conviction that such labour is far from being in vain.

I have pleasure in bearing testimony to the satisfactory manner in which your schoolmasters have performed their duty throughout the past year, whilst the moral conduct of the officers, generally, has been such as to deserve commendation.

I have the honour to remain,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Your faithful servant,

J. FIELD, Chaplain."

\* The Chaplain of Abingdon gaol, in his Report, thus supports Mr. Field's opinions; and his statements relating to short imprisonments and their consequences, re-committals, are of great importance.--

"In reference to the proposed Reformatory School, he says, that without being too sanguine, we may safely anticipate great good from the Reformatory School now being established. This is cutting off the supply at the spring head; still there will ever be a large "escape," which joined by tributaries further on the stream of life, will ever roll along a tide of pollution, both broad and deep. Our expectation, therefore, from these new institutions will not render less necessary enquiries as to how the present treatment of criminals acts, what are its defects, and what its remedies. The class of offenders among whom my duty leads me, is principally of those who have been sentenced to short terms of imprisonment, varying from a few days to four months, yet forming, numerically, the largest class of prisoners in the kingdom, and generally the materials for criminals of a deeper dye. On both these accounts, considerations respecting them assume a grave importance.

The statistical tables of re-committals confirm me in the opinion that the present prison discipline, as applied to *short* imprisonments, is not calculated to deter, or adapted to reform. If in such cases the narrow limits of time render it impossible that both ends can be accomplished, the reformatory, therefore, must of necessity yield to the deterring principle, simply from want of opportunity to carry out the former. At present, I fear, we fail in both. Total cessation from work, it is argued, is a greater punishment than employment. To the actively disposed it undoubtedly is. But do the actively disposed form the majority, or even a half of the inmates of a gaol, especially of the summarily convicted? Have not most of them been brought there by indulged indolence of mind and body? To such the inactivity of prison life is a positive boon. And as regards the other class, it remains to be considered whether the infliction of idleness is a wholesome reformatory punishment. I certainly think not, for these several reasons, first, though irksome and tedious for a time, it is not of a nature to leave behind it a decided impression of

It will be observed that on the chief question here involved, the practicability of working successfully the Ticket-of-Leave system, there is no difference of opinion between Mr. Hill and Mr. Field. They do differ, and that most materially, upon the terms on which the ticket should be granted, and upon the means by which the prisoner should be permitted to work out his freedom. Both our esteemed friends are men of great and undoubted ability, and are most intimately acquainted with all the bearings of the subject. They are satisfied that the system is sound, and thus they afford strong authority in support of Colonel Jebb's cherished scheme: but much as we rejoice to find that they approve the Ticket-of-Leave system, we regret that they differ so widely on the terms upon which liberation can be securely extended. Mr. Hill has stated his opinions at length, Mr. Field has detailed them in his pamphlet, to which he above refers, and from which, in the seventeenth Number of this REVIEW, (*Record* p. xli) we made very long and valuable extracts. In our opinion the whole question resolves itself into one capable of accurate solution if the prison authorities will only patiently INDIVIDUALIZE their prisoners, and treat each man, in reporting him, according to his natural character. Mr. Field has well explained this point in his Report, and if it were carried into effect by fitting officers, in properly constructed prisons, we need not fear that the great element of Reformation—hope, could die; and thus Mr. Hill's wise principle would be secured in all its integrity. We should thus have, not alone good *prisoners*, but also good men amongst those set free on Tickets-of-Leave. The distinction here taken by us is well considered; and we but hold the opinion of one of our most deep thinking philanthropists, who thus writes to us upon this subject, and referring to Mr. Field's opinions:—

"He is right in opposing short imprisonments, which give no time for assured reformation, but he is wrong in considering that a fixed time is desirable, because it evidently takes away a great spur to

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dislike or disgust. 2. No positive habit for good can be formed by it. 3. Mental vacuity and listlessness are engendered by it."

The Rev. gentleman, in conclusion, calls attention to the fact that four-fifths of the crimes committed, owe their origin to drunkenness, and he deprecates, as one primary cause, the little consequence with which this sin is treated by the lower classes, and the gradual abrogation of the laws which exist, and which would, if carried out, award it due punishment.—Ed.

improvement. Again he is right in drawing the distinction between a good prisoner and a good man, but he is wrong in confounding the characters of each. By a good prisoner I understand a man who falls into the routine of prison life with facility, is obedient to its rules, outwardly submissive, and who performs the not over difficult tasks which are usually the only ones imposed upon him, to the satisfaction of the officers, and lastly, who cultivates the good opinion of the Chaplain by expertness in all that belongs to ritual, and by somewhat of exuberance in all that belongs to religious profession. A good man is another creature. His desires are changed and his habits have conformed themselves to this reformation in the inner man, and above all, he has acquired the power of self-control, in short, he has attained to the resolution and to the ability of self-support and self-government. Now this conquest is not to be made without hard fighting against counteracting motives. The means of acquiring good habits must be given to him, and above all habits that of industry. He must therefore enjoy the opportunity of daily labour in some useful avocation which he may turn to account after he shall regain his liberty. He must have some freedom of action even in gaol, or how is he to learn the art of self-government, and when the means for reforming his habits have thus been given to him, the stimulus must also be furnished, and none other is so powerful on the human mind as the panting after the outside of the gaol. Let him then work his way out, that is, let his industry move him forwards while his failures from time to time in his duties of economy, restraint of temper, &c., make him fall from time to time backwards; and when I say that he is to work himself out, I mean that the gate is to be opened to him when the balance of his gains over his losses has arisen to a certain height."

Doubtless the Ticket-of-Leave System requires the chiefest care upon the part of most devoted prison officers: it requires that the life of the liberated convict be closely watched by the police, and that the slightest discovered breach of the indorsed conditions be visited by a speedy, sudden, and relentless revival of the original sentence. The knowledge of all these things must impress their great importance upon the mind of every man who knows the theory and practice of prison discipline; this knowledge has prevented the issue of Tickets-of-Leave in Ireland; for, as those excellent public servants, the Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland, observe in their *First Annual Report*,—

"The same feeling which prevents our inflicting on a colony convicts who have not been subjected to a proper course of prison discipline also precludes our bringing forward prisoners for discharge in this country on *Tickets of Licence* as in England. We consider such 'Ticket of Licence' to be a sort of guarantee to the community, that in consequence of a prisoner having been subjected to a proper course of prison discipline and reformatory treatment, he is

considered a fit subject to be received and employed by those outside the prison.

Such reformatory course not having hitherto been pursued in this country, we have not felt ourselves justified in recommending the issue of tickets of licence.”\*

If our police authorities, both within and without the prison, will only do that duty which the law places upon them, we shall find no further records of relapsed Ticket-of-Leave men: we shall not discover justices, and judges, and journalists proclaiming the danger of the system, but we shall have a fair and successful trial of the scheme, with satisfactory and well proved results. As yet the system has not had fair play, and the “hit-him-for-he-has-no-friends” tone of abuse has been adopted with regard to the Ticket-of-Leave plan. *Punch* and *The Times* have been equally unfair to the system and to its advocates, confounding the faults of the system’s administration with its principle. Documents such as Mr. Hill’s *Charge*, and Mr. Field’s *Report*, are of the most inestimable value: they show *all* the questions—broadly, openly, ably, and honestly.

Amongst the important publications of the quarter, bearing upon the subjects of this Record, we must place, as first and chiefest, the following most admirable paper, printed in the last number of a very excellent periodical, *The Law Review*, which has ever advocated the cause of Reformatories, and has supported these institutions in common with many other legislative ameliorations advocated by the Society for the Amendment of the Law.

The paper is devoted to a short sketch of Mettray, drawn on the various works written on that most interesting Institution; and to a detail of the events occurring during the visit of M. Demetz to England, in the month of October. The paper requires no comment from us; it is clear and simple; and as we read the account there given of the reception of M. Demetz in Birmingham we are forcibly reminded of an observation of Southey’s in his *Life of John Wesley*,—“The works of such men survive them, and continue to operate, when nothing remains of worldly ambition but the memory of its vanity and its guilt.”

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\* See a full notice of this most able Report in IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, Vol. V. No. 18. pp. 442 to 451; Art. “Reformatory Schools for Ireland.” See also the opinion expressed by M. Demetz, post, p. xlvii.

## METTRAY, AND M. DEMETZ IN ENGLAND.

1. *Rapport sur les Colonies Agricoles. Lu à la Réunion Internationale de Charité.* Par M. DEMETZ, Directeur de la Colonie de Mettray, et Conseiller Honoraire de la Cour Impériale de Paris. Tours: 1855.
2. *Trois Jours à Mettray.* Par PAUL HUOT. Paris: 1848.
3. *Notice sur Mettray.* Par AUGUSTIN COCHIN. Paris: 1847.
4. *Rapport de M. Demetz, à la Société Paternelle.* Reprinted from the Irish Quarterly Review for September 1854. London.
5. *Mettray: a Lecture.* By ROBERT HALL, M.A., Recorder of Doncaster.
6. *Visits to Continental Reformatories: a Lecture.* By ROBERT HALL, M.A. Reprinted from the Irish Quarterly Review, for June, 1855.
7. *Essays, Speeches &c. on Reformatory Schools.* Edited by JELINGER SYMONS, Esq., Barrister-at-law. 1855.
8. *A Visit to Mettray: a Lecture.* By E. B. WHEATLEY, M.A. 1855.

The interest excited by M. Demetz, as the leader of the reformatory movement and founder of Mettray, the great exemplar of reformatory schools, during his short visit to this country a month ago, proving, as it did, the wide-spread recognition of the principles he has elaborated into a system, and successfully reduced to practice in France, must have afforded the liveliest gratification to all who have laboured to promulgate those principles among us. The respect with which his words were listened to at Birmingham, at Bristol, and at Redhill, demonstrates our willingness to learn the truths which his experience so eminently qualifies him to teach; and it is greatly to be regretted that the very short period during which M. Demetz could be absent from France gave so few opportunities for our benefiting by the inestimable advantage of hearing from his own lips the results of twenty years' practical study of one of the most important, if not the most important, social questions of the age. But let us ever remember the deep debt of obligation under which we are placed by his bestowal upon us of even a few days—a short time, indeed when computed by us—but long if measured by his absence from Mettray.

We have thought that while the words of this distinguished man are yet fresh in the memory of our readers, a slight sketch of him, and of his friend and fellow-labourer M. de Courteilles, will not be unacceptable, especially as some part of our information respecting them and Mettray has not before been published.

"In 1837," says Mr Robert Hall, "the French Government appointed a commission to make a personal examination of the Transatlantic system of prison discipline, and a man of peculiar qualifica-

tions, presented himself for the purpose—*Frédéric-Auguste Demetz*, a Judge of the Court of Appeal at Paris."

The attention of M. Demetz had already been drawn to the miserable position of convicted children for whom in France there was no other prison than those devoted also to the reception of adult and hardened criminals. Having profited by the opportunity thus afforded for examining the institutions already existing in America for the detention of juvenile delinquents only, he conceived the idea of establishing a reformatory school for the same class at home. His views were adopted in France by a society of which he is a member—the *Société de patronage* (of which we shall hereafter speak more fully); and shortly after he returned to Europe it called upon him to form one of a committee appointed to gather the information necessary for the execution of his philanthropic design.

The superiority of agricultural labour in its reformatory effect on the criminal, to any that could be performed within doors was already recognised.

"On ne pouvait, dans l'intérieur d'une prison, lui apprendre qu'une profession industrielle qui le forçait inévitablement, à la fin de son emprisonnement, d'aller augmenter la population ouvrière de nos manufactures, et d'en partager les vices et les périls."†

On the other hand,

"Un rude exercice, en plein air, fortifie le corps, et le spectacle des beautés de la nature fait naître dans le cœur de l'homme un profond sentiment d'admiration et de reconnaissance pour le Créateur."‡

"Toutefois, lorsque la commission voulut passer de la théorie à la pratique et rédiger le programme d'une colonie agricole, les embarras commencèrent, et elle sentit qu'elle n'était pas préparée par de suffisantes études. Elle chargea deux de ses membres d'aller étudier sur les lieux les colonies de la Belgique et de la Hollande, et elle désigna à cet effet M. Léon Faucher, de si regrettable mémoire, et moi.

"Ceci se passait il y a environ dix-huit ans. On savait alors, que les essais tentés dans les deux pays dont nous venons de parler n'avaient pas été heureux. Les colonies Hollandaises ne menaient qu'une vie languissante et faisaient des sacrifices énormes pour un résultat médiocre, et les colonies Belges offraient encore des résultats plus désastreux. Nous n'allions donc pas dans ces pays pour y chercher des modèles, mais nous pouvions espérer d'y trouver des leçons. Nous ne devons pas moins à celui qui nous signale les écueils, qu'à celui qui nous montre le bon chemin."

"Nous ne fûmes pas longtemps à nous confirmer dans l'opinion que les établissements de ces deux pays n'avaient rien à nous ap-

\* Mettray: A Lecture read before the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, by Robert Hall, M.A., Recorder of Doncaster, p. 6. London; Cursh, 8, Bishopsgate Street, 1854.

† Rapport sur les Colonies Agricoles, lu à la Réunion Internationale de Charité, July, 1855. Par M. Demetz, conseiller honoraire à la cour impériale de Paris, pp. 8-9. Tours; Imprimerie Ladevèze.

‡ Ibid, p. 9.

prendre. M. Léon Faucher fut obligé de retourner à Paris, et il nous fallut continuer seul nos explorations. Elles devaient se terminer à Hambourg, où nous allions enfin trouver, nous ne craignons pas de le dire, la solution du problème que nous étions chargé d'étudier. C'est près du village de Horn, dans un pays fertile et pittoresque, sur le penchant d'un coteau qui domine la belle vallée de l'Elbe et de la Bill, que nous eûmes l'occasion de visiter l'école de réforme de Rauhen-Haus. Nous ne nous arrêterons pas à décrire cet établissement devenu célèbre, et qui a reçu depuis notre voyage des accroissements considérables. Nous nous contenterons de marquer les traits principaux. Il avait été fondé vers la fin de 1833 par le respectable M. Wichern, pour recevoir les jeunes enfants que des habitudes vicieuses menaçaient de pervertir ou avaient déjà sétrisés. L'habile fondateur avait cherché son moyen de salut dans l'esprit de famille; il s'était efforcé d'exciter dans ces jeunes cœurs, les émotions douces et salutaires que produit la famille, et que étaient devenues ou avaient toujours été étrangères à ces malheureux.

Les colons étaient divisés en groupes de douze individus qui prenaient le nom de familles. Cette dénomination était justifiée par le lien d'affection intime et de bienveillance continue qu'on s'efforçait d'établir entre les membres qui les composaient. A chacun de ces familles était préposé un chef ou plutôt un guide que les enfants appelaient leur père. Elle habitait une petite maison isolée, construite de ses mains et séparée de la maison voisine par de jardins ou par des vergers. Quatre existaient lors de notre visite; elles formaient comme un petit hameau et n'avaient entre-elles que les rapports exigés par l'administration de la maison.

La discipline de la colonie était ferme et sévère, et cependant, nous devons le dire, tempérée par une paternelle tendresse. La réforme morale en était le but; un travail énergique, persévérant, en même temps qu'une éducation profondément religieuse en étaient les moyens. Des notes journalières constataient la conduite de chacun, ses progrès ou ses rechutes; la tendre sollicitude des chefs n'empêchait en rien les rigueurs quelquefois nécessaires d'un régime qui conservait au fond un caractère correctionnel; et l'on ne saurait s'imaginer, à moins d'en avoir été témoin, la sympathie qui attachait à la colonie ces pauvres pupilles devenus d'honnêtes gens.

On le voit, la base sur laquelle s'appuyait la colonie de Horn et à laquelle elle a dû ses merveilles, c'est la reconstitution de la famille.

M. Demetz had no need to prolong his journey. The Rauhe Haus supplied him with the model of which Mettray became the "glorified" copy. He had now to act. "Alone," he says, "he should have been unequal to so great an enterprise; but—

"La Providence nous vint en aide, en nous faisant retrouver un ancien condisciple, M. le Vicomte de Courteilles: il adopta nos vues,

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\* "Rapport sur les Colonies Agricoles," lu à la Réunion Internationale de Charité, Par M. Demetz, Conseiller à la Cour Impériale de Paris, pp. 17, 18, 21, 22, 23. Tours: Imprimerie Ladevèze.

nous offrit son concours et alla jusqu'à nous proposer son domaine pour y établir l'institution que nous résolûmes de fonder ensemble."<sup>2</sup>

M. Cochin, in his interesting "*Notice sur Mettray*," writes, "Ancien militaire distingué, condisciple de M. Demetz, éminent comme lui par l'intelligence et généreux par le cœur, occupé des longtemps des questions auxquelles il venait de consacrer un remarquable écrit ('les condamnés et les prisons') M. de Brétignères résolut de se dévouer aussi à la régénération des jeunes détenus."<sup>4</sup>

The spirit in which he executed this noble resolution may be gathered from the following anecdote related of him by M. Paul Huot, in his "*Trois Jours à Mettray*:"—

"Nous venions d'entrer sous un hangar, où deux colons, à cheval en face l'un de l'autre, sur un banc, jouaient *sur un damier*. Le directeur passa la main sur la tête d'un des joueurs, et me dit : 'Tenez ! voilà un de nos meilleurs colons ! bon travailleur, bon sujet ; il n'a pas cessé d'être sur le tableau d'honneur depuis son arrivée ici ;' au fond du hangar, il y avait une porte par où nous pouvions sortir ; mais, en causant, nous fîmes, sans nous en apercevoir, le tour de la maison, et nous nous trouvâmes de l'autre côté de cette porte entr'ouverte, à temps pour entendre, involontairement, la conversation suivante.

"Cet homme-là, disait un des enfants, je l'aime comme mon père !

"Quelle chose *de chaud* que ton père, répondit l'autre ; tu oses comparer M. de Courteilles à ton père, celui qui te sauve à celui qui t'a perdu !"<sup>†</sup>

M. de Courteilles well knew that by sympathising with those children in their honest pride in doing right, and in their innocent recreation, he obtained an irresistible influence over their minds and hearts when it was necessary to reprove them for their faults. Of this influence we shall have occasion to indicate results that may appear almost magical to those who do not know "the effect produced on the heart of a poor creature who has gained for the first time a friend commanding respect by his character and social position, and by his benevolence and unwearied zeal awakening feelings long dormant of gratitude and affection."

M. de Courteilles died in 1852, at the age of fifty-five :—

"He was," writes Mr. Hall, "engaged in the work literally to the last moment of his life. He was attending the sick bed of a youth who had to all appearance become thoroughly hardened, when the latter, for the first time since his admission into the colony, exhibited some sign of contrition. The joy which M. de Courteilles experienced on the occasion reminded him of an extract from the sermon of the Abbé Lacordaire, which he had inserted in his work on

\* J'écris l'histoire des colonies agricoles ; à ce titre ce serait manquer à ma mission, et encore plus au devoir de l'amitié, de ne pas payer un juste tribut de regrets à celui qui a le plus contribué au succès de ces institutions.

† Notice sur Mettray, p. 9. Par Augustin Cochin, Docteur en Droit. Paris : Claye et Taillefer, 7. Rue St. Benoît, 1847.

‡ Trois Jours à Mettray, p. 54. Par M. Paul Huot, Avocat. Paris : Imprimerie Claye et Taillefer, 7. Rue St. Benoît.



'Prisons,' p. 184. He went for the volume and was reading the passage to the friends that were around him, when the book dropped from his hand: he was dead."

His loss to M. Demetz, both as an affectionate friend and an unwearied fellow-labourer, it is impossible to estimate; to the colony it was not a less severe bereavement; but even in death this excellent man stimulated to good all around him:—

"On the death of M. de Courteilles, a month's good behaviour without a single punishment was held forth as the means by which a family might obtain an engraved copy of his portrait; which at the end of five months had in this manner been added to the insignia of honour of every family."†

Of the effect of his death on the large staff of officers at Mettray, who so nobly second the efforts of the director, M. Demetz speaks thus:—

"La perte de M. de Courteilles, que le temps semble grandir en ajoutant à l'isolement qu'elle nous cause, nous a forcé d'étendre les attributions des employés placés sous nos ordres, afin de suppléer, autant que possible, à une si puissante et si douce collaboration." . .

"Il est des valeurs d'intelligence et de cœur qui ne se remplacent jamais, je suis cependant heureux de proclamer bien haut que j'ai trouvé chez tous nos agents un redoublement de zèle qu'on ne saurait trop louer; ils se sont efforcés, chacun dans la sphère de ses attributions, de prouver qu'ils étaient dignes de l'affection de celui qu'ils ont perdu, en cherchant à ne pas laisser déchoir l'œuvre fondée par leur bienfaiteur, par leur père."‡

His remains lie in the burial-ground at Mettray: his epitaph is in these words:—"J'ai voulu vivre, mourir, et ressusciter avec eux." They are an extract from his will, and are inscribed also beneath his bust which adorns the large hall of the Institution. He left no children, but his wife survives him. Though rich, accomplished, and still young, she has since his death withdrawn from the world, in which she held a distinguished position, to occupy herself as a Sister of Charity with works of mercy, differing from perhaps in kind, but demanding, if possible, even more self-devotion than that with which her husband's name will ever be associated.

M. Demetz, the surviving founder of Mettray, is about sixty years of age, of middle height, one of those firmly knit men who seem formed for enduring great fatigue. Mr. Wheatley says: "There is little in

\* Mr. Hall's Lecture, p. 7, 1854.

† Ibid. p. 19.

‡ Rapport de M. Demetz, Directeur de la Colonie Agricole de Mettray à la Société Paternelle. Reprinted from the Quarterly Record of the Progress of Reformatory Schools, &c., pp. xi. xii., Irish Quarterly Review. Sept. 1854. Kelly, 8, Grafton Street, Dublin; Simpkin and Marshall, London. The Quarterly Record here referred to forms an interesting and most valuable narrative of the progress of the reformatory movement and subjects akin to it. A translation of the "Rapport sur les Colonies Agricoles," by M. Demetz, will, we are informed, appear in the next Number.

M. Demetz's appearance to indicate the remarkable man he is, except the high forehead and dark eyes, expressive of strong feeling; and in his dress, only the moral of red ribbon, which marks a member of the Legion of Honour." But though there is little in his appearance to betray them, nobody can converse with him for ten minutes without discovering his great genius, benevolent heart, and his profoundly philosophical mind.

M. Demetz possesses two powers, "rare in their separate excellence, wonderful in their combination,"—the theoretic power to conceive a system grand in outline, perfect in minutia; and the executive power to administer its smallest details. His devotion to his undertaking is complete. We were told by his relatives that for ten years he had never done any thing or gone any where but in reference to Mettray. His power of enduring fatigue is enormous. He told us himself that he had once travelled from Naples to Paris—a journey of seventeen days and seventeen nights—without stopping. Another time he was in England, and hearing that the Lakes of Killarney were well worth visiting, determined, though he had only eleven days for his journey, not only to see them, but make the tour of Ireland, and return to Paris within that time. He set out, crossed to Dublin, saw Cork, Killarney, Belfast, returned to Dublin, sailed for England, travelled to Brighton, crossed to Dieppe, and though on arriving there found the diligence full, and was thereby obliged to travel part of the way on horseback, reached Paris by the time prescribed, without having once rested for a night. A near relation of his told us that he accompanied M. Demetz through Brittany; and the plan of their journey was so contrived that they were to see the objects of their tour by day, and to travel over the parts barren of interest by night. "But," said our narrator, "at the ninth night I was obliged to cry 'Halt!' though," he continued, "I was a young man, and had never had a day's illness in my life."

M. Demetz begins to work by four o'clock in the morning, writing for an hour in bed. At five he gets up and begins the active work of the day. This wonderful power of labour is one grand source of his success; the other is his devotedness. The first created what we may term the financial prosperity of Mettray, the second has infused into it the Christian spirit of love, which pervades the whole institution. His family, officers, and *colons* all appear to regard him as a father. One day, last summer, as we were walking with him in the great court, while the boys were playing, he addressed one, asking him if his throat were quite well? The *colon* said it was. "Then," said Demetz, "will you give us the clarinet?" The *colon* smilingly acquiesced, and gave us what might have been taken for an air played on the clarinet. We thanked him, and passed on. Another lad was asked to show us some gymnastic feat. As we were turning away, M. Demetz said to the Chief, "send to the house for a *brûche*\* for these two boys;" observing to us that he always gave the *colons* some trifle when they did anything of that kind at his request.

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\* Milk roll.

Before proceeding to give some account of the visit of M. Demetz to England, we will offer a few remarks on an institution which, next to the normal school and the family principle (explained as in operation at the Ranks Haus),\* we believe he regards as the chief cause of the success of Mettray, and to which indeed, as our readers will recollect, he attributes the origin of that establishment,—we mean the *Société de Patronage*.

The object of this society is to provide a system of guardianship for the youths when they are placed out in the world. Its members (called *patrons*) are honorary, belonging chiefly to the upper classes, and so numerous that they are to be found in all parts of France.

“De toutes parts, dans toutes les localités, même les plus éloignées de Mettray, nous n'éprouvons aucune difficulté pour trouver des patrons à nos enfants: et nous pouvons vous affirmer sans exagération que nous n'avons que l'embarras du choix.”†

When employment has been obtained for a lad, the authorities at Mettray enter into correspondence with a member of the Patronage Society, residing in the neighbourhood to which the young man is going. He immediately accepts him as a ward,—that is to say, he visits him from time to time, at his master's house, or wherever his home may be, inquires particularly as to his conduct, and in any difficulty is ready to aid him with sympathy and advice. The patron, moreover, is expected to furnish to the superintendents of Mettray periodical reports of the behaviour of his ward.

Judging from the result of minute inquiries which we have had the opportunity of making in France, and from information gained from M. Demetz himself, we hold this society to be an institution of such great importance to the success of reformatory treatment, that we venture to quote a rather long passage describing it; but which, as it is from the pen of M. Demetz, we need make no apology for inserting.—

“M. Lucas, inspecteur général des prisons, avait eu la généreuse pensée de provoquer à Paris la fondation d'une société de patronage pour les jeunes détenus, qui fut définitivement constituée en Juin, 1833, sous la présidence d'un homme aussi éminent par son mérite que par sa charité, M. Béranger (de la Drôme).‡

“Cette œuvre produisit un abaissement considérable dans le chiffre des récidives. Parmi les moyens qu'elle employa, nous devons signaler les libertés provisoires.

\* See the Speech of M. Demetz at Bristol, *infra*.

† Rapport de M. Demetz à la Société Paternelle, p. 10.

‡ “Voir le rapport de M. de Lamarque sur les Sociétés de Patronage, dans lequel se trouve résumée de la manière la plus complète l'histoire de ces institutions (*Annales de la Charité*, Juin, 1833).” We urge upon the attention of our readers the Report of M. de Lamarque, which has been reprinted in the Quarterly Record of the September Number, 1855; of the Irish Quarterly Review. Heartily should we rejoice if the study of what the Societies de Patronage in France and other countries have effected abroad, should induce the formation of a similar institution in England.

« Le placement des jeunes détenus libérés n'était pas sans difficultés : outre que ces derniers avaient rarement acquis dans leur métier une habileté qui leur permit de se placer comme ouvriers, ils inspiraient aux chefs d'ateliers que connaissaient leurs antécédents, une certaine défiance, à quelques égards légitime ; car ceux-ci ne se sentaient pas suffisamment armés pour combattre, chez ces jeunes auxiliaires devenus libres et dont la transformation pouvait laisser des doutes, les penchants vicieux ou la mauvaise volonté qui pouvaient se reproduire.

« La Société de Patronage obtint de M. le Ministre de l'Intérieur que les jeunes détenus qui, pendant leur séjour au pénitencier de la Roquette, auraient donné des preuves d'amendement, fussent mis en état de liberté provisoire ; mais à cette condition qu'au premier méfait grave, il fût permis de les réintégrer, d'après l'ordre du ministère public, sans aucune formalité judiciaire et sur la simple demande de la Société de Patronage.

« Cette mesure produisit les plus heureux effets. Grâce à elle, les placements devinrent plus faciles, les maîtres furent moins craintifs, les apprentis plus soumis. Elle permit aussi de réprimer certaines actions coupables qui échappent malheureusement à l'action des magistrats et à la vindicte publique. Ainsi, chez nous, l'ivresse n'est pas une excuse, lorsqu'elle a porté à commettre un acte déclaré coupable par la loi ; mais isolément, elle n'est point considérée comme un délit. Il est encore un grand nombre de faits qui outragent la morale et que ne peut atteindre cependant aucune poursuite judiciaire.

« Qui ne comprend, d'après ce simple exposé, la salutaire influence que pourrait exercer sur les condamnés adultes le système de libération provisoire, au lieu de ces grâces définitives dont abusent trop souvent ceux qui sont appelés à en profiter.

« Voici ce que nous nous permettons de dire à cet égard, dans un ouvrage publié par nous en 1838 sur le système pénitentiaire :

« L'œuvre de la réforme ne sera complète que le jour où on aura assuré aux libérés les moyens d'utiliser leur bonne volonté et offert aux personnes qui voudraient bien consentir à les employer, des garanties suffisantes.

« Le nombre des individus graciés et tombés en récidive est considérable, mais il serait difficile qu'il en fût autrement. Dans l'état actuel de notre législation, la transition de la prison à la liberté est trop brusque, et si l'on veut que le libéré persévère dans les bonnes résolutions qu'il a pu former, il faut qu'il fasse l'état de sa liberté dans des conditions de dépendance.

« Les libérations provisoires, substituées en certains cas aux grâces définitives, peuvent seules donner l'espoir de résoudre un problème qui a paru jusqu'ici insoluble. C'est vraiment le seul moyen d'arriver à une transaction entre les défiances malheureusement trop légitimes de la société et la nécessité de procurer du travail à des hommes chez qui la misère et le besoin peuvent détruire tous les effets du meilleur système pénitentiaire, et qui, malgré une amélioration laborieusement acquise, seraient infailliblement rejetés dans le crime par la répulsion de la société, s'ils ne trouvaient les moyens de subvenir à leur existence.

«Dès l'Angleterre a adopté cette mesure ; mais nous avons des raisons de craindre que jusqu'à présent l'application n'en ait pas été faite avec toutes les précautions désirables.

«Nous avons connaissance d'un semblable projet élaboré avec le plus grand soin, qui doit être soumis à l'approbation de la législature, en Belgique, et dont il est permis d'attendre les plus heureux résultats.»

From such an authority as M. Demetz, an opinion so favourable as that just quoted, founded on long experience, of a practice altogether to the ticket-of-leave system—as that system was devised, though not, certainly, as it is administered,—deserves our most careful consideration.†

M. Demetz promised to come to England whenever his presence here would be of use to the cause to which he has devoted his life ; and the public dinner which took place at Birmingham on the 3rd of last month, under the Presidency of Sir J. E. Wilmot, was considered an occasion important enough to warrant a solicitation that he would honour the meeting with his presence. An invitation was accordingly sent to him, accompanied by one from Lord Leigh, requesting him to spend a few days at Stoneleigh Abbey. M. Demetz at once, and most cordially, accepted both invitations. He reached Stoneleigh only on the day of the dinner, not having been able to leave Mettray until Monday October 1. On his arrival at the Kenilworth station, he was met by a troop of yeomanry, under the command of Lord Leigh, and by them escorted to Stoneleigh, whence he went with his Lordship to the dinner. After the usual toasts had been drunk, including the health of the Emperor of the French, Lord Lytton proposed that of M. Demetz, in the following speech :—

«He observed that he was called upon to propose the first toast which had direct reference to the subject of the meeting. They were bound to bring forward this toast, not only in celebration of the rites of hospitality, but upon the principle that the first place should be awarded the most worthy. He had then to submit : Our guest, M. Demetz, and success to Mettray and the French Reformatory. The name of Demetz was held in such veneration by all those who took an interest in this subject, that it would be unbecoming in him to attempt, in that place, to pass any eulogium upon him. According to the best information obtained respecting the Mettray Institution, it appears that ninety per cent of the inmates who passed through it, became reformed characters. Such an abundant success would afford to M. Demetz and his condutors a retrospective pleasure beyond all price. He hoped they in England would soon be able to learn somewhat more of the general effect of these institutions on the state of society in France and other Continental countries. He believed statistics already proved a diminution of crime in consequence of their influence. The foreign institutions of this class were our models ; and undoubtedly, at the present moment, we had not arrived at any near approach to their efficiency.»

\* Rapport sur les Colonies Agricoles, pp. 13—17.

† See ante, Charge of Mr. Recorder Hill, and Report of Rev. J. Field.—Ed. I. Q. R.

M. Demetz read a reply in French, of which a translation appeared in *The Times*, and other newspapers. We have been favoured with the original:—

“Je ne sais quels termes employer, Messieurs, pour vous remercier, et notamment Lord Lyttelton, de l'intérêt que vous voulez bien porter à la Colonie de Mettray, et de l'extrême bienveillance que vous avez montrée à son Directeur; de tels encouragements rendent le dévouement facile, aussi comptez sur le mien.

“Je me suis empressé de me rendre à l'invitation dont vous avez bien voulu m'honorer, dans le but de venir puiser auprès de vous d'utiles renseignements et de vous faire part de ce qu'une vie toute de pratique, a pu me révéler, ainsi nos deux pays profiteront de nos communes efforts.

“Le libre échange qui au point de vue des intérêts commerciaux semble faire encore hésiter certaines esprits sur l'adoption de la système, ne saurait trouver que des approbations lorsqu'il s'agit de l'échange d'idées qui peuvent contribuer à servir la sainte cause de l'humanité. Dans le beau domaine de la bienfaisance nous ne faisons qu'un seul peuple, sans douane, sans frontière.

Déjà unis par la politique, soyons le, Messieurs, par les liens plus indissolubles encore de la charité,—et quelle application plus douce pourrait on faire de cette vertu que lorsqu'il s'agit de venir en aide à l'enfance, n'importe à quelle catégorie elle appartient, si elle a manifesté des facheuses tendances raison de plus pour lui venir en aide. Désespérer de l'enfance, c'est désespérer du genre humain! Ne des espérons de personne. Si dans maintes circonstances on n'a pas réussi, c'est qu'on n'a peut-être pas fait tout ce qu'il fallait pour obtenir d'avantage. Prouvons aux sceptiques par notre zèle que lorsqu'il s'agit de l'amélioration de l'homme vouloir c'est pouvoir, pourvu qu'on veuille avec un cœur profondément dévoué. Qu'on ne recule devant aucune sacrifice, surtout lorsqu'il s'agit de l'éducation de l'enfance, il ne saurait en être fait de plus profitable. La moindre obole sert à déraciner un vice, à faire germer une vertu: ‘de la bon éducation de l'enfant,’ a dit un publiciste, ‘dépend la prospérité des états.’

“Succès à l'Institution Reformatoire de Birmingham et à son plus grand développement. Puisse la Providence prescrire des long jours aux hommes de cœur et de dévouement qui veulent bien lui prêter leur puissant appui et leur généreux concours.”

This dinner, successful in one object, that of increasing the funds of the Birmingham and Warwickshire Reformatory, has excited throughout the country, from the presence of M. Demetz, more interest than could otherwise have been hoped for. From a leading article in the “*Times*” of October 8th we extract the following passage:—

“It was a pleasing feature in the Birmingham meeting the other day, that the Dissenting clergy were found acting in harmony with their brethren of the Established Church in the promotion of this useful design. It is but right to add, in conclusion, that the meeting was honoured by the presence of M. Demetz, the director of Mettray, who has attained so high a degree of success with his ‘reformatory’ in France, and has inscribed his name in so high a place in the Court Calendar of Charity and Virtue.”

The "Spectator" says:—

"The meeting at Birmingham breaks away from the common ground of politics, bringing together influential men of all parties to honour Demetz, the founder of Mettray, and the great practical leader of the day in Juvenile Reform. It would be a mistake to suppose that the effect of this meeting will expire with the after-dinner speeches: a great party is forming, with some of the best men in or out of Parliament at its head, pledged, and able, to carry out the reformatory discipline of young offenders. When they have substituted schools in place of prisons for the young, they will have cut off the largest source of crime; and when they have arranged that incorrigible adults shall be *permanently* detained, they will have removed the chief part of the remainder; leaving society to struggle only against the common aberrations of man's nature."

The "Morning Post," the "Morning Advertiser," "Leader," "Globe," and other journals, mention the meeting and the presence of M. Demetz in equally gratifying terms.

M. Demetz spent the following day (Thursday) at Stoneleigh Abbey, and on Friday returned to Birmingham, where he visited, accompanied by Miss Carpenter, Mr. Adderley, and the Hon. and Rev. G. M. Yorke, the Free Industrial School, founded by the latter gentleman, and the Reformatory School at Saltley, where he was received by Lord Calthorpe, the president. In the afternoon he left Birmingham for Bristol, on a visit to Mr. M. D. Hill, Recorder of Birmingham. The next morning (Saturday) M. Demetz paid a visit to Mr. Proctor's model farm at Wall's Court. Under his guidance he examined the whole establishment, and was very much interested with all he saw, showing himself thoroughly conversant with the whole subject of agricultural economy. On the same day M. Demetz received a party of ladies and gentlemen interested in the Reformatory cause, whom Mr. Hill had invited to meet him at the Guildhall, Bristol. He addressed the meeting in French. The substance of his speech was given, as follows, in the "Times" of Oct. 8th:—

"My attention was drawn to the subject of reforming young offenders by the numbers of children brought before me in the performance of my duty as Judge at Paris. Many of these were no higher than my desk, and, as there were at that time no establishments for the reformation of juveniles only, I was obliged to consign all to prisons, where they were associated with grown-up criminals, some of them the most hardened of their class, where, moreover, the treatment for children was the same as for adults, and which, consequently, I knew to be utterly unfit for them. M. de Courteilles and myself commenced the institution of Mettray in July, 1839, by assembling twenty-three youths of respectable parentage, whom for six months we occupied ourselves in training for teachers. We thus began the *Ecole Préparatoire*, or school for officials, which I believe to be the most important feature of the Institution, so important, indeed, that if that were to be given up Mettray itself must cease to exist. In January, 1840, we admitted twelve young criminals, and very gradually increased the number. Mettray has first for its basis

religion, without which it is impossible for such an institution to succeed; secondly, the family principle for a bond; and thirdly, military discipline for a means of inculcating order. The military discipline adopted at Mettray is this—the lads wear a uniform, and they march to and from their work, their lessons, and their meals with the precision of soldiers, and to the sound of a trumpet and drum. But, as the sound of the trumpet and the drum lead men on to perform acts of heroism, and to surmount the greatest difficulties, may it not reasonably be employed with the same object at a reformatory school, where, in resisting temptation and conquering vicious habits, true heroism is displayed, and a marvellous power of overcoming difficulties must be called forth? A striking proof of the hold the system had obtained over the minds of the boys was given at the time of the revolution of 1848. France was then, from one end of the country to the other, in a state of anarchy, and all the Government schools were in rebellion. At Mettray, without walls, without coercion, there was not a sign of insubordination; not a single child attempted to run away. It was in allusion to the absence of walls M. le Baron de la Crosse, Secrétaire du Sénat, observed, ‘Here is a wonderful prison, where there is no key, but the *chefs des champs*! If your children remain captive, it is proved you have discovered the key of their hearts.’ During the revolution, a band of workmen came to Mettray with flags flying and trumpets, sounding, and, meeting the youths returning tired from field labour, their pick-axes on their shoulders, thus addressed them:—‘My boys, do not be such fools as to work any longer. Bread is plentiful; it is ready for you without labour.’ The *chef* who was conducting the lads, and who behaved with the greatest calmness and tact, immediately cried, ‘Halt! form in line.’ The lads, being accustomed to march like soldiers, immediately formed. The *chef* then stepped forward and said to the men, ‘My friends, you have learned to labour; you have a right to rest; but leave these lads; let them learn now, and when their turn comes they may rest as you do.’ The men gave way, the youths marched home, and Mettray was saved—saved, as I believe, by our habit of military discipline. Had those lads been walking homewards without rule, like a flock of sheep, the men would have got among them, carried away one or two, and the rest would have followed; but, drawn up in line, they met the attack in one body, and thus it was repelled. M. Demetz proceeded to give other interesting details of the system pursued at Mettray, and concluded his address amid general applause.

“Mr. Commissioner Hill, addressing M. Demetz in his own language, thanked him on the part of the audience for the valuable information he had afforded, and for having given to the world the noble model of a reformatory institution which existed at Mettray.

“Mr. Miles, M.P., and some of the other gentlemen also tendered their personal acknowledgments to M. Demetz, and the meeting separated.”

His remarks on this occasion were reported and commented upon in several of the London and provincial newspapers.

The “Times” has the following:—



"On Saturday afternoon this gentleman addressed a numerous audience at Bristol upon the subject of his school at Mettray. We publish to-day the words of this address, and would call particular attention to the earnestness with which M. Demetz insists upon the importance of his school for officials, or normal school, as the key upon which his whole system rests."

The "Daily News,"—

"Surely, then, we should help those who cannot help themselves. 'Heaven tempers the wind to the shorn lamb;' and surely it is our duty to assist the unhappy babes who must otherwise perish miserably in sin, of which they do not know the enormity. The only ground for punishing criminals is, that society is bound to protect itself. Let us try to save while we punish."

"The next question is, can this be done? If any one wishes for an answer, we refer him to a speech delivered on Saturday at Bristol by M. Demetz."

M. Demetz afterwards visited the Ragged School, in the foundation of which Miss Carpenter had so large a share. The Committee of Management received him in the schoolroom, which had been gaily decorated for the occasion.

M. Demetz concluded his stay in our country by paying a visit to Red Hill, an account of which we extract from the "Times" of October 13th.

"M. Demetz has aptly closed his visit to English institutions for reforming offenders by an inspection of the Philanthropic Society's Farm School at Red Hill. He was received by the Rev. Sydney Turner, the governor, Mr. William Gladstone, the treasurer, several members of the committee and managers, and a large party of influential ladies and gentlemen interested in the reformatory cause. After an inspection of the establishment, which now comprises nearly 200 boys, engaged in various industrial callings, the principal of which is farm labour, but includes, also, brushmaking, carpenters' shop and smithy, dairy, stable, &c., besides about twenty tailors and a dozen shoemakers, who themselves make all the clothes required for the school, the party attended the evening service in the chapel, after which the interesting event of the day took place in the large schoolroom, which had been adorned with flowers and mottoes in French and English expressive of welcome to the good and distinguished guest. The boys having taken their places round their room, a party of eleven, who have passed through their period of probation in the school, and will in a few days emigrate to the colonies, advanced and read a simple address of welcome and thanks, to which M. Demetz listened and replied with great earnestness and emotion. 'Some of us,' said the boys, 'have brothers in the army of England, who are now with the sons of France fighting the battle of freedom for the world. Will you say to our comrades at Mettray that we hope both they and we will always be found side by side fighting against the world's greatest enemies—fraud, and falsehood, and wrong.' These were not mere words of course; the boys at Red Hill subscribed to the 'Widows and Orphans' Fund,' on the occasion of the recent thanksgiving for the successes before Sebastopol, very

nearly 5*l.* out of their own personal savings. They did the same on a similar occasion last year. M. Demetz expressed himself highly gratified with his visit. He left a subscription for the society, constituting himself a governor; he solicited release for any boys under punishment, but happily there were none, and in lieu he asked that they might have a holiday at an early day, and gave them eighty francs for a treat on the occasion."

The respect and admiration with which M. Demetz has been everywhere received in England, evince the high estimate we entertain of his talents and his virtues. People of all parties, all sects, meet to do him honour; showing that from however many different points, political or religious, we view him, however far asunder we are from each other, we can unite to honour the man who has been, and is, our beacon light in the voyage on which we are now, we trust, fairly embarked. Many will agree with us in thinking M. Demetz one of the greatest glories of which France can boast, and that we English, proud of our nation, our government, our laws, our institutions, and apt to think them far superior to those of any other country,—that we can pay him so universal an homage proves that we entertain towards his country a real *entente cordiale*, more solid, more binding than even our happy political alliance can make it. England acknowledges that she is surpassed by France! France has thus achieved a conquest of infinitely greater advantage to herself than that effected by her Norman princes,—a conquest which, instead of making us her enemy, will only cement us more firmly to herself. And England in this avowal, and in the benefits she will derive from adopting so much that is great and good in France, has gained for herself a victory to which those of Crecy, Poitiers, and Agincourt were but barren triumphs.

We may therefore hope that this great and good man has returned to his own country with pleasant memories of his English visit;—that he will feel that we are able to appreciate those labours which he has carried to so successful an issue. The knowledge that we do appreciate him, and are striving to follow in his footsteps, must be one of his most signal rewards. His path has been difficult, and his obstacles numerous, but he has experienced such proofs of his success that he must feel repaid for all his labours and sacrifices. In such incidents as the following he finds his true recompence. A *colon* of Mettray, who has like so many of his companions become a soldier, was decorated on the field of battle for some act of bravery with the Cross of the Legion of Honour. This gift when conferred upon a person in humble life is accompanied by an annual pension of 200 francs. The soldier on receiving his decoration immediately sent 100 francs to Mettray.

M. Demetz being present on some occasion when a troop of soldiers were drawn up in line, one of them stepped from the ranks and flung his arms round his neck. The man had been a *colon* at Mettray, and, unmindful of spectators, thus gave way to the impulse of gratitude and affection.

We think the fact we are about to relate is even more striking; it bears noble testimony to the exalted spirit which animates the Institution:—

"The other day there was too much reason to believe that certain pecuniary support would be withdrawn in consequence of the necessities of the war, to such an extent that the establishment must be wound up, and the further prosecution of it abandoned; whereupon the different *employés*, a body of young men from twenty-one to thirty-five years of age, not helpless creatures without resource, to whom half a loaf would be better than no bread, but men of tried ability and vigour, who could at any time command more remunerative employment elsewhere;—I say these young men waited on M. Demetz in a body, and offered to continue their services at half their salaries."

But this was not all. The *colons*, too, offered to add to their already long hours of labour, that their extra-earnings might help to meet the difficulty. "They would do any thing," said both masters and wards, "rather than that Mettray should fail." God grant it never may!

One may imagine the feelings of M. Demetz on receiving the following letter, which we extract from his last year's report:—

"Lima, le 8 Octobre, 1853.

"*Lettre du colon M——à M. Demetz.*

"*CHER BIENFAITEUR,*

"C'est grâce à vos bontés que je suis heureux ici et que je peux, par mon travail, faire le bonheur de ma famille. C'est vous que m'avez donné une partie des talents que je possède, et le plus grand de tous est le désir que j'ai de vous faire plaisir en vous montrant que vous n'avez pas semé dans une mauvaise terre. Grâce à Dieu et à vous, je suis devenu homme et ouvrier capable de gagner sa vie. C'est donc du fond de l'Amérique que je viens me rappeler à votre bon souvenir, et vous prier, Monsieur, d'avoir la bonté de m'admettre au nombre des fondateurs de Mettray et de me faire passer par un navire l'anneau que chaque fondateur doit porter. La mère de ma femme pourra remettre, en mon nom, à M. Marion la somme de 100 fr. nécessaire pour ce que je désire si ardemment.

"Vous connaissez sans doute à Paris M. Montanet, armateur à

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\* Mr. Hall's Lecture, 1855, reprinted from the Quarterly Record, &c., Irish Quarterly Review, p. xxliii, June, 1855. This second Lecture by Mr. Hall should be studied, not only for additional information regarding Mettray, but for his account of several other continental reformatory schools. At a branch establishment of one of these, Kuyssede, in Belgium, worthy in many respects of comparison with Mettray, upon which model it was formed, female children are received; and we take this opportunity of expressing our firm conviction that there is nothing in the system which, *mutatis mutandis*, is not applicable to girls. The officers must of course be female, and some of the occupations must be different; but we speak on the authority of M. Demetz when we say, that open air labour (in the kitchen-garden, farm-yard, &c.) is as necessary to develop the physical and mental powers of girls as of boys. Sewing does not employ the body and mind sufficiently to be made their staple employment; but house, dairy, and laundry work is good in itself, and most valuable in qualifying them as domestic servants, for whom, when well trained, there will always be a greater demand than supply.

Bordeaux. C'est, grâce à vos bontés et aux siennes, que j'ai pu venir dans ce pays tenter, sinon la fortune, du moins un avenir moins malheureux : je pense, Monsieur, que, recommandé par vous, il ne refuserait pas de charger le capitaine de l'un de ses navires, que viennent à toutes les époques de l'année dans ces mers, du dépôt que vous lui confieriez et qui me rendrait bien heureux, ainsi que ma femme, qui désire aussi vivement que moi que je sois membre, fondateur de l'établissement où j'ai reçus des conseils si sages. Je vous prie, Monsieur, d'écouter ma demande ; j'espère, avec l'aide de Dieu et du courage, pouvoir dans quelques années revoir avec ma famille, mon pays et les lieux où se sont écoulées les plus belles années de ma vie.

"Je vous prie de faire mille compliments de ma part à M. Blanchard et à tous les dignes chefs de la Colonie ; ma femme se joint à moi pour vous souhaiter mille prospérités et vous dire le regret que nous avons éprouvé de la perte que Mettray avait faite en perdant M. de Courteilles, un des hommes si dignes de conduire ces jeunes colons dans le chemin de la vertu. Mais nous devons penser que Dieu a rappelé à lui l'homme de bien pour le récompenser des peines qu'il avait prises de cette jeunesse ramenée à la vertu par ses conseils et ceux de son digne frère en vertu, en patience et en bonté. Je serai heureux de pouvoir déposer sur son tombeau le tribut du regret qu'il mérite, et dire à mon fils que sans lui je ne serai peut être jamais devenu père de famille.

"Adieu, cher Monsieur Demetz, j'ai l'honneur de vous saluer, et ma femme se joint à moi pour prier Dieu de vous conserver longtemps pour continuer l'œuvre que vous avez si bien commencée.

"Votre tout dévoué ancien colon,

"Signé : M. — JOSEPH."

"The *ancien colon*," Joseph, by this donation has gained for his name a place among the *Fondateurs de la Colonie*.†

Perhaps the greatest proof of the success of Mettray is the fact that the *colons* are proud of having been there. They are never abandoned, and may return if out of employment, or in sickness, sure of a hospitable reception provided only they are behaving well.

MM. Demetz and de Courteilles wished that the youths should consider Mettray in the light of a parent, and, in order to bind her children more firmly to herself, established, in 1843, an association, of which they themselves were the presidents. It is called the *Association des Fondateurs, Chefs et Sous-Chefs de la Colonie de Mettray*, and is composed of the directeurs as *presidents*, officers as *dignitaires*, and colons as *titulaires*. Any *colon* is eligible for admission who is twenty years of age, and whose conduct has been irreproachable for two years after leaving the colony. They are then presented with a *diplôme*, which is printed on parchment, bearing the signatures of the president, secretary, and owner. At the same time they receive the symbolic ring of the association, with this device, among others, "*Loyauté passe tout* :—

\* Rapport à la Société Paternelle. p. v.

† The names of donors of 100 francs and upwards are engraved in letters of gold on the walls of the chapel.

'This is the ring which the writer of the foregoing letter is desirous to obtain.' The *titulaires* are so proud of their *diplômes* that they hang them up in the most conspicuous place in their dwellings. The members of the association are assisted, should they need help in cases of sickness, from funds produced by annual subscriptions among themselves. The president wears a gold ring, the *dignitaires* one of gold and silver mixed, and the *titulaires* one of silver. Thus are the founders, officers, and pupils linked together; and we can easily believe, especially in a country where marks of honour are so highly prized, that the desire never to be found unworthy of wearing the ring of the association, dismissal from which is the penalty for misconduct, must prove a very powerful incentive to a well-conducted life.

The question has been raised whether certain features in the Mettray system, though perfectly adapted to the French character, would not be unsuited to our own. This subject has been admirably treated by Mr. Hall in his first lecture, to which we refer our readers. But whether there be or not modifications which might advantageously be introduced into Reformatory Schools in England, there can, we trust, be no difference of opinion, after a careful study of the subject, on the great principles laid down by M. Demetz. We can assure those who may wish personally to examine the Institution of the kindest and most zealous assistance from the director and his coadjutors. He has even said he is willing to receive at Mettray an English youth who may be in course of education for a reformatory school teacher, and give him the same training which his own officers go through.

The zeal and devotion which have made Mettray so successful are not wanting in our own country; and much is doing to rescue from misery our juvenile criminals. We admit that experience, the result of many trials, might develop here a system not inferior to that of Mettray; but when we reflect that it is sentient flesh and blood on which we practise, that our failures are lost souls, let us be content to forego the honour of originating, and accept the noble model we have before us.

Then, with Mettray as an example, and students willing to learn, we may hope in time to achieve in England success as great as that which has been so signally attained in France.

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Since the foregoing Article went to press, we have been favoured with the Twenty-fifth Report of the "British Ladies' Society for promoting the Reformation of Female Prisoners;"\* from which we learn that a branch of that Society, called a Sub-Committee of Patronage, has been in operation for many years. Its duties are similar to those of the *Sociétés de Patronage* abroad; and the good results it has achieved within a comparatively narrow sphere of action, should encourage a similar enterprise on a more extended scale.

We beg the particular attention of our readers to the following circular:—

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\* Cash, Bishopsgate street.

## REFORMATORY UNION.

The widely increasing interest in Reformatory Institutions, and the number of practical questions which are daily arising in respect of their management, appear to suggest the propriety of establishing some convenient mode of communication between those who are engaged either in the conduct of individual Schools, or in the promotion of the Reformatory cause in any other manner.

A large amount of experience is now daily being collected in different parts of the country, which would be of great value to the managers of Reformatory Schools if they had convenient access to it. Difficulties which are felt in one Establishment as to the construction of the law, the mode of proceeding in embarrassing cases, the best way of providing for those who are leaving the School, or the means of obtaining suitable teachers and superintendents, may have been solved in others; and much time and anxiety might be saved by the interchange of information with regard to them.

Means ought also to be provided for the collection of such statistical information, as to the supply of School accommodation, and the amount of the demand for admission, as may guide those who contemplate the establishment of new Schools to a right judgment as to the scale upon which they should place them.

Besides these considerations, it is felt that there are imperfections in the present state of the Law, which will render further legislative action necessary; and it is highly desirable that those who are interested in the practical working of the system, should possess an organization which will enable them to discuss among themselves such amendments in the law as may be proposed, either on the part of the Government, or on that of the Managers of Schools, and to support those which they desire to introduce with the weight of an Associated Body.

These considerations have led to the formation of the Association described in the accompanying Resolutions; which it is hoped will receive the support of all those who desire the furtherance of the Reformatory cause.

It will be understood that this Association aims only at bringing together individuals, and does not imply the introduction of any general system for the management of Schools. Those who are concerned in the direction of Schools, will naturally desire to know as much as possible of the proceedings and experience of others engaged in the same work in other places, and may be expected frequently to profit by the knowledge of what is done even in Schools conducted on principles materially different from their own. This information the Association hopes to supply; but it is not to be expected, or desired, that it should in the slightest degree interfere with the free action of the Managers in each case. Its Central Office in London will be made as far as possible a depository of information for the benefit of all, and it is in contemplation to provide for the periodical diffusion of such information, either by the establishment of a Special Journal, or through the columns of some of the existing publications. Monthly Committee meetings will be held in London during the greater portion of the year for the

conduct of the business of the Association, and one Annual meeting of the Association will be held also in London, in the month of May or June. It is also proposed, with a view to the more general diffusion of information, and for the purpose of exciting an interest in the cause in various neighbourhoods, to follow the example of several other Societies (such as the Royal Agricultural, the Archaeological, and the British Association); and to hold a country meeting, lasting one or more days, in the course of every autumn. The places selected for such country meetings will naturally be those near which Schools or other Institutions of a Reformatory character have been established, and where an interest is felt in the movement. Such institutions may be visited by the members attending the meeting; papers may be read, and discussions encouraged, which will probably lead to many valuable as well as interesting suggestions. It is probable that such meetings may attract some of the leading foreigners who have distinguished themselves by their labours in the field of Reformation; and they will at all events bring together men from all parts of this country, who will be glad to make each other's acquaintance on a footing of greater familiarity than is possible at a mere annual meeting in a public room in London.

AT A PRELIMINARY MEETING of *Friends and Promoters of the Reformation of Youthful Offenders*, held at HARDWICKE COURT, GLOUCESTER, on Tuesday, October 30th, 1855—present,

\* T. BARWICK BAKER, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.

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| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• RT. HON. SIR J. PAKINGTON, BART.<br/>M.P. Westwood Park.</li> <li>1. SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE, BART.<br/>M.P. Pyrie, Exeter.</li> <li>SIR THOMAS WINNINGTON, BART.<br/>M.P. Stanford Court, Worcester.</li> <li>SIR HARRY VERNEX, BART. Clayton,<br/>Bucks.</li> <li>• G. H. BENGOUGH, Esq. The Ridge,<br/>Wotton-under-Edge.</li> <li>T. B. MONCK, Esq. Coley Park, Reading.</li> <li>2. REV. H. J. BARTON, Wicken Rectory,<br/>Stony Stratford.</li> <li>J. G. BLENCOWE, Esq. The Hookes,<br/>Lewes.</li> <li>REV. PREBENDARY FANE. Warminster.</li> <li>• REV. S. TURNER, Philanthropic Farm<br/>School, Relgate.</li> <li>TOWNSHEND MAINWARING, Esq.<br/>Goldbourne, Denbigh.</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• MISS CARPENTER, George st., Bristol.</li> <li>3. G. W. LATHAM, Esq. Bradwall Hall,<br/>Sandbach.</li> <li>G. A. LOWNDES, Esq. Barrington Hall,<br/>Harlow.</li> <li>T. G. CURTLER, Esq. Bevere, near War-<br/>cester.</li> <li>J. FISH, Esq. Malton, near York.</li> <li>C. H. BRACEBRIDGE, Esq. Atherstone<br/>Hall, Atherstone.</li> <li>4. E. B. WHEATLEY, Esq. Cods Wall,<br/>Mirfield.</li> <li>5. C. CASTLEMAN, Esq. St. Ives, Ring-<br/>wood.</li> <li>CHARLES RATCLIFF, Esq. Edgbaston,<br/>Birmingham.</li> <li>J. C. MANSEL, Esq. Spetsbury, Bland-<br/>ford.</li> <li>REV. H. HATCH.*</li> </ul> |
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RESOLVED,—1st, That it is expedient that an Association of the friends of Reformatory Agency be now formed, to be

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\* 1. See IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, No. 17, RECORD, p. xxii. 2. *Id.* No. 19, xxxvi. 3. *Id.* No. 19, li. 4. *Id.* lii, lv. 5. *Id.* lvii, also RECORD of No. 18, and Mr. Recorder Hall's Lecture at end of same. The names thus \* marked are so frequently, and justly, and necessarily referred to in the REVIEW and in the RECORD that particular references would only encumber this note.—ED.

designated, "THE REFORMATORY UNION," of which the following shall be the principal objects:—

- To collect and diffuse information bearing on the Reformation of Criminals.
  - To promote the formation of Reformatory Institutions where needed, and generally to advance the further practical development of the Reformatory Movement.
  - To consider and promote such legislative measures as are still required for the better care and reformation of youthful offenders.
  - To assist in the placing out and subsequent guardianship and protection of young persons leaving Reformatory Institutions.
  - To consider and promote means for the Employment and Restoration to Society of discharged prisoners.
  - To promote the practical training and preparation of efficient Masters and Teachers for Reformatory Institutions.
- 2.—That those here present be constituted a Provisional Committee to forward the objects of the Association—and to promote and obtain Subscriptions—with power to add to their number.
  - 3.—That an annual Subscription of not less than 10s. 6d., or a Donation of not less than £5. 5s. constitute a Membership.
  - 4.—That G. H. Bengough, Esq. be elected Honorary Secretary and Treasurer, with power to employ such assistance as he may find necessary; and that he be requested to summon a meeting of the Committee as soon as the course of the Society's proceedings shall be sufficiently organised—not later than January next.
  - 5.—That the offer of the use of the Office of the Philanthropic Society, in Crown Court, Threadneedle street, for the purposes of the Association until Christmas next, be accepted with thanks.
  - 6.—That all communications be addressed to the Secretary, at Gloucester.
  - 7.—That a General Meeting of the Members of the Association be held in London, in May next.

(Signed) T. B. LI. BAKER,  
CHAIRMAN.

We recommend this Union to all who feel interested in the Reformatory Movement. It is worthy support not alone as an effort to secure the general adoption of the Reformatory principle, but it likewise contemplates the formation of Patronage and Employment Societies; and it furnishes what has long been needed, of the want of which we have ourselves long felt the disadvantage, some fixed point of gathering for the friends of the movement, where information could be at all seasons obtained. Besides, when the stated meetings shall be held, the advocates of Reformatories will know each other



personally, and from this knowledge must spring advantage and service to the public. When we recollect too, that the names here given, of those who attended the meeting, are the names of the chiefest and most active amongst the leaders of the Reformatory Movement, and distinguished by zeal, ability, position, and in many cases wealthy, we may well say, in the words of Leibnitz, "*Les tems present est gros de l'avenir.*"

In our last Record we drew attention to the admirable institution established in London by Mr. Bowyer, and we now insert the following information, obtained during the present quarter.

*St. Pancras and Marylebone Reformatory for Young Men,  
19, New Road, Near Gower Street, North.*

The following are the results:—The Institution was commenced in the middle of the year 1852, with Six inmates. 51 have left the Institution:—5 emigrated; 19 established in trade; 14 in the army and navy; 4 provided for by friends; 7 quitted prematurely unable to endure the discipline; 1 dismissed for misconduct; 1 has died—51. We understand, also, that a Fancy Fair under the patronage of the Marchioness of Westminster, the Marchioness of Bute, the Countess of Shaftesbury, the Countess of Derby, Lady Robert Grosvenor, and Lady Radstock, will be held early in the ensuing year, to defray the expenses of the New Building, towards which, contributions of *Work, Pictures, Drawings, Wax Flowers, &c.* are solicited, and will be received by the following Ladies:—Mrs. Boyle, 4, Somers place, Hyde Park; Mrs. Bowyer, 43, Ampthill Square; Mrs. Curteis, 2, Gordon Place, Gordon Square; Miss Dale, The Vicarage, 31, Gordon Square; Mrs. L. Dale, 7, Crescent Place, Burton Crescent; the Misses Griffith, 10, Gower Street; Mrs. Norman, 14, Argyle Square

We wish every success to this Fancy Fair: we understand that £400 are required to defray the expense incurred in erecting some new and necessary additions to the old building:

In a former paper,\* when commenting on the able *Report* of the Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland, and referring to their excellent suggestions regarding the necessity for a stringent Lodging House Act for Ireland, we inserted an account of a Laborer's Club, established at the village of Charlton

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\* See IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, Vol V, No. 18, p. 438. note.

Marshall, near Blandford, in Dorsetshire, by Thomas Horlock Bastard, Esq. We have now very great pleasure in inserting the following Address from that gentleman, delivered at the opening of the Club: we consider that it is fully within the scope of this Record, as whatever tends to raise the condition of the working classes, and to give them a distaste for the beer-shop, and for merely sensual enjoyment, directly conduces to the salvation of the youth from delinquency, of the adult from crime:—

*An Address delivered at the Inauguration\* of the Charlton Club for Labourers, by T. Horlock Bastard. [Extracted from the Poole and South Western Herald of Thursday October 4, 1854.]*

Fellow Members and Friends,—In the following address I propose to give an account of the origin of the Charlton Club, the opening of which this meeting is intended to mark, and to make a brief report of its proceedings up to the present time. I regret that this will oblige me to speak a good deal of acts of my own, with the reasons and principles that have guided me, and thus impose an egotistical tone on my remarks, but I will at least endeavour to avoid the use of the little objectionable word “I” as much as possible. As some warrant for my having taken the position I have, allow me first to mention, that so far back as the year 1832, I joined a little party in London, who were occupying themselves with the condition of the labouring classes, and taking measures for improving it. The result was the establishment of the Labourers’ Friend Society, the main-guiding principle of which was, “that every man should be provided with the means of helping himself,” a principle of conferring benefits, which, reflection on it ever since, has led me to hold by more and more. I also about the same period took part in two other societies, having social improvements for their objects, and subsequently, during residences of some length, in Germany and Scotland, had my attention kept in the same direction in those countries. I take the liberty of prefacing my address with the mention of these facts to show that social questions are not new ones in my mind. For more than 20 years I have, both in my own, and in foreign countries, participated in the advantages of Club-houses, the well established success of which has often caused me to wonder why they should have been confined so exclusively to the rich, and this leads me to the main point to which I have to draw your attention; that of the applicability of club-houses to the circumstances of the labouring classes. The principle on which these establishments are founded, is simply the combination of several to obtain ends, for which the means of individuals are insufficient, and the grand objects of attain-

\* A Tea Meeting. Tickets 9d. Wm. Ellis Esq., the main promoter of the Birkbeck Schools in London, and the Environs, in the chair:—240 present.

ment of those at present existing are, first, personal comforts and conveniences; and next intellectual advantages; but the first seems always to be the primary one in view. The first experiments were naturally made by persons who are comparatively speaking, rich, but their success exhibits the soundness of the principle on which their clubs are conducted, and the question of the day is, whether the same thing may not be done by persons of small, as well as by those of large means. For myself I have, after long consideration, come to the conclusion that the club-house system is applicable to the circumstances of the poor; and it was faith in its being a plan that would work, which induced me to erect this building for a trial of it. In fact, I believe that it is more suited to the condition of the poor man than the rich, for this simple reason, that the poorer people are, the less comfort and conveniences they can command from their own individual resources, and the more need they have of combination for adding to them. The power, however, to combine must depend on the number of inhabitants living within a tolerably easy reach of each other. In towns the difficulty as regards contiguity of residence will be small, and in fact we do find that these associations of various kinds are common, though as yet they have not appeared in the shape of social clubs for the working classes, but only as I believe, because the subject has not been brought sufficiently under their notice. The inhabitants thinly scattered over wide spread heaths and commons, must obviously depend on their own individual resources; and did time permit I could draw some evidence, from this circumstance, to show that difficulty of association is a cause of much misery and social degradation. It is a middle state which we have principally to consider, that of the inhabitants of villages; but as we are about practically to try their power to combine in the club-house form, we will leave that point to the test of time, and merely now examine the reasons for their making the trial. By way of illustration let us take the case of a well conducted farm labourer with a wife and family, living in the usual sort of cottage. Let us suppose, too, the man to be gifted with a fair share of intelligence, which he is disposed in his leisure hours to use and improve by social intercourse with his neighbours; and by a little reading. The desire is legitimate; but what opportunity has he of gratifying it, beyond meeting his neighbours at the village tree, or cross, or public house? If we take the case of the younger branches of the family, say of lads and girls well brought up and advancing to maturity, and bear in mind the restlessness and impatience natural to youth, as well as the probable circumstances of their parents having but one room in which to sit and perform all the family cares and duties; what resources are afforded to these young people, of an evening, beyond strolling about the village, or indulging in frolics? The above supposes a case of a good family, but if that displays a necessity for great improvement in their social and intellectual resources, how much more so must it be in cases of a less favourable kind. Well then, I have now to draw your attention to what it is, that the labouring classes require; to make up for the deficiencies, exhibited by a view of the cases, just represented. I submit that the grand thing is a decent place of resort, where they can procure *first* physical

comfort, as regards shelter, warmth, light, and possibly food, and secondly some opportunity of intellectual gratification; and be it recollected, that it is only when no care about personal wants exists, that recreation for the mind can be thought of. To provide then these requisites, in a way that might lead to elevation of habits, and tastes, and moral improvement generally, was the object I had before me, and guided by past experience and reflection, I saw no mode of proceeding that would better suit the means of the labouring classes, than by aiding the establishment of a cheap club-house, under such regulations as might make it approximate to a well ordered and moral family house, and render it, in effect, a *Common Home*. With this view I erected the building in which we now are, and some time ago issued a prospectus of the scheme. In this I stated briefly views similar to those I have above given, and also that I rested much for success on a belief in the general disposition to adopt rational and moral courses, in preference to those of an opposite character, whenever a choice exists. To this view I adhere, and whilst it gives a hope that the labouring, as well as other classes, will avail themselves properly of new modes of recreation, it also forms an answer to those who take alarm, without reason, at anything which occasionally takes persons from their own homes. Good men and women will only leave their homes and duties for external enjoyment, when they can do so with propriety, and it is the part of those who think them always inclined to choose wrong in preference to right courses, to take means for so increasing their intelligence and reflection, that they may be enabled to see their errors. As in proposing the club my object was to benefit the members, and elevate their tastes and habits, I only agreed to render assistance in its formation, on certain conditions, four in number, for which I required that rules should be passed. These conditions were for securing decorous conduct;—for preventing the supply of intoxicating liquors, and also smoking;—for admitting female members;—and for opening the club on Sunday afternoons. The first condition I need scarcely dilate on. It has reference to the good habits, I would engraft on the physical comfort provided by the club. The second, for prohibiting intoxicating liquors and smoking, seems also to speak for itself; but on the latter of these—smoking, I will give my reasons in a few words. I have lived in Germany, where smoking is to be seen in full force, and I have consulted medical men and physiologists about its effects; the conclusion to which my observation and enquiry have led me on the subject is, that for insidious mischief to the brain and nerves, and through them to the whole constitutional powers, both bodily and mental; for causing waste of time and slothful habits, and for inducing careless indifference; there are only two things which equal smoking, and those are hard drinking and opium eating. The third condition, for the admission of females as members, has led to some discussion, and been met by objections, but as these consist chiefly in the novelty of the proposition, and in its being contrary to custom, I feel a difficulty in grappling with such indefinite kind of reasons, for if things are not to be done, because they are new, or not in accordance with previous courses of action, no improvements, by the

substitution of good for bad measures, can take place. I have lived to see many projects, that were at first sneered at and called new-fangled notions, rise into great respect with the public; and I anticipate that, when people become used to the idea of a freer and more equal admission of females into all kinds of social assemblages than is at present the case, they will find it a beneficial change, and a matter of congratulation. My difficulty is to find a reason why a female is not to be a member of a club. It is said a wife has duties at home which attendance there would interfere. The same may with equal propriety, be said of a husband. There are in reality plenty of duties at home, which he ought to share with her, when not engaged in his own. It is a case of *vice versa*, which you will allow me to explain as a reasoning on one side, which is just as good as the other. Of unmarried women and girls it is said, that in going and returning to the club, and even there, meetings of a questionable kind will be planned. But they do go, with and without companions of the other sex, for walks, to visit friends, to churches and chapels, to lectures, and even to balls and theatres, on all of which occasions the opportunities for improper plans are abundant enough; and how then is the going to a well regulated club-house so alarmingly to increase the danger. In fact, if people will but reflect a little, instead of jumping to conclusions, dictated by their fears or prejudices, they will perceive that little journeys from the parental roof are, for various reasons, necessities, to which going to and returning from the club-house will make very little addition. When Miss Nightingale undertook the nursing of wounded and sick soldiers, the act, viewed by the light of custom, was condemned. Now that, through her magnanimous disregard of prejudices, reason has been brought to bear on the subject, it has shown the nobleness of her conduct, and she is, I rejoice to find, to have a testimonial of gratitude. The last step that I have heard of in the right direction, is that at the late meeting of the scientific members of the British Association in Glasgow, ladies actually dined at a public dinner with the gentlemen. It would take up too much time to enlarge on the subject, and I will only farther endeavour to impress on all the notion that unless woman is considered as independent in her own sphere, and treated as truly worthy, she cannot rise to her full dignity, nor fully maintain what no one else can maintain for her, her own character. That until men practically admit women to be one half of the human creation, and cease to use their power for keeping them in wrong positions, they themselves will never be in right ones; and lastly, that until they treat them really as partners in the enjoyments, rights, and duties of life, and not as dolls, pets, or slaves, they—the men, will be guilty of a moral injustice, which nature, with her all powerful laws will punish, by withholding from them a portion of that comfort and happiness which the gentler sex have the power to confer. I come now to the last condition, that the Club should be open on Sunday afternoons. This cannot be called a novelty. All the clubs that I have ever heard of are open the whole of Sunday; and yet it has raised more discussion than any other point connected with it. I will be brief in what I say on the subject. The main reason, for:

keeping an establishment of this kind open on a Sunday is simply this—that it is a *home*, however large the family may be, and I have yet to learn, or even to hear, that *homes* ought to be shut up on Sundays. One class of persons for whose benefit it is particularly intended, consists of young single men, some of whom possess only lodgings, perhaps mere sleeping berths, and with no places in which to pass a leisure hour, or even to take their meals. Need I ask, where these are to spend their time on a Sunday, when not at their devotional services? Again, what is the father of a family to do on a wet Sunday, in a cottage containing only one sitting room, where the children and family duties allow him no quietness. The answers suggested by these questions, so completely illustrate the principle of all that could be said in reference to other persons, more favourably situated, that I will only farther request those who hold earnest opinions on Sundays being kept according to their own particular views, or their particular interpretations of the injunctions regarding the Sabbath—First, to reflect on all the things that must be done on Sunday, not strictly religious, even to eating and preparing meals, as well as on the expediency, and almost necessity, of using part of the day for the cultivation of the moral habits, and even, with some, to obtain a little air and exercise, for health's sake, after six days of toil and confinement; and secondly, if they please to visit this clubhouse, to observe the mode in which a leisure hour is passed here on a Sunday, and then compare it with the practices, which they may see or hear of, as common in villages and especially in towns. It is so difficult to touch the matter, without danger of exciting some unpleasant feeling, that, instead of any farther views of my own, I will state those, in which I fully agree, of a man of great weight in the country, by an extract from a reported speech of Lord Stanley, at an educational meeting, at Preston, last November.\* He is made to say—"I think there is a feeling, which I do not share, and which, I believe, the majority of an enlightened public do not share, but which exists in some places, that it is wrong to devote to intellectual culture, or to any study, not distinctly theological, any portion of the Sunday. I think that is an error in any case. In the case of the working man, overtasked as he is, I am sure it is a fatal mistake." Incidentally I have alluded to objections that have been made to this club, but there are still two on which I have a word to say. One is that it would be a cause of great idleness; the other, that it would become a school of politics. The idleness, I leave to be refuted by those who know how much time is thrown away at all the different kinds of public-houses; but in speaking of these, I beg it to be understood that I do not mean to declaim, as is sometimes done, against the keepers of them. They only supply that which the public demands, and if the public requires of them that which is not right, it must take the blame on itself, not lay it on those who perform its behests. On the question of politics, I can only, with all deference to others, submit it as my opinion, that the subject is one, as impor-

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\* Lord Stanley has signified his assent to the quotation, and expressed his warm approval of the project.

tant to be studied by the labouring classes, as by any other, however high, above them. Politics—provided it be politics, and not party differences, or party stratagems—comprises a sound knowledge of the laws, government and social state of our own country, of neighbouring countries, and of all others with which we have relations. What knowledge then can be of more consequence to a man's correctly understanding his rights and duties, as a citizen, and especially in reference to an Englishman, who directly or indirectly, has a voice in the representation of his country. If, under the name of politics, it is the reading of newspapers and cheap periodicals that is objected to, I reply that these publications furnish, more than any others, the history of the present moment, with which, I know not how the history of any events, that occurred 100 or 500 years ago, can be compared in value. I believe too, that the information derived from newspapers and periodicals, and various as it is, with the self-reflection to which it leads, forms a means of real education for the mass, vastly superior to that, obtained at the places for teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic, distributed over the country, and inappropriately called schools.

The above closes what I have to say on the theory of the Club, and it only remains for me now to give an account of its actual formation. The first step that I took in the matter was to propose a club of the same kind as we have here, for the town of Blandford, where there are nearly 4,000 inhabitants, but the opposition made to its being open partially on Sundays, caused me to withdraw from my attempt there. A club though, founded partly on my views, has been established in the town. I then proceeded with the project here, but the different steps that ensued I need not detail; suffice it to say that on the completion of the building, I called some of the inhabitants of the village together to consult them on the subject, and a party having been formed which was deemed sufficient to commence with, the formation of the club was decided on; but as its management was a risk, I took that on myself, as a trial, for the first six months. A committee, however, was regularly chosen, and rules in accordance with the spirit of the prospectus have been passed, and may be seen suspended at the end of the Hall. The first of these I will give as it defines the club;—it stands thus:—"The Charlton Club is composed of labourers, artisans, and persons engaged in the cultivation of land, trade, commerce, or professions, or living in independence, both male and female; but it is established chiefly with the object of increasing the comfort, and promoting the intellectual recreation of the labouring classes." The management of the affairs of the club is intrusted to a committee of 14, including a chairman, who has a casting vote, and he is the only person holding any kind of honorary office. The entrance fees are sixpence, and each male member pays three half-pence, and each female member one penny per week. There was one thing proposed, in connection with the management, on which I wish to say a word, because it includes an important principle, although otherwise, from my being the party chiefly concerned, I should have passed it silently. I allude to an idea, which was early thrown out, that the club should

have a patron, and that the honour should be bestowed on myself. The honour I respectfully declined, and it was for this reason—I object to social classifications, under which all but the chiefs of these persons, who associate themselves for the attainment of a common end, are treated more or less as children, requiring to be kept in leading strings, lest they should run into mischief. Such a paternal course may be suitable for Austrians and other foreigners not thoroughly emerged from feudal childhood, but I trust, it is no longer necessary for English people, who fortunately have a free press, and can move from place to place without a passport. Assistance any and every one may receive with propriety, but independence and self-reliance, whether in reference to individuals, or to collective bodies, constitute great principles of action, which are never given up for any kind of patronising aid—without some diminution of the self respect of those who are patronised, and damping their energetic exertions to ‘help themselves.’ Patronage also interferes with the right of *private judgment*, which in this country, now so long opposed to anything like the assumption of popish infallibility, I hope will be always upheld in all its entirety. My desire is to see intelligence increased and diffused, that all may be enabled better and better to judge for themselves of what is right and what is wrong. These were my reasons for declining the honour of being patron of the club, and suggesting to the members, that, for the management of their affairs, they should have simply a committee and a chairman, who should just have for his honour extra work. I must now apologise for the portion of your time which I have occupied, and thus interfered with the social entertainments of the evening, but I rejoice to say that I am now really coming to the end of my address. I have only to mention that the club was opened on the 24th of July, with 33 original members, which number has since been increased, by election of the committee, to 77.—12 of whom I am happy to state, are females. The newspapers supplied are, one daily, (the *Express*,) from London, and one weekly (the *Illustrated News*), and one provincial, (the *Poole Herald*), and there are four weekly periodicals. The ‘Times’ and a Scotch paper (the *Scotsman*) are sent, at not very old dates, by friends; and the library contains above 500 volumes, for many of which they are indebted to the kindness of friends. Hitherto the advantages of the Club have been confined to the use of the rooms, newspapers, and books, and to conversation and playing at draughts, and such like games; but shortly we hope to make an arrangement for adding refreshments, of the kind mentioned in the rules, which will be supplied with a small increase to their prime cost—enough merely to pay for fuel and service. The members daily use the club, and in the evenings from 15 to 25 may be seen there at a time, some of whom are usually females, and all appear to exercise and enjoy their rights in a perfectly social and satisfactory manner. If the club should eventually prove to be a benefit to my neighbours, of the kind that I hoped, I shall thereby be fully compensated for whatever I have done; and it only remains for me now to express my thanks to you for having patiently listened to me so long.\*



\* *NOTE.*—Closely connected with the principle of this club, is the question of Adult Education and Night Schools. On this subject generally, we refer our readers to *THE IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW*, Vol. V., No. 17, p. 79, Art. "National, Factory, and Reformatory Schools,—second paper, Factory Schools," where, in the history of the Schools of Price's Patent Candle Company, they will learn how one zealous, earnest-hearted man, James P. Wilson, has spread blessings around him, through the medium of rational education, imbued by a spirit of broad and genuine christian feeling. With regard to Night Schools, we assert that the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland may feel proud of a Night School conducted by a teacher of theirs in Dublin.

The school we refer to is situated in South Cumberland-street, Dublin, and known as the Andean Evening National School, of which the Very Rev. Dean Meyler, one of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, is Patron.

On the evening in question, the school was inspected by James W. Kavanagh, Esq. Head Inspector of National Schools, who, judging from the questions put by him to the pupils, and the kind and simple manner in which he exhorted them to persevere in redeeming the "misspent past," left no doubt upon our mind and upon the minds of all present, that the education of the working classes is to him an object of interest and anxiety.

There were in attendance eighty-six pupils, varying in age from forty-five years down to thirteen, all of whom, we were informed, were engaged during the day at some vocation or other: nearly every description of trade had here its representative, including, carpenters, masons, smiths, painters, shoemakers, tailors printers, glass engravers, &c. The school we understand has been established for the last three years, and from the mode in which it is conducted is calculated to effect much good amongst that class of the community by which it is attended. The subjects taught comprise reading, writing, arithmetic, mensuration, book keeping, English grammar and geography. Indeed the first three branches are those that seem to occupy the attention of most of the pupils, especially of those more advanced in years. The others are principally studied by pupils seeking what may be termed a continuous education, who are generally apprentices, or young lads engaged as clerks in different offices.

At the request of the teacher many of the pupils who are apprenticed to trades, have brought to the school various specimens of the crafts in which they are engaged, with the view to form an industrial exhibition on a small scale. Could this be effected, its results would be most gratifying indeed, as by it a spirit of emulation might be created in the hearts of our young artizans, which would vivify their energies and "raise their minds above the range of sordid cares and low desires," for when education and industry go hand in hand, virtue and prosperity are sure to follow. We believe this feature in the working of an evening school to be original, and it is creditable to the teacher from whom it originated, who appears to be thoroughly acquainted with the character and tendencies of the working classes.

We were agreeably surprised to understand from one of the teachers that a young lad named Whyte, whom he pointed out to us, had the honor of presenting to our present Viceroy a beautifully engraved claret glass, executed by him to commemorate His Excellency's Visit to the School, some short time since. We have witnessed specimens of glass engraving from the hands of this boy, together with specimens of various other crafts brought in by pupils of this school, which clearly

indicate that the spirit of industrial competition exists in the apprentices of our city, and only requires to be encouraged to manifest itself. Even from the little we have seen in this school, we do not hesitate to state, that were the project carried out by such men as our esteemed countryman, Mr. Dargan, it would be productive of the happiest results.

Another feature in the working of this school, though perhaps not so important a one as that just mentioned, is the teaching of vocal music. The teaching of this art gives as it were recreation to labour's children, and makes them, at least for the time, forgetful and unmindful of the wearisomeness and monotony of their lives, affording them as it does, an amusement in which they all delight, which was clearly evinced on the night of our visit, and was very gratifying not only to all who were present, but must be so to every one who is anxious to see the combined spirits of loyalty and nationality engrafting themselves upon the hearts of the industrial poor of our country. Who would not rejoice to hear, in a school, (situated in one of the back streets of our city, and in the immediate vicinity of wretched lanes and alleys) nearly a hundred voices pour forth the National Anthem in a manner that would have done credit to many of those amateur performers that we hear lauded from day to day. Those present acquainted with the manner in which the National Anthem is sung from time to time in the Model Schools in Marlboro'-street, stated it was very indifferent, compared to that in which it was sung by those assembled in the school on that night. Here, is an instance of what can be done to cause a growing and no doubt a lasting union between this country, and Great Britain.

Immediately after the national anthem, Moore's beautiful Melody "The Last Rose of Summer," was sung to the satisfaction and surprise of all present. We say, surprise, for the poor fellows had received but four lessons in vocal music.\*

We consider this school to be an invaluable agent in promoting the education and social peace of the industrial community. Those acquainted with the character and educational wants of this class of society, cannot form an adequate estimate of the great good such a school as this, if properly conducted, is calculated to effect amongst the rising generation of mechanics and artisans of the country. As a general rule, perhaps it may be said, that it is more difficult to govern the scholars of an evening school than any other; but the exceptions to this rule are many, and would be found to increase in number, if proper teachers could be had to embark in the cause of Adult Education. This perhaps is impossible, under the present state of things, and hence it is that the education of the working classes of the City of Dublin, is more neglected and unheeded than perhaps in any other metropolis in the world. In making this assertion, we merely reiterate, what has been already stated by those more acquainted with the subject than we, and who have suggested plans, which if carried out, would in our mind aid most materially in promoting the education of our industrial poor.

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\* The success that has evidently attended the efforts of the singing master, Mr. James Cantwell, entitles him to the highest commendation. Mr. Cantwell is a late pupil of the Model School, Marlboro'-street, and was taught the Hullah system of vocal music, by Mr. J. J. Gaskin, who as a teacher of this system has never been equalled in Ireland. Mr. Cantwell is but one of the many pupils of this gentleman who have long since reflected the greatest credit on their teacher.

The Commissioners of National Education should come forth and liberally contribute to alleviate the educational wants of the working classes of Dublin.

Many will be surprised to learn that, with the exception of the school books given for the use of the scholars attending Evening National Schools in Dublin, the grants made by the commissioners, for the promotion of Adult or continuous Education, do not exceed thirty pounds per annum.

In our last Record we found it necessary to refer, in terms of strong disapprobation, to the sentiments expressed by the Rev. Mr. Hutchinson, a "Priest of The Oratory," at a meeting held in London, in the month of July, and in which the Rev. gentleman implied that the founders of Reformatory Schools were thinking only of proselytism, because they would not permit Roman Catholic Clergy to visit Roman Catholic Juveniles in the Schools which they, Protestants, had raised and supported. The answer to the Rev. speaker was,—found Reformatories for Roman Catholics, and if the juveniles of that faith are not sent to these Schools, then accuse us of proselytism. Such a Reformatory is now provided, and that Mr. Hutchinson was as wrong as we stated, is proved by the result of the following meeting, held at York, on the 4th of last October, and the report of which we insert at length from *The York Herald*, of October 8th, kindly forwarded to us by that excellent gentleman, James Pullaine, Esq., Chairman of the North Riding Sessions. We may observe that our Lord Lieutenant is a warm supporter of the Yorkshire School for the East and North Ridings, and has contributed largely to its support. The observations of the Rev. Canon Harcourt, and of the Hon. Charles Langdale, are particularly note worthy, as they disprove the assertions of the Rev. Mr. Hutchinson:—

#### REFORMATION FOR JUVENILE OFFENDERS, MEETING IN YORK.

A public meeting of the subscribers and friends of the society for the Reformation of Juvenile Offenders for the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire, Hull, and the city and vicinity of York, was held in the De Grey Rooms, in this city, on Thursday last, for the purpose of receiving the report of the committee and promoting the general objects of the society.

Among the company present were the Earl of Zetland, Earl Fitzwilliam, Lord Teignmouth, Lord Wenlock, Lord Bolton, the Lord Mayor of York, the Hon. and Rev. S. D. Lawley, the Hon.

W. E. Duncombe, M.P., the Hon. C. Langdale, Sir J. V. B. Johnstone, Bart., M.P., Sir. O. Anderson, Bart., of Lea, Lincolnshire, Sir W. Lawson, Bart., Colonel Smyth, M.P., B. T. Wood, Esq., M.P., E. S. Cayley, Esq., M.P., Mr. Alderman Leeman, Mr. Alderman Richardson, Mr. Alderman Wood, Mr. Alderman Rowntree, the Rev. Canon Harcourt, the Rev. Canon Gooch, the Rev. Canon Trevor, the Rev. Canon Jefferson, the Rev. Canon Baillie, J. Mitchell, Esq., of Forcett Hall, J. B. Rudd, Esq., the Rev. W. Carter, of Malton, the Rev. T. W. Morley, of Birkby, W. Rutson, Esq., of Newby Wiske, B. Creyke, Esq., of Rawcliffe Hall, W. Gray, Esq., of York, the Rev. J. Kenrick, G. W. Tireman, Esq., Dr. Shann, the Rev. C. Rose, the Rev. J. Crofts, Dr. Ransford, J. W. Pease, Esq., of Hull, T. Barstow, Esq., — Maxwell, Esq., of Everingham, L. Thompson, Esq., of Sheriff Hutton Park, G. Legard, Esq., J. Woodall, Esq., of Scarbro', J. Pulleine, Esq., (Chairman of the North Riding Sessions), G. J. Lloyd, Esq., J. Clough, Esq. Capt. O'Brien, H. P. Vowles, Esq., Her Majesty's Inspector of Prisons, F. W. Calvert, Esq., the Rev. H. J. Duncombe, the Rev. — Read, C. Fletcher, Esq., G. Dodsworth, Esq., W. D. Littledale, Esq., the Rev. Thomas Myers, J. Henderson, Esq., of Castlehoward, D. Russell, Esq., R. Smithson, Esq., G. L. Cressy, Esq., J. Wilkinson, Esq., J. Ford, Esq., B. Agar, Esq., and the Rev. T. Richardson.

On the motion of the Lord Mayor, seconded by Mr. J. Ford, the Earl of Zetland was called to the chair.

The noble Chairman said he believed they were all aware of the object of the meeting, they being summoned that day to form an institution which, he believed, would have the very best effect on the country generally. The institutions of a similar character which had hitherto been established had been productive of the greatest good, and when they considered the immense number of juvenile offenders who were convicted in this country, it was manifest that an institution which could bring about the reformation of those offenders without sending them to a public gaol, must have the most beneficial effect on the country generally. He trusted that on that occasion they should all act unanimously, without any party feeling, and that their object would be carried for the great benefit of the county, and as an example for other counties to follow the same steps. (Applause.)

The Rev. T. Myers, one of the secretaries, stated, that letters had been received from the Earl of Yarborough, Lord Feversham, both of whom were subscribers to this institution, the High Sheriff, who had contributed £50, Sir W. M. E. Milner, Bart., M.P., a subscriber of £25, the Hon. and Rev. A. Duncombe, who had given £25, Mr. Seymour, W. Wells, Esq., M.P., and other gentlemen, regretting their inability to attend the meeting. Lord Bolton had presented a donation of £50.

The Rev. Canon Harcourt, the chairman of the committee, read their report, from which it appeared that the proposed site, offered by the Earl of Carlisle, the president of the society, consisted of forty-three acres of good land in good condition.

REPORT.

The duty which the committee have undertaken to fulfil is—1st. to lay before the public an account of the circumstances which have led to the institution of societies for the reformation of young criminals; and 2ndly. to recommend a plan for the establishment of reformatory schools in the district of the North and East Ridings, the city of York, and the town of Hull.

To what a pitch the corruption of youth has reached in England may be learned from the statement in the report of the Philanthropic Society for the year 1851, founded on the tables laid by Mr. Nelson before the Parliamentary Committee on prison discipline, in the preceding year.

Among the reformatory institutions managed by private persons but maintained in part by the State, the '*Société paternelle*,' founded by M. de Metz in 1840, at Mettray, near Tours, exhibits the most perfect model of the principles on which they may be conducted with success. The plan there adopted met with munificent support. The government granted an allowance amounting to £3 4s. for the credit of each inmate, and 8d. a day for the board of each. The success of the institution is very remarkable in regard to the number reformed; for out of 846 boys disciplined, whose subsequent history was traced, only 85 had relapsed; and of all who have been set at liberty during 15 years but 11 per cent. have been found to fall into vagrancy or crime.

The first elements of this success were the exercise for several years of a steady discipline and a paternal influence over small and distinct families, consisting each of not more than 43 boys, whose affections, in almost all instances, were gained by their instructors, combined with moral and religious training, and with labour, especially agricultural.

The example set at Mettray was followed by the rise of similar institutions in more than thirty other places in France; and nearly as many have risen, or are rising, in England, adopting the same principles of management, and entering into similar relations with the public.

The proportion which the public allowances are to be considered as bearing to the whole cost of a reformatory school, it is difficult, till after longer experience, to calculate. The conclusion which would be drawn by one who should look to the six farm schools grouped together at Red Hill, and containing more than 200 inmates, and by another who should form his estimate from the balance sheets of single farm schools designed for no more than 30 or 40 boys, would be widely different. A small farm it appears admits of being proportionably more profitably conducted, and a small family more cheaply superintended. It may easily be conceived, too, that single schools under the gratuitous care of individuals who have instituted and taken charge of them, should be managed at a less cost than an union of schools under other circumstances. The committee have reason to believe that in the opinion of two experienced Managers of such single establishments, the profit of the labour of 30 or 40 boys on small farms of about an equal number of acres with soil of a good

staple, will shortly fall short, in conjunction with the Government allowance, of maintaining the current expenses of the school, including rent and taxes.

Supposing these calculations to be well founded, there remains under a parallel system, little more to be supplied by voluntary benevolence than the first outfit of the establishment, its general supervision, and the future allocation of the boys whom it may succeed in reforming.

The great economy with which a judicious and experienced person managing the expenditure on the spot may contrive to complete the outfit of one of these schools appears from the particulars of the outlay on the Red-House, at Buxton, near Norwich, with which the committee have been favoured by its founder, Mr. Wright. That establishment has been visited by a member of the committee, who reports it to comprise every convenience required for the accommodation and instruction of a school to contain from forty to fifty boys, and the total cost of this, in all respects, well-finished building, was £727. If to that sum be added £240 for furniture, and an outlay of £186 on the farm consisting of thirty-three acres, the whole expenditure amounts to £1153.

The expense of the buildings occupied by Mr. Baker's reformatory school at Hardwick Court is still less, the boys being there 'lodged in ordinary cottages adapted to this use. The preference, however, seems to be due to a plan like that of the Red House, expressly designed for the objects of the institution, and so happily constructed as to close all insecurely at night, without bearing the appearance of a prison.

The bricks employed in this building, it must be observed, were made on the spot, the material being, in great part, dug out of the foundations; but when due allowance is made for this advantage it does not appear why, under equally prudent supervision, a similar building should not be constructed by this society, and a similar outfit provided, for the sum of 1,200.

On the whole, it appears, that, as far as can be at present foreseen, two schools, on the scale described, may eventually be found to serve all the purposes of the society. It is Mr. Turner's opinion that two such schools may be worked well in juxtaposition, so long as attention is paid to the principle of keeping the families quite distinct, with independent masters, though under the supervision of one head. The committee therefore recommend that the prospect of providing two neighbouring schools should be kept in view, but that in the first instance the society should proceed to establish a single farm school, taking as its model, so far as is consistent with the difference of circumstances, those schools of which the arrangements are the most economical.

It is with peculiar satisfaction that the committee have received from the president of the society an assurance, the spirit of which needs no comment from them, that he should 'feel a great interest to be added to his country residence if the school could be in its neighbourhood,'—accompanied with the offer, on terms either of 'lease or purchase perfectly reasonable,' of a site near Castle Howard.

There is reason to believe that this farm may eventually be cultivated with little, if any, recourse to extrinsic labour by the inmates of one such school as has been described. Should a second be desired it is understood that another site of equal convenience may be obtained for it on the adjoining ground with a similar allotment of ground, and on the same terms.

The committee recommend that the farm now offered by the Earl of Carlisle should be taken on lease for a term of years, under condition that in case of its being vacated the society shall be at liberty to dispose of the materials of the buildings which may have been erected upon it.

The Committee have come to the conclusion of recommending that the offices of chief superintendent, schoolmaster, and chaplain, should be confided to one person.

The committee have been so fortunate as to meet with such a person in one who is known to many members of the society as having carried on, for several years, an important work of a somewhat analogous description in the neighbourhood of Malton, and who has expressed to them his readiness to undertake the office now proposed; in a spirit more regardful of the greatness of the object than the amount of remuneration which the Committee could offer.

The Committee had been favored with an offer from Mr. Baker, to receive for a month or six weeks at Hardwick Court, the Superintendent whom the Society may select, in order that he may study and take part in practising the system there adopted. Mr. Baker has made a further offer to allow the superintendent to select from thence a certain number of boys who have been for some time under training, in exchange for boys fresh from the prison of this district, in order to place the new school at once in a state of working order, commencing with inmates with whom the superintendent has already made some acquaintance.

It may not be superfluous to add, that though in schools of so simple a character, there is little room for religious distinctions, yet since a question has been raised respecting the Roman Catholic boys, the Committee recommend that the principle should be followed of not receiving, or retaining, in this school any boy who may prefer, or whose parents may prefer, his being placed in, or transferred to a Roman Catholic reformatory institution. Such an institution, set on foot at the monastery of St. Bernard, the Committee have been given to understand has already obtained a certificate from the Inspector of Prisons, and they are of opinion, that the common cause of reform would best be served if the two schools should agree on consigning each to the other the members of its own religious persuasion.

To assist the superintendent or resident manager in such labours as these, but, above all, in the difficult task of providing employment for the boys at the expiration of their term of training, is one of the chief offices, which after the first organization of the school, it would rest on the society to discharge through the medium of a board of management.

It is to be observed, in the last place, that should the plan which

has been here proposed, be adopted by the society, the subscription already raised will be expended in the building and outfit of the first school; and though there is reason to expect that the labour of the boys upon the land will ultimately go far, in conjunction with the Government allowance, to meet the current expenses, since this result cannot be arrived at immediately, some part of the cost of the establishment must at first be drawn from the subscription fund. Should this be advanced to more than double its present amount, there will be abundant occasion for its application in building a second school, and in facilitating the employment of reformed youths at a distance.

At the same time, the Committee cannot conclude, without expressing their earnest hope, that the members of this society will not confine their exertions on its behalf to their subscriptions alone, and that the public at large will conspire with them in discovering methods for removing the children whom, by God's blessing, they may succeed in reclaiming from those conditions and circumstances of temptation, under the pressure of which they might be liable to relapse.

Lord Teignmouth said, that perhaps no one could better testify than himself to the zeal with which the Committee had directed their attention to this subject, and to the extraordinary devotion which had been bestowed upon it by the Rev. gentleman who had prepared and read the report. He believed these institutions were pre-eminently preventive of crime, and he was perfectly satisfied to give a subscription and his warm support to this institution, believing that the Committee had given a thorough guarantee not only for the bestowal of a good education on the principles of the Church of England, but that the rights of conscience of no individual in the country should be tampered with. (Applause.) He moved, "That this meeting, deeply convinced that the prevalence of juvenile crime is one of the greatest of social evils, considers it a duty incumbent on all to make common cause in the endeavour to abate it."

The Lord Mayor said that, feeling deeply the necessity that they should endeavour to reform juvenile offenders, he had great pleasure in seconding the resolution. The experience he had had as the chief magistrate of this city only confirmed him in the opinion which he had expressed. (Applause.)

The motion was carried unanimously.

Mr. Ald. Leeman then addressed the meeting, and observed that the site which had been offered by the Earl of Carlisle presented facilities in every possible point of view, which rendered it desirable to avail themselves of. It had been thought better to have a lease for twenty-one years than to purchase the land, and with regard to the proposed chaplain, he thought when he named the gentleman, no one in that meeting who had been acquainted with him would deny that he had been exceedingly fortunate in procuring the services of such a person. He alluded to Mr. Ismael Fish, who had been employed as a missionary to the men employed during the construction of the Malton and Driffield and Malton and Thirsk railways. He had known Mr. Fish during that time, and the noble



president of the institution had himself had the closest means of observation of that person, and he knew, both from letters written by the Earl of Carlisle, and also from conversation with his Lordship, that he had a very high opinion of the moral and religious qualities of Mr. Fish, who was being instructed at the college of St. Bees, and was expected shortly to take orders in the Church of England. After referring to a portion of the report, Mr. Leeman remarked, he would undertake to say that Mr. Fish was a man of no narrow views, and concluded by moving, 'That the report now read be received and adopted, and that the same be printed and circulated under the direction of the committee.'

W. Rutson, Esq., said, he rose to second the motion with the greatest pleasure, and that there were two points material to the success of this institution. The one was the fortunate selection of a man fitted to carry it on, and the other was some kind of preparation to receive these unfortunate individuals when their training was concluded. He paid Mr. Fish a very high compliment, and particularly alluded to the gratifying circumstances attending the presentation by himself to Mr. Fish of a purse of money, which had been subscribed for him by all classes of the inhabitants residing in from ten to fifteen townships. He also spoke of the kindness of the Earl of Carlisle, who, he thought, had come forward in this matter, and done what many individuals would not do, which was to locate those young persons in the neighbourhood of his own residence. Though the noble Earl was then absent, still his influence was beneficially felt, as he always desired it should be, and he (Mr. Rutson) had great pleasure in recording his opinion how much they were indebted to his Lordship. (Applause.)

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Lord Wenlock, after he had dwelt upon the steps which were then being taken in other places to carry out the principle they were then advocating, and after having spoken in a very flattering manner of the liberal offer made by the Earl of Carlisle, proposed 'That the thanks of this meeting be presented to the Right Hon. the Earl of Carlisle for his very liberal offer of a site for the society's schools, and that the committee be, and are hereby authorised to take the necessary steps for a term of not less than twenty-one years, on such conditions as they may think reasonable.'

Lord Bolton seconded the motion, which was carried.

The Rev. Canon Harcourt moved, 'That the following noblemen and gentlemen be appointed vice-presidents of this society, viz., His Grace the Archbishop of York, the Earl of Yarborough, the Earl of Zetland, Lord Feversham, Lord Lonsborough, Lord Wenlock, Lord Hotham, M.P., the Rev. Lord De Saumarez, Lord Teignmouth, Lord Bolton, Hon. C. Langdale, and the Hon. J. C. Dundas.'

Mr. Vowles, in seconding the motion, said that twelve years' experience had satisfied him of the necessity of some such institution as this.

The Hon. C. Langdale stated that he wished to say a few words with reference to his accepting the situation of vice-president, to which he had been nominated, no doubt, because he was supposed to represent those to whom the report had alluded, viz., the Roman

Catholic portion of the community. He might be understood to accept the office especially for the purpose of seeing that the unfortunate children—and he was afraid there were too many such—who belonged to the same religion as himself, should be fairly dealt with in the establishment they now proposed to found, and that they should be removed to some school which would be established for the especial purpose of receiving juvenile delinquents of the same religion as that to which he belonged. He read a letter he had received from Mr. Baker on the subject, which contained some very liberal sentiments, and with which he expressed his gratification, observing that it was on the principle which had been adopted, viz., 'to allow Roman Catholic children to be taught in a school belonging to that persuasion, that he consented to accept the situation of vice-president.' (Loud applause.)

The Rev. Canon Harcourt said it was very satisfactory for him to say, that the letter which had now been read exactly expressed the feelings and intentions of the committee. (Applause.)

The resolution was then put and carried.

Sir J. V. B. Johnstone, Bart., moved, 'That the following gentlemen be appointed the committee of this society, viz., John Ford, Esq., Wm. Gray, Esq., the Rev. Canon Harcourt, the Rev. Canon Jefferson, J. Henderson, Esq., G. Legard, Esq., Jas. A. Legard, Esq., G. Leeman, Esq., Jas. Meek, Esq., W. O'Brien, Esq., J. W. Pease, Esq., and W. Whytehead, Esq.'

J. W. Pease, Esq., seconded the motion.—Carried.

The Rev. Canon Jefferson then moved, 'That Geo. Lister Cressy, Esq., be requested to accept the office of treasurer, and the Rev. Thos. Myers, and Joseph Wilkinson, Esq., the office of honorary secretaries of this society; and T. H. Travis, Esq., and the Rev. J. Gabb, be the local secretaries for Hull and Castle Howard.'

The Hon. W. E. Duncombe, M.P., seconded the motion, which was carried.

Lord Teignmouth moved, 'That the best thanks of this meeting be presented to the Right Hon. the Earl of Zetland for his kindness in presiding on this occasion.'

The Lord Mayor seconded the resolution, which was carried by acclamation.

The noble Chairman returned thanks, observing he rejoiced most sincerely to find that the resolutions had met with the unanimous support of all present, and this was an occasion to congratulate themselves upon, when they saw sectarian differences laid aside, and all classes of religionists joining in one common object for the benefit of that class of individuals who were most in need of their care and anxiety. (Applause.) Lord Lonsborough had sent a note expressing his great regret that unavoidable circumstances had prevented his attendance.

The Rev. T. Myers said that the amount received in donations to the present time was £1,580 8s., and that the subscriptions were £144 2s. 6d.

The meeting then separated."

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\* For the valuable Report of the Justices' Committee of Kingston-Upon-Hull, see IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, No. XIX. Record, p. xlv.

... We are doubly interested in this report of the proceedings of the York meeting, first, because its resolutions are a grand and certain guarantee of success; secondly, because it shows that the "religious difficulty question" does not here interpose, to prevent the full developement of principles springing from the purest love of God.

... We knew that this would be the result; for, more than twelve months since, when writing of Reformatory Schools for Ireland, we addressed the leaders of the movement in England, and asked them to tell us if they approved the plan of Protestant and Roman Catholic Reformatories; and they told us, unanimously, that they considered them most suitable for Ireland, and most likely to gain public confidence.\*

We are very much pleased to find that one of our Irish Boards of Superintendence is at last able to appreciate the advantages of the Reformatory System. At page 7 of the *Report of the Board of Superintendence of the City of Dublin Prisons*, for the year 1854—5, we find the following observations:—

"The abundance of employment in the country is, no doubt, the main cause of the reduction in the number confined in this Prison; but the application of a more stringent system of discipline, which, owing to the reduced number of prisoners, the Governor has been enabled to carry out, has not failed to diminish the number of recommitments, especially in regard to juveniles, who, for the last few years, formed a very large proportion of the inmates of this Prison. Since the Governor has had the means of applying to the criminal juveniles the separate system of confinement, their number has been gradually declining.

The late Board, in their Report, drew the attention of the Council to the subject of Reformatory Schools for juvenile delinquents, with a view of urging the consideration of Government to the claim of this country to participate in the benefit derivable from such institutions, which have now been tested in England, and found to answer the object for which they have been founded by the Legislature.

The Board, fully appreciating the importance of the subject, and concurring in the sentiments expressed in the last Report, cannot too strongly recommend to the Municipal Council the early adoption of such means of action as will impress upon Government the absolute necessity which exists in this country for the establishment of Reformatory Schools. Any person possessing practical knowledge of the social condition of the juvenile population of Ireland, must

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\* See IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, Vol. V. No. 18, p. 410, Art. "Reformatory Schools for Ireland."

readily admit that the overwhelming amount of misery and wretchedness, and consequent crime created by the famine, and existing during a long season of adversity, render the claim of Ireland to similar provision being made for the care and reformation of youthful offenders, as that existing in England and Scotland, insuperable.

The Board have learned, with great pleasure, that Government have decided upon immediately establishing a Reformatory Prison, near Dublin, for juvenile criminals convicted in every part of Ireland, and sentenced to "penal servitude." Beneficial, however, as such a valuable institution must undoubtedly prove to those for whom it is intended, provision has yet to be made for the most important class of youthful delinquents whom it is most desirable to reach, and, if possible, save whilst in the commencement of their criminal career, or to rescue from the contamination of vicious parents, who trade in vice and crime, and compel their children to walk in the path of destruction. Such unhappy objects of interest are found daily in your Prisons, and but few of them (owing to the present law) can obtain admission into the poor-houses; in many instances deception is resorted to by those creatures to obtain such admission. The subject is truly one deserving of public sympathy, and worthy, indeed, of the anxious consideration of the Council.

Our good and honored friend, the Rev. John Clay, the Chaplain of the Preston House of Correction, has just presented his thirtieth, and thirty-first *Reports*. The *Reports* of two years are thus presented together, for a reason which every friend of the science of Prison Discipline, in its most enlightened phases, must regret,—“weak health.” The *Reports* are comprised in 109 pages, and we unhesitatingly assert, that no work in the language, of double the quantity of letterpress, equals this before us, in the importance of facts and figures, of reasoning and arguments, of wise suggestions, and the proved results of practical experience.

We extract the following passages relating to “Youthful Offenders;” “Effect of Good and Bad Times on Committals;” “Causes of Crime and Disorder;” “Reformatory Prison Discipline;” “Tickets-of-Leave;” “The Necessity for a Reformatory School in North Lancashire”:—

#### YOUTHFUL OFFENDERS.

The act of August, 1854, “for the better care and reformation of youthful offenders,” relates to persons under the age of *sixteen* years. The tables, &c., of the Inspectors of Prisons had previously included all offenders under *seventeen* among “juveniles.” It is worth while to notice this, because offenders of *sixteen* are so numerous that their exclusion from the class of “juveniles,” or their inclusion, will materially affect the appearance of the youthful delinquency question. I think the limitation “under sixteen”

establishes a better distinction between youthful and adult offenders than the one previously observed; because at sixteen years old, young persons of the working classes are generally so independent of their parents as to relieve them from direct responsibility for their conduct.

Young offenders (under 16) committed to the sessions and summarily have been as follows:—

	1853.		1854.	
	M.	F.	M.	F.
Committed to the sessions.....	12	1	15	3
Committed summarily.....	54	5	84	14
	66	6	99	20

The excess in the numbers of 1854 over those of 1853 must be considered as one of the unhappy results of the great Preston Strike. About 2,100 boys and 3,500 girls (under 16) were thrown into complete and compulsory idleness for seven months by that proceeding. Remembering this, we must be surprised and thankful that the excess was not of much greater magnitude. The effect of the "lock-out" on committals will be considered in a latter part of this Report.

Though it is a grievous thing to see so many young persons sent to prison, under any circumstances, it is to be recollected that the above are all which the 470,000 inhabitants of North Lancashire can be reproached with; and that very few counties can present a more creditable return in this respect. It also tells well for our prison discipline that the great majority of these young delinquents were committed for the *first time*.\* The following summary relates to the 99 boys committed in 1854:—

AGES.	COMMITTALS.			PARENTAGE.			EDUCATION.	
	First Committed.	Second.	Third and upwards.	Both parents living.	Father only.	Mother only.	Orphan.	Ignorant. Can read.
Under 12 years - -	15	1	..	12	1	3	..	12 4
From 12 to 15 - -	72	6	3	41	8	27	7	56 27
Total - -	87†	7	5	53	9	30	7	68 31

\* The table shows that the re-committals of young male offenders to this prison are about 12 per cent., for all offences. The same class committed for *felony* alone in Liverpool, in 1854, amounted to 358, of which number 32 per cent. were re-committals.

† Of the 99 boys committed, four re-entered the prison *within the year*; their original committals being for their *first* offences. Each case was traceable to the idleness of the *strike*, and to parental indifference and neglect.

Seventeen cases of step-parentage are included in the 53 of "both parents living." In 11 instances the young offender's father had "run away," the mother, in 4 cases out of the 11, being dead. A boy, driven into idleness by the strike, was turned out of doors by his father, who was nevertheless, able to keep two cows! In not more than two or three cases could the excuse of destitution or extreme poverty be justly pleaded; on the other hand, as a general thing, the families of these boys were earning good wages, or receiving large allowances from the "turn-out" funds.\* Referring to the committals of boys during the *two* years, I find it noted in my character books, that more than 60 of their *families* were in the receipt of weekly earnings averaging 30s.; three families earned between 50 and 55s.; two earned, the one 75s.; the other 76s.; and one family earned £4 16s. weekly.

These facts indicate very decidedly the justice and necessity of the measure which is about to be more effectually enforced, and which I have long urgently recommended, for compelling parents to support, wholly or partly, the children who, through their neglect, have been sent to Reformatory Schools.† There can be no reason why the Reformatory *Prison* should not be reimbursed, in like manner for the expence of the children committed to it. We should then hear less of the harshness of step-parents, and of children being "turned out of doors" the moment they cease to contribute to the family income.

The increase in the committals of girls is to be attributed to the strike; but it is certainly a matter of thankfulness that with some thousands of girls in idleness, only 20 found their way into prison.‡

Under all the circumstances of the time, the number of young offenders is very creditably small, when compared with the great population of nearly 500,000 from which they are drawn. The discipline of the prison is as successful with them as could be reasonably expected, considering that it is seldom applied for more than a month, and that is not followed up when the young delinquents return to their homes. In them, order, sobriety, wholesome restraint, and religious instruction, are often totally wanting; and such wants—not poverty and hunger—cause the children to go wrong.

\* A man whom our discipline had reformed, called upon me soon after the commencement of the strike to ask for "a little assistance," his family being "very badly off." He candidly admitted, however, in reply to my enquiries, that three of his children received from "the Committee" a weekly allowance of 17s.

† The measure alluded to is now law.

‡ One of these, however, an Irish girl, was committed three times within the year. The difference in the moral condition of young persons in a regularly employed population, and of those belonging to a town like Liverpool, is strikingly shown by contrasting the number of girls committed in 1853 (when work was uninterrupted) from North Lancashire, with the number taken into custody on *charges of felony* in Liverpool, in 1854. The number of the former was 6; of the latter 161!

**"ON THE EFFECT OF GOOD OR BAD TIMES ON  
COMMITTALS.\*"**

The unlooked for results of the Preston Strike, in diminishing the amount of apparent crime and disorder, open a question which may be very properly considered in a Report of this kind—viz.—the question as to the visible effects, during a long term of years, of good or bad times on the committals to prison.

It has always been a popular opinion that committals increase under the pressure of "*bad times*," and diminish when that pressure is removed. This opinion appears to be in many respects erroneous; and it may not be useless, therefore, to show how, in reality, the vicissitudes in the industrial and social state of the working classes, their high and low wages, &c., influence their conduct; rendering them more liable, or otherwise, to charges of violation of the law.

The facts and observations which I have to submit are drawn from the Annual Reports which it has been my duty to present to the magistracy of Lancashire since 1824. In considering these facts it will be borne in mind that the County House of Correction at Preston is the general prison for the Northern Division, which includes the large manufacturing towns of Preston, Blackburn, Burnley, Chorley, Haslingden, Accrington, &c. It is also necessary to remember that the population of North Lancashire was 402,600 in 1841, and 460,456 in 1851.†

The earliest reference to the connexion between distress and committals is contained in the following passage from my Report of 1826:—

'The interval between July, 1824, and July, 1825, was one of general prosperity and comfort among the labouring classes of the surrounding district; that from July, 1825, to July, 1826, included a period of perhaps unprecedented distress. Yet, in this latter period, the felony list presented no augmentation. . . . While 40,000 or 50,000 of the poor were existing upon charitable contributions, it cannot be ascertained that a single theft (recorded in the calendar) was caused solely by hunger. The few persons who pleaded distress as an excuse for their offences were, in every case, old offenders.'

During the prevalence of this distress, I had many opportunities of witnessing what I have often seen since, the fortitude and patience exercised by the working classes in times of suffering, and the admirable self-denial with which many, who were themselves in

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\* The substance of the observations under this head, originally written for the present Report, was submitted to the Statistical Section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, at the Liverpool meeting of September, 1854; and appeared in the *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*. March, 1855.

† The Hundred of Lonsdale commits cases for trial to the Lancaster Sessions. These cases—few in number—are therefore excluded from consideration. All offenders convicted summarily are sent to Preston. This having been the invariable practice, the question treated of in this paper is not affected by it.

poverty, assisted the utterly destitute. From a table given in my report for 1830, it appeared that, during the four ordinary years ending with June, 1824, the annual average of committals to the sessions was 119; the prosperous year 1825 produced 177 committals; the following year of distress, 172; and the year of reviving prosperity (ending July, 1827,) no less than 269.

‘ This lamentable anomaly in the moral condition of the working classes can only arise from the fact that high wages, to the ignorant and uneducated poor, bring with them the means of gratifying the propensity to intoxication, which is so fatal to their comfort and character.’

The opinion thus expressed a quarter of a century ago has been but too well confirmed by the experience of every succeeding year.

The ten years ending with June, 1844, were marked by several events greatly prejudicial to the moral and industrial welfare of the working classes in North Lancashire. In 1836-7, a spinners’ ‘ strike’ at Preston threw nearly 9,000 hands out of employ for about four months. Nearly two-fifths of these hands were under nineteen years of age; and the consequence was a great increase in the number of young offenders committed to the sessions. It was noted, however, at the time, that ‘ idleness and not want had been the immediate cause of crime in almost all the cases which could be clearly referred to the ‘ strike.’\* And even in this year of distress, the committals to the sessions were less by fifty-nine than those of the corresponding period ten years before, when ‘ employment for the poor had again become pretty well distributed.’† From 1838 to 1842 (with a favourable interval in 1840), want of employ and consequent privation gradually pressed more and more upon the manufacturing population of North Lancashire, until, in the winter of 1842-3, their sufferings became severe almost beyond example. At this time, also, a spirit of sedition and riot had loosened the restraints which the masses in North Lancashire are usually willing to acknowledge; and the autumn of 1842 was marked by an amount of agitation and violence which betokened no slight danger to the permanent welfare of the manufacturing districts. Two years before this time, however, and owing, no doubt, to the growing (and providential) conviction of the necessity for such a measure, the county police force had been organized; and it was now found capable of arresting; and of permanently subduing, the dangerous spirit which had been excited into action. Under all these circumstances, therefore, a considerable increase in committals might be expected. The zeal and activity of the new constabulary added to the number of apprehensions and committals, though there might be no corresponding increase of actual crime; political disaffection encouraged dishonesty and violence to an extent which poverty alone would not have provoked; at this time, also, prison discipline in North Lancashire was in a state calculated to promote rather than repress crime; and to all this it may be added that, hitherto, little or no

\* Report for 1837.

† Report for 1830.



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progress had been made in efforts to extend the benefits and blessings of education; 'of ninety-six men tried for riot, &c., in the Chartist outbreak in the autumn of 1842, sixty were unable to read, and thirty-six were ignorant of their Saviour's name.'

I present a summary of the committals for the ten years now treated of, in which it will be observed that, in the year of greatest distress, the ordinary committals were 20 per cent. below those of the preceding year. In order to free a comparison between the several years from the effects of temporary or accidental influence, the following offenders are excluded:—1, soldiers under sentence of court martial; 2, debtors; 3, females under *summary* conviction;\* 4, Chartist rioters. The remarks are literally or substantially quoted from the Reports of the respective years:—

Year ending 1st July.	Committed to Sessions.	Committed Summarily.	Remarks.
1835	166	642	
1836	187	715	
1837	277	627	" Spinners' strike which lasted from the end of October to February."
1838	302	762	" Suffering among hand-loom weavers."
1839	361	655	" High price of provisions and scarcity of employ."
1840	394	987	" Increase of committals mainly attributable to the establishment of the County Police." " No want of employ, and times favourable."
1841	465	901	" Trade in a depressed state."
1842	611	1053	" Great and prolonged suffering."
1843	497†	1215	" The depression at its lowest point."
1844	433	894	" Full employ. Prison Discipline well established."

The next ten years, ending with June, 1854, embraced two seasons of great manufacturing prosperity and one of extreme distress. The following is a short summary of the period, framed on the same principle as the one given above:—

\* These are excluded because at one time they were committed to Lancaster Castle, and at another to the Preston House of Correction.

† This number is exclusive of 123 Chartist rioters.

Year.	Sessions' Cases.	Summary Convictions.	Remarks.
1845	301	700	"Abundance of work. Prison discipline in beneficial operation."
1846	289	606	"Occupation at the factories not so readily obtained. Many hundreds of hand-loom weavers out of employ."
1847	366	646	"Never have the combined evils of scarcity of food and scarcity of employ pressed so heavily."
1848	343	843	"The distress at its maximum."
1849	339	1279	"Times greatly improved."
1850	325	1323	"A period of great and continued prosperity."
1851	387	1456	
1852	417	1226	
1853	442	1012	
1854	470	957	"The Preston strike."

The first season of prosperity (ending with June, 1845) occurred at a time when a vigorous and reformatory prison discipline had begun to develop highly satisfactory effects in the decrease of committals, and especially of re-committals. The manufacturing distress which followed in 1847-48, unlike that of 1842-3, was attended by no Chartist excitement, nor by any other influence likely to aggravate whatever tendency to crime distress might have created.

In my report for 1847, I observed: "Never, within the term of my chaplaincy, have the combined evils of scarcity of food and scarcity of employ pressed so heavily as during the last winter; and never—to the great credit of thousands of sufferers—have offenders pleading distress for their faults been fewer in number." Yet, in these very hard times, the committals to the sessions were not increased to the extent which might have been expected, and the summary convictions were fewer than they had been for ten years.

The increase to the sessions, as is invariably the case in times of compulsory idleness, and as previously exemplified in the strike of 1836-7, consisted almost entirely of boys. "It is chiefly from among the *idle*, not the *hungry*, factory-boys that the additions to our year's calendar are drawn." "Juvenile delinquency (as compared to the preceding year) was increased to the amount of 92 per cent.\*\*\* In the winter of 1847-8, distress pressed upon the operative classes with a severity never before exceeded, perhaps never before equalled. My report for that year contains a table framed from data collected by the chief constable of the county, Col. Woodford, "showing the absence of any marked connexion

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\* Report for 1847.

between poverty and crime, as well as *the creditable disproportion between sufferers and offenders.*" It appeared from the returns in question that, during this disastrous period, 45,000 mill-hands in North-Lancashire, irrespective of other operatives, were either working short time, or were altogether unemployed; and that in the Preston Union nearly 12,000 *adults* were receiving out-door relief; yet the committals to the sessions, so far from exhibiting an increase, showed a decrease of nearly 7 per cent. on the committals of the preceding year.

The excess of summary convictions in 1847-8 arose chiefly from *vagrants and workhouse disorderlies.\** In 1849, the prosperity, which had ebbed so far and so long, began to flow once more through our manufacturing districts, until in the summer of 1853 it reached a height seldom equalled in the industrial history of the county. But the figures in the preceding page bear witness that this tide of material benefit was productive of—at least accompanied by—no little moral wreck. When the season of suffering had passed away it became too manifest that the wholesome lesson which it might have taught had been neglected. Thousands who had resisted the temptations of distress yielded to the temptations of prosperity. Good wages were too often squandered in vicious indulgence; and committals for offences occasioned by drunkenness began to increase with lamentable rapidity. If a comparison be made between the crime and disorder attendant on the three years of operative distress (1846 to 1848) and the four years of abundant work and high wages (1850 to 1853), it will be found that the average yearly committals to the *sessions* during the *hard times* were 332, while during the *good times* they were 390. The yearly average of *summary* committals during the hard times was 718, during the good times it was 1,249! or, taking all the committals together, 1,061 was the yearly average from 1846 to 1848, and 1,639 the yearly average from 1850 to 1853.† The comparison now made rests on conditions only effected by good and bad times. No social or political agitation interfered with those conditions; no changes in police or in

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\* In the very valuable report of Capt. Willis, the Chief Constable of the borough of Manchester, for 1847, that gentleman expresses his satisfaction that 'upon the expiration of a year marked by almost unexampled prostration of the trade and commerce of the country, and consequent distress amongst the working classes,' he can produce 'returns which will bear advantageous comparison with those of previous years.' A table given by Capt. Willis shows that the committals for trials and under summary convictions, in the borough of Manchester, for the two *prosperous* years 1844 and 1845, amounted to 10,436; and that for the two years of *distress* which followed, 1847 and 1848, they amounted only to 7,635.

† During the four prosperous years the committals were much more affected by Irish immigrants than during the three years of distress. Putting the Irish out of the question for both periods, and taking sessions and summary cases together, the discrepancy remains very striking, viz., average of three bad years 946, of four good years 1,346.

prison discipline influenced the number of apprehensions or of committals; and the ten years now under consideration may therefore be regarded as well calculated to show the true relation which subsists between crime and disorder on the one hand, and good or bad times on the other.

The general conclusions deducible from the facts now detailed, appear to be that 'bad times' may add a few cases to the sessions calendars, and that 'good times' greatly aggravate summary convictions; that the increase to the sessions consists of the young and thoughtless, who, when thrown into idleness, are liable to lapse into dishonesty; and that the increase of summary cases arises from the intemperance which high wages encourage among the ignorant and sensual.

In my report for the prosperous year 1845, it was shown 'that when in 1842-3 the operative was suffering most severely from want of employment, intoxication, as a cause of crime, was; compared to other causes, less than 17 per cent.; while now (1845) that labour and skill are in the greatest demand, and wages are unusually high, the criminality attributable to this debasing propensity has swollen to 41 per cent.' In a previous report (1843), in noticing the small proportion of females committed during the distress of 1842-3 (1 female to 6.6 males), it was suggested that 'in it we find what strengthens the opinion as to the inadequacy of poverty alone to account for the amount of crime. Every one conversant with the condition and habits of the poor knows that when distress falls upon their families it is the mothers who feel it most poignantly. Too often they and their children are wanting necessary food while their husbands are spending the last sixpence in the alehouse. Too often, when the husband is on the tramp seeking employ, or, still worse, when he has entirely deserted his family, the poor wife is left to resist as she may the temptation to obtain by dishonesty the bread for which her children are crying. When, further, the large amount of destitute widowhood is taken into the account, the conclusion appears to me irresistible, that *'want and distress, uncombined with dissolute habits, are rarely operative in producing crime.'*

I venture to hope that the truths which I have now endeavoured to establish will not be regarded as the barren results of a mere statistical investigation, but as a matter of deep moral and social significance.

In this country, and at this time, it ought to be felt as a grief and a reproach demanding anxious attention, that the material prosperity of the industrial classes should be so constantly accompanied by the moral degradation of a large portion of them. In the tendencies and habits of many of our artisans and labourers, there must be something deeply wrong when *'what should have been for their wealth is to them an occasion of falling.'* The deplorable truth is, that the wide want of moral and religious instruction, and of really useful knowledge, debars MILLIONS of our working population from the true use and enjoyment of the advantages within their power. The money earned by their toil and skill, instead of being employed in accordance with the dictates of prudence and the re-

quirements of civilised life, is dissipated in rioting and drunkenness, and the results are misery, crime, and the jail."

"CAUSES OF CRIME AND DISORDER.

It has become a widely, if not universally acknowledged truth, that Ignorance and Drunkenness are the causes of almost all the crimes which our courts of justice take cognizance of; as they are, indeed, of most other miseries suffered by the great body of the English people: ignorance being the more remote, the originating cause, and drunkenness being the secondary and direct one. But though the general truth is admitted, it is sometimes contended that ignorance and drunkenness are less prevalent now than formerly; that both are retreating before the steady advance of education. If this be true, it is true to a very limited extent. The retreat is so slow that it can scarcely be measured, except after a long interval of time. Meanwhile it may be useful to see how stubbornly these powerful and allied enemies to improvement hold their ground; and to assist the view, I beg to offer a few observations.

As the basis of these observations I would note the statistical fact that, during the two years to which this Report relates, I have conversed with,—

1088 male prisoners incapable of reading=41·7 per cent. of the whole number of male prisoners committed: with—

938 male prisoners who were unable to repeat the Lord's prayer with any approach to accuracy in the words, or a proper comprehension of their meaning=86·3 per cent.: with—

1686 male prisoners who could not understand the import of the plainest language necessary to convey instruction in moral and religious truth=72·4 per cent.

During the same two years I have heard 1126 male prisoners attribute their offences—frauds, larcenies, robberies, burglaries, rapes, stabbings, homicides—to *drink*! And if every prisoner's habits and history were fully enquired into, it would be placed beyond all doubt that nine-tenths of the English crime requiring to be dealt with by the law, arises from the *English sin* which the same law scarcely discourages.

"Reverting to the question of ignorance, it may be necessary, for the satisfaction of the large and authoritative body before whom I have, for so many years, laid, annually, the evidences of that ignorance, as it exists among the great mass of our working population, that I should adduce confirmation of my statements relating to it, since they have been questioned by an eminent member of the Legislature in terms which may lead to the conclusion that what I have written, relative to the want of education in prisoners, presents 'exaggerated' illustrations of the general ignorance of the labouring class: and that, consequently, there is less cause for anxiety and exertion in the matter than has generally been believed." Such a

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\* "These Reports . . . are not to be depended on as representing the average state of instruction even among criminals, because they speak of those who are in utter ignorance, as one half of the pri-

conclusion would be seriously prejudicial to what, I am persuaded, is one of the most momentous questions of the time; and it is to obviate *that*, and not merely to defend myself from a charge of exaggeration, that I now enter on the subject.

The 'tables' contained in my Reports for the last seven years show an amount of ignorance, i.e., of inability to read; in male prisoners, varying from something under 42 per cent. of the whole number of male prisoners to 47 per cent. Now, as confirming these representations I would refer;—1. To the tables compiled in the office of the Chief Constable, Col. Woodford, and which that gentleman has kindly allowed me to inspect. It appears from them that, of 16,510 males taken into custody in 1863 and 1864, 9641, or more than 58 per cent. 'could neither read nor write.' 2. In the very elaborate 'statistical returns of the Manchester police force,' prepared by Captain Willis, it is shown that of 8294 males taken into custody in 1863 and 1864, 2676, or more than 32 per cent. could neither read nor write; and that 5809, or nearly 64 per cent. could 'read only, or read and write imperfectly.' In his Report for 1863, Captain Willis speaks of this latter class as 'prisoners who could read or write only very imperfectly, or were, in fact, almost without education;' and thus warrants the assertion that there is no want of substantial agreement between his returns and those of Col. Woodford: 'There is, indeed, little or no difference, in respect to any practical use of instruction between men who cannot read at all, and those whose 'very imperfect' reading is available for no useful end. It will be seen, presently, that there is, even, an immense number of persons who can read with ease and fluency, but who, nevertheless, are incapable of receiving instruction from what they read.' 3. I would now beg to quote a passage from the last Report of Capt. Greig, the Head Constable of the Borough of Liverpool, and dated only last April:—'Impressed with the importance of the subject,' writes Captain Greig, 'I have this year, for the first time, shown the amount of education possessed by the prisoners, and find that of the total number, (25,111,) 570, or 2 per cent. of the whole, only can read and write well; of those who can read and write imperfectly there are 11,031, or about 43 per cent.; there are 1860 who can read only, or about 7 per cent.; while those who can neither read nor write number 11,650, or about 46 per cent. of the entire number of apprehensions, thus showing the connexion between ignorance and crime.' 4. In further confirmation of my educational returns, I would refer to the full and instructive Report of the Chaplain of the Durham County Gaol, who states that of 1764 prisoners committed in 1854, 665 'could neither read nor write,' and 227 'knew the alphabet or a little more,'=50 per cent. During

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soners in gaol, while the general returns show the proportion to be one third, and that this number is decreasing; so that here again, if these instances are quoted for induction, they are not sound—they are narrow in amount; and if quoted as illustrations they are exaggerated."—(Speech of the Right Hon. J. W. Henley, M.P., in the House of Commons, on Wednesday, May the 3rd, (2nd) page 18.)

the previous six years the Durham Gaol received 11,200 prisoners, of whom 53.4 per cent. were equally ignorant. 5. At the other end of the kingdom the excellent and experienced Chaplain at Lewes writes in his Report for 1854 :—‘ How much more has still to be done for the education of the poor may be judged from the single fact that out of 177 lads brought before me during the year—lads from 16 years of age to 20—not less than 80 were quite unable to read; and a great many more were nearly as unable to understand any useful book that might be lent them.’ 6. My brother Chaplain, at Kirdale, shows that on a series of years the prisoners committed to that gaol are unable to read at all to the amount of 45 per cent. I shall now, I trust, stand acquitted of having made statements which ‘are not to be depended on as representing the average state of instruction even among criminals.’ I have, indeed, scarcely made known its actual extent and nature. It is not necessary to insist that the mere mechanical ability to read, when unaccompanied by corresponding intelligence, is useless; but it has, nevertheless, been too readily taken for granted that the mechanical process implies also the mental process by which knowledge is gained; and, consequently, instruction—and even *education*—have been credited to many thousands who, in fact, have had no more of either than a boy might have of the Greek language who had only been taught to read the Greek character. In many of my former Reports I have endeavoured to call attention to these truths. In 1839 I urged that ‘instruction in reading and writing may be carried to a high point without anything worthy the name of education being imparted.’ In 1843 I presented some details intended to exemplify that ‘ignorance of common things,’ which has since been exposed and commented on, by one whose rank and ability ensure attention to his words. In 1846 I represented that ‘very often I found boys and young men able to read fluently the printed characters in the New Testament, though quite unable to comprehend the sense of what they read. That Book, desecrated by the system which makes it a lesson-book, is associated in the mind of the Sunday School child, and of many another child, with uninteresting, mechanical, and difficult labour; with confinement, weariness, and blows. \* \* \* I have met with many boys and young men who, when the *signs*, ‘These was a marriage in Cana of Galilee,’ were presented to them, uttered the corresponding *sounds* readily and clearly, but who, on being questioned as to the

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\* Since the above was written I have received the Chaplain’s Report, for 1854, of the County Jail at Usk, in Monmouthshire, *the most criminal*, apparently, of all our English counties. In this very suggestive and important document, Mr. Baker writes that, of 802 prisoners brought under his observation, “but 29 could read well, and 227 tolerably.” . . . “Perhaps about one-fifth could read anywhere in the Bible, and had some definite idea of religious truth; but of the rest the ignorance is mostly such as surpasses all that could be supposed. It is too often taken for granted that the criminal poor know something of those elementary truths of which, when questioned, they are found totally ignorant.”

meaning of the word 'marriage,' could give no answer. 'They said they had 'never been learned the understanding of the words.' I know that such statements as these have been received with incredulity, an incredulity which may continue to be felt until the incredulous examine into the matter for themselves. When due enquiry is made, and the deplorable truth more generally admitted, belief may be given to what occurred to me, in the discharge of my duties; only a few days before the writing of these words. A young man of nineteen, having read, with apparent ease, the verses referred to, (John ii., 1,) replied, in answer to my usual question as to the meaning of the word marriage, 'it means the rising of Christ's death.' In my Report for 1843, I gave a specimen of ignorance in a woman aged 33, who, 'as is frequent with the ignorant; had corrupted words which she did not understand, into others to which she could attach some meaning.' This woman, in attempting to repeat the Lord's prayer, corrupted, 'Hallowed be Thy name,' into, 'E'll be wed i' thy name.'† I have more recently conversed with two men, both above 80 years of age, who corrupted the same sacred words precisely in the same manner; and one of these committed for trial on a charge of murder, could read the Testament without difficulty‡ If such real ignorance prevails among many who can read *literally*, what must be the mental condition, the blank and chaos of the greater part of those who do not know a letter of the alphabet? Without the slightest knowledge necessary to proper self-guidance, many of them live a worse than mere animal life, wanting even the instinct which would lead them to safe and true enjoyment. '*Corruptio optimi pessima*;' and the ignorance and debasement suffered to exist in England in close neighbourhood with all that is surpassing in knowledge; exalted in morality, earnest and devoted in religion, is something, not comparatively, but absolutely, lower than anything hitherto discovered in savage life—where *that* has not been rendered more savage by the 'fire-water' of civilized and so-called—Christian men.§

\* 28rd Report, page 23.

† "Where a word, in its proper derivation, is unintelligible to them, they will shape and mould it into some other form; not endorsing that it should be a mere dead sound without sense in their ears." (*English past and present*, by R. C. Trench, B.D., page 162.)

‡ This man escaped from the capital charge. His mental sufferings both before and after his trial were most severe, and I have reason to know that during his imprisonment a great and beneficial change was wrought in him. He died soon after his liberation, weighed down, it is believed, by remorse.

§ If I have appeared to dwell on the subject of popular ignorance at too much length, I would urge, among other pleas, the necessity of convincing those "in high places," that such ignorance as I have described actually does exist. I well remember the incredulity about it of a noble member of the Lords' Committee appointed to inquire into the administration of the Criminal Law, before which I had the honor to be examined as a witness in 1847. His lordship could not conceive that any one in this country could be ignorant of the name of the



Though the ignorance which I have endeavoured to describe may be admitted, so far as regards prisoners, it may, at the same time, be supposed to exist among the class from which they are drawn only to a small extent. It is said, 'if these instances are quoted for induction, they are not sound—they are narrow in amount.' If these expressions mean that the number of persons, whose educational state has been ascertained by such inquirers as those I have named, is too small to illustrate the degree of instruction enjoyed by the great mass of the people, it is necessary to show what proportion does actually exist between the persons apprehended in this great county, for criminal and disorderly acts, and the entire of the population. To do this, I have only to refer to my Twenty-fourth Report (1847), in which it was proved from reliable data, supplied by the different constabulary bodies of the county, that, 'in each year, in Lancashire, *one male out of every sixteen* (above ten years old) *disturbs the peace and order of society.*' This is no 'narrow amount.' One male in sixteen drafted annually from the great working body of Lancashire is more than enough to show the mental and moral state of that body.

And here I may suggest, that the great ignorance which lies at the root of the causes that bring men into prison, is also the cause which renders the reformatory discipline of the prison more ineffective than it would otherwise be. It is extremely difficult, too often it is impossible, for a Jail Chaplain to speak in language capable of conveying the momentous truths of religion to persons who know not the meaning of such words as virtue, vice, righteousness, iniquity. The consequence is, that offenders under short sentences, so deplorably ignorant, leave the prison altogether unimpressed and unenlightened, soon to return to it—re-committed for renewed indulgence in their low animal vice or violence.

The gentleman who questioned the soundness of my educational statistics, in speaking of Sunday School education, says—'it is a vast element in our system, and, in my belief, is producing an enormous amount of benefit, not only by the high morality which it imparts to the scholars, but by bringing in contact with each other the higher and lower ranks of society, knitting them together in the bonds of good will and mutual esteem, in a manner, and to a degree that is not likely to be secured in any other way.' To the general import of these expressions I cordially subscribe, but it is evident

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reigning sovereign, and evidently, thought that there was no ground for affirming such a thing. This great ignorance of greater ignorance was of no trifling import; for the noble lord *had once been prime minister of England!*

\* 24th Report, p. 23. The matter has not mended since 1847. In that year the apprehensions in Liverpool were 6,000 less than they were in 1854, and those by the County Police about 1,300 less. It should be remembered, too, that the "one in sixteen" takes in all the male population of every rank. If the educated and "better" classes were excluded from the calculation, it would be found that about *one in fourteen* males of the working class annually render themselves more or less obnoxious to the law.

that the Sunday School, as an educational power, and as an instrument for the promotion of Christian knowledge, is capable of, and, in fact, needs, much further developement. In my Twenty-eighth Report (1851), after noting—what I again have to observe—that the ignorance of female prisoners is much beyond that of males—67 per cent. of their number being unable to read,\* I observed that while female prisoners constitute *less than one sixth* of the whole number of prisoners, that small portion is almost ‘entirely supplied by the most untaught portion of the sex; in other words, the efforts made for the religious and educational welfare of the girls of the working classes are better rewarded than those devoted to the boys.’ . . . ‘As a general thing, the girls in our Sunday Schools have greater advantages in the number and *intelligence* of their honorary teachers than the boys have; and, no less important, the girls continue their connexion with the school, long after boys of the same age have cast themselves entirely loose from the wholesome tie.† I believe, indeed, that *the young ladies* of the country who devote themselves with so much perseverance, tact, judgment, and right feeling, to the work of Sunday School teaching, are the most efficient civilizers of the day; and if a time should ever come, when young men of education, and comparative rank, shall become Sunday School instructors to the same extent, the effect upon our brethren of the industrial classes would be seen in such a social and religious advance as has never yet been made. At present it is for want of a sufficient *number* of well educated and friendly hearted teachers for the Sunday School boys, that their schooling, as compared with that of girls, is unproductive of the amount of good desired.‡ Were such teachers forthcoming, we should soon have less of dry book-work in the schools, less cramming of the memory with a Catechism seldom explained, and soon forgotten,§ the Holy Scriptures would not be desecrated into repulsive lesson books, and a dislike of them be engrafted for life; poor children would not be

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\* I fear I shall scarcely be believed, when I say that more than 60 per cent. of our female prisoners cannot count 100 in the usual way; such, however, is the fact.

† 28th Report, p. 12, and Note.

‡ I should deeply regret to be thought insensible to the *disinterested* labours of those teachers of the boys who do attend the Sunday Schools; devoting themselves to the work of instruction, there, after undergoing constant toil or occupation during the week, with an assiduity and good feeling which deserves the highest praise.

§ A few years ago a relative of my own was requested, when on a visit, to take charge of a class in a Sunday School. The members of the class “went through” the Catechism with sufficient verbal accuracy, but made sad failures when examined as to their knowledge of its meaning. One of the scholars, in answer to a question, said that her “spiritual pastor” was the devil! After having been set right on this point, the same girl was asked if she knew who her “ghostly enemy” was? Remembering the answer which she ought to have given to the former question, and determined to be right now, she promptly replied—“the Rev. Mr. G.—.”

dragged to church or chapel, to hear what is, to them, quite unintelligible; and, weary, cold, and restless, to be a source of annoyance and distress to the rest of the congregation.\* In place of proceedings like these, efforts would be made in our Sunday Schools to give to the growing faculties of children healthy and agreeable exercise; moral and Christian duties would be taught by interesting narratives, real histories, and an *occasional*, and always reverential, reference to Him who loved children, and specially taught the poor: the Book, in which this love and teaching are set forth, being reserved to gratify the desires of those who long for a more perfect knowledge.† Something of this kind would be a happy substitute for the prevailing Sunday School system, which, as I have ventured to represent on former occasions, defeats its own object; the children soon forget the little reading they have been taught, and never enter a place of worship after they become their own masters. I shall have to discharge an unpleasant, but, I believe, a necessary duty, by showing, as I shall do presently, that in North Lancashire, where Sunday Schools are more numerous attended than they are in any other county, religious worship is so greatly neglected that, in respect to it, there are only six counties out of the forty which present a more discreditable appearance. And not only so, but it would seem that throughout the entire county of Lancashire, Sunday School attend-

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\* Sixteen years ago, a prisoner, a disciple of Robert Owen, with whom I had many conversations, said—"I was taken regularly to church when I was a child, but I was often *so cold and starved* that I acquired a *distaste* for the place."—Report for 1839, p. 12. Children of the *instructed* classes are taken to church as a *privilege or reward*, by their parents, and so learn reverence and attachment for the place. We must pray and strive that the children of the poor may be taken to their places of worship, under similar happy circumstances. (While correcting the proofs of this note, I hear of a Sunday School, the pupils of which, when they attend church, sit with their parents. The parish in which this good plan is followed is, in other respects also, a model.)

† A more practical and *exemplary* kind of instruction in Sunday Schools might be made available for the removal of a great *opprobrium*, which attaches to our national character. Care and kindness for the brute creation might be taught. Children would be (many are) deeply interested in learning God's goodness to dumb animals, from suitable instruction in Natural History. Again—and this applies to our schools generally—it should be remembered that children like to *do* something. Providence did not confer the wonderful powers of the human head to be unemployed during childhood. If those powers were exercised by the children in our schools, intelligence would be roused and stimulated ten times more than by the present system, which ignores the physical capabilities altogether. It must be admitted that among the great mass of our handicraftsmen, there is a want of intelligence with regard to their own employments. Popular schools might remedy this by developing the children's peculiar aptitudes, so that they might be placed in trades and situations for which they are well suited, instead of, as at present, letting such things be decided by the arbitrary will of a parent, or the thoughtless choice of the child.

ance, in the respective "districts or unions," is almost in an inverse proportion to the attendance on public worship!\*

There is only too much ground, therefore, for concluding that Sunday Schools stand greatly in need of improvement, or rather that they require a radical change in the plans on which they are conducted. They do good, I admit, even now, by giving to the children who attend them such a sense of propriety and duty as often preserves them from crimes into which they would otherwise fall; but they fail in cultivating that intelligent piety and that reverence for religious observances which, no doubt, constituted the chief objects for which Sunday Schools were instituted.

These observations apply mainly to the boys' schools. In the girls', as I have said, a superior influence is at work. There, mutual sympathy and good will are established between the teacher and the taught, producing the most beneficial consequences to both parties, and lasting long after school days are past. In this district there are thousands of young women who, after entering the Sunday School at an early age, have continued their attendance until, or even after, marriage. These young women are the civilizers and meliorators of their families and their class. If Sunday Schools had done no more than to bring the educated and refined of the softer sex into kindly intercourse with their humbler sisters, they would have accomplished an immense good. May the time not be far distant when similar relations shall be established by the other sex? That the efforts made of late years to spread useful instruction more widely have not been quite fruitless, I will not deny; and I know that, in many instances, the instruction so given has been the foundation on which many of the industrious classes have raised a superstructure of useful and honourable self-education. Publications intended to supply innocent amusement and serviceable knowledge are becoming more numerous, and are more extensively read. Such publications as *The Leisure Hour*, *Chambers' Journal*, *The True Briton*, and *Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper*, are operating most beneficially on the popular taste for reading, and are displacing such demoralizing trash as *The Mysteries of the Court*, *Claude Duval*, &c.

But with all the excellent provision for moral and intellectual improvement, there is also spread through the land a debasing and

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\* It would probably be altogether so, were Sunday School children not included among the attendants on public worship. How much worse would the account, as to the latter, look if the large numbers of the former were not reckoned?

† Whit-Monday is a great day in Preston for Sunday School processions. Having always felt interested in such sights, I could not but perceive, years ago, that while the boys' procession consisted almost entirely of children, the girls' had a large proportion of young women. On Whit-Monday of the present year (1855), having placed myself with a friend where we could see all the scholars pass in succession, we noted, independently, the number of male and female scholars apparently of 15 years old and upwards. The results of our observations agreed tolerably well, and indicated that among the boys there were about 310 of fifteen years old and upwards, and among the girls 120.

ruinous counter-influence, drawing both sexes, and all ages of the working population into sensuality and sin; into habits which entail hopeless misery, and into acts of appalling crime. I have already said that in the last two years it has been my melancholy duty to converse with 1126 male prisoners, rendered such by drink. Through the kindness of the Clerk of the Crown, I have also looked over the depositions relating to those charges of darker character which were tried at the Assizes for the County in the year ending March, 1854. The following is a brief summary of the offences charged, and of the causes which led to them, in the cases of 380 prisoners :—

OFFENCES.	CAUSES.			REMARKS.
	ACTS of Drunkenness as the immediate cause.	HABITS of drinking: indirect cause.	Other causes.	
Murder ... ..	7*	2	9†	* Including 4 ale and beer house cases. † Including 3 cases of infanticide by mothers.
Attempts to murder	4*	2	...	* Including one beer house case.
Shooting, stabbing, cutting and maiming, &c., &c. ...	41*	3	4	* Including 14 ale and beer house cases.
Manslaughter ...	15*	9	6	* Including 8 do. do.
Rape ... ..	14	...	2	
Assaults ... ..	10*	...	...	* Including 9 do. do.
Burglary & house-breaking... ..	13	33*	36	* Including 13 burglaries, &c., in ale and beer houses.
Robbery ... ..	32*	1	1	* Including 12 ale and beer house cases, and 3 in which prosecutor was drunk.
Robbery attended with violence ...	30*	6	...	* Including 24 in which prosecutor was drunk.
Larceny ... ..	2	2	5	
Other offences ...	5	19	67	
	173	77	130	

Are these figures to be passed over as dry and repulsive statistics? Surely not. When murders, manslaughters, stabbings, shootings, rapes, burglaries, "and such like," to the number of 250 in one year, and in one county, are traceable, directly, to *acts* of drunkenness, or more indirectly, but no less certainly, to *habits* of drunkenness. Christian feeling must indeed be dormant if it is not moved to deep sorrow for the crimes, and roused into determination to abate the

cause of them.\* But I fear that no such determination will, for a long time to come, be of any avail. Warning and remonstrance will be heard from the bench and from the pulpit, from the workhouse and from the madhouse, and from the condemned cell, in vain? For a powerful interest insists upon its right to profit by—to live upon—the degradation and misery of the people; and against that interest, the interests of morality, and of the Christian religion, of mental and material progress, of social and domestic peace, will plead in vain!

But the interests of morality and social well-being only plead in vain when the question touches the poor and ignorant. When the "better class" are concerned, the case is altered. Whatever threatens *their* household peace, or the prospects and advancement of their sons who are just entering life, is not treated by palliatives, but is firmly put down. When merchants' clerks and wealthy tradesmen's assistants were drawn into *betting offices*, and when, consequently, employers' cash boxes were tampered with, the evil was felt as a very serious one; and, as no powerful "interest" stood in the way of its suppression, it was suppressed. More recently, the Legislature was appealed to, to save youths of education and of respectable families from the dangers of the Gaming House. On moving for leave to bring in a bill intended to effect that object, the Attorney General eloquently set forth that "almost every day brought to light some fresh instance of young men of hope and promise being led into these places, being induced to play, having their fortunes impaired, oftentimes being ruined, and having their prospects severely damaged by the arts of which they became the victims."†

Now the low ale and beer houses have no temptations for such "young men of hope and promise" as the Attorney General sought to protect when he took steps to abolish gaming-houses. Ale and beer houses do not affect *them*; and therefore it is enough to lament that the poor should be addicted to such places, and to express confident hopes that the progress of education will soon create better habits, &c., &c. But the education of the respectable classes did not keep some of their promising young men out of gaming-houses, and so render legislation unnecessary; and such education as has hitherto been provided for the poor will not keep *them* out of dram shops and "singing rooms," or such places as the brothel beer-houses which infest some of our Lancashire towns. But "*de minimis non curat lex*:" though the Legislature promptly and effectually interposed its safeguards between a few unthinking youths of the higher class and the

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\* Within a few hours of writing the above, the criminal history of Liverpool recorded that a Police-officer was called into a house in that town, where he found a girl of 8 years old lying dead, and a boy of 4 years old in a dying state, both naked, their bones protruding through their skin, and their bodies covered with filth; a third child "cowering in a corner more like a dog than a human being." And who were the perpetrators of this tragedy? Drunkard—parents! Who thus exemplify the horrible consequences of this national vice, almost at the very time when the Legislature repeals a law which would have set *some* bounds to the practice of it.

† Speech of the Attorney General, March 23rd, 1854.

dangerous temptations of the gaming-house, it has been very slow, and almost ineffective in its attempts to save the *many* among the ignorant and unthinking of the humbler class from the equally ruinous temptations of the drinking house. How many promising youths of the higher ranks have had their prospects blighted through "being led" into the twenty gaming-houses of the Metropolis\* cannot be known; neither can it be known how many of lower rank have been ruined by the 50,000 ale and beer houses† which are impoverishing and demoralizing the people through the entire country. I have never yet conversed with a single prisoner who attributed his ruin to the gaming table; but I have heard more than *fifteen thousand* prisoners declare that the enticements of the ale and beer houses had been *their* ruin. Now and then, and only in the Metropolis, were the evils of gaming brought before the police magistrates; but the audience of every police-court, in every large town in the kingdom, has to listen, daily, to revolting accounts of malignant and ferocious cruelty generated by drink—

"And the vitriol madness flushes up in the ruffian's head,  
Till the filthy by-lane rings to the yell of the trampled wife."‡

Before concluding these observations on drunkenness, I would shortly advert to the evidences brought to light by the Preston "turn-out," of the almost incredible *expenditure* of the industrious classes in drink. Through the courtesy of the Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue, I received from the Supervisor of this district, an account of the consumption of spirits and beer, in the Borough of Preston, during the six months *preceding*, and the six months *of*, the strike. From this account it would appear that the *decrease* in the consump-

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\* The number of known gaming-houses was said to be nineteen.

† In 1852 there were in England,—

60,565 Licensed victuallers.

39,378 Beer sellers licensed to allow drinking on the premises.

3,348	do.	not	do.	do.	do.
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103,291

‡ Another drunkard in Liverpool has supplied another illustration of the effects of the habits to which we have just given more legislative licence;—an illustration deserving a more permanent place of record than the columns of a newspaper. The *Liverpool Daily Post*, of September 7th, has the following.—"A man named Richard Dutton, residing in a cellar, went home drunk, and after cruelly beating his wife turned her out of the house with her child at the breast, and two sons of the respective ages of 9 and 15 years, (youths of hope and promise?) The mother, with her child, took shelter at a neighbour's house, but the two poor lads went and lay down in a brick-kiln, where they were found in the morning, one dead and the other insensible. Dr. Johnson, of Kirkdale, was promptly in attendance, and ordered the father to be taken into custody." Now, but for the fatal result of this ruffian's drunkenness, the minor consequences of it would never have been brought to light. "The yell of the trampled wife," and the cries of her three children, are only things of common occurrence.

tion of these articles in the latter period, as compared to the former, was, in spirits, 4,028 gallons, and in beer, 5,340 barrels! Adopting the Supervisor's calculation, that the former would be retailed at two shillings per gill, and the latter at £3 10s. per barrel, it results that the *diminished* expenditure in the ale and beer houses of the borough, for the six months of the strike, was *about* £1,000 *weekly*! an enormous sum, when considered as the result of decreased drinking amongst those who formed the body of "turnouts;" only 4,050 of whom were males above eighteen years of age! Now, as this weekly thousand pounds' worth of drink *was* dispensed with by our factory hands, during the six or seven months of the strike, it may be concluded that, when in receipt of their ordinary wages, they might easily *save* the money. £50,000 annually "laid up in store" by them, would incalculably promote their own happiness and social elevation, as well as the welfare and credit of the town. The contrast between what *might* be done, and what *is* done, in this respect, is very sad; for it appears that in November, 1852, there were only 905 "factory hands, spinners, and weavers," among the depositors of the Savings' Bank, and their accumulated store for, probably, some twenty or thirty years, was only £17,527! It might have been a million! It moves indignation as well as sadness, to think of this enormous waste! to think that a large portion of our harvests—of the bounteous gifts of Almighty Providence to the *poor*, and intended for their food and sustenance—is made deliberately and systematically the means of their impoverishment and degradation! There is little or no hope of remedy for these things, until the really Christian part of the public fully recognises the evil, and with one mind determines to have it removed. It is evident that the legislature, under present circumstances, can do nothing. It is restrained by deference to that dominating "INTEREST," which demands and receives sixty or seventy millions a year from the consumers of intoxicating liquor.\*

Observations on the causes of crime would be incomplete, if no reference were made to the too common disregard of the duties of the Lord's day. Many of my former Reports have directed attention to this failing of the greater part of our labouring population. "Their irreligious state arises from neglect of the means of grace, rather than from any active dissemination among them of bad principles. It is not infidelity, in fact, but ignorance: they do not believe, because they never hear the preacher. Places of worship have been before their eyes from infancy, and the Holy Sabbath has been, even to them, a day distinguished from others, yet scarcely is their curiosity excited to inquire into the purpose for which either one or the other is set apart. They suppose that people go to church 'to hear goodness,' but they appear to consider that *they*, as poor people, are not required to hear it."†

\* It is well known that the liquor dealers in any borough could "turn" an election. Legislators, therefore, chosen under such influence, will not do much to counteract it, and, consequently, the question as to the means of repressing drunkenness is, *legislatively*, brought to a stand still.

† Report for 1839. This Report contained the first notice, in this country, of the *Mormonites*. Eight hundred ignorant and fanatical



These remarks were made sixteen years ago; and, again, eight years afterwards, I felt compelled to write:—"The extent to which religious ignorance and indifference prevail can scarcely be credited of a people among whom the Gospel has been preached for twelve centuries. For more than twenty years I have used my humble efforts to attract notice to the practical heathenism suffered to exist among us; and it is still my duty to say, that although the evil is now more fully recognized, its fearful dimensions are not dreamt of. 'Is it, or is it not, an exaggeration to say that more than half of all the adult persons who belong to the Communion of the Church of England, live and die without ever participating in the Holy Eucharist?'" Let us endeavour to see the truth, however painful it may be to look upon. I take a town with which I am best acquainted—Preston—not excelled, I think not equalled, for general decorum and propriety, by any town in the kingdom of a similar population. I estimate the inhabitants at 85,000; and, of these, there are, at least, 31,000 connected with the Church of England by the rites of baptism, marriage, and burial of relations. Deducting those under 16 years of age, we shall have between 20,000 and 21,000 nominal members of our Church who *ought* to show their membership by sharing in her ordinances, and in the rites she administers at her Lord's table. I will not venture to say how many of them habitually neglect every part of her worship; but I know that I am far from exaggerating when I state that not one half, but more than nine-tenths, entirely neglect, at least omit, in this manner, to commemorate their Saviour's death." What I thus represented eight years ago, and sixteen years ago, has now been confirmed, and urged on the attention of this, so called, Christian country, by one who speaks with authority, and with a voice of grave warning. Mr. Horace Mann, in his Report on Religious Worship, (*Census*, 1851) writes:—"While the *labouring* myriads of our country have been multiplying with our multiplied material prosperity, it cannot, it is feared, be stated that a corresponding increase has occurred in the attendance of this class in our religious edifices. More especially in cities and large towns it is observable how absolutely insignificant a portion of the congregation is composed of artizans.† They fill

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disciples of Joe Smith were got together in Preston, in 1839. "This sect collects on the Sabbath a greater number of the working population, than are assembled in any single place of worship in the town or neighbourhood." Report 1839, p. 12, Note. "The activity of the disciples of this faith is evidenced by the frequency with which they occupy their meeting places: out of the total number of 222 . . . 193 (or 87 per cent.) were open in the evening. Comparison with similar statistics of the other Churches will show that this is much above the average frequency of services." (*Census*, Religious Worship, page cxlviii.)

\* Quarterly Review, June 1847, page 60.

† A passage in my Report for 1838, relating to the habitual neglect of Divine Worship is much confirmed—after the lapse of seventeen years—by the facts noted above. The passage referred to "the almost general desertion of the House of God by that portion of the working population which consists of males in the prime of life, and I think," I observed,

perhaps, in youth, our National, British, and Sunday Schools, and there receive the elements of a religious education; but no sooner do they mingle in the active world of labour than, subjected to the constant action of opposing influences, they soon become as utter strangers to religious ordinances, as the people of a heathen country. . . . It is sadly certain that this vast, intelligent, and growingly important section of our countrymen is thoroughly estranged from our religious institutions in their present aspect. Probably indeed the prevalence of *Infidelity* has been exaggerated, if the word be taken in its popular meaning, as implying some degree of intellectual effort and decision; but, no doubt, a great extent of negative inert indifference prevails, the practical effects of which are much the same.”

This emphatic statement of evils which I felt it my duty to represent, almost in the same words, *sixteen years ago*;—this authoritative recognition of the existence of a great body of “HOME HEATHENS,” to whose condition I entreated attention *ten years ago*,† emboldens me to repeat, now that the subject is taken up with more earnestness, suggestions which appeared in my Report for 1847:—“Some little may be done;—*may be done now*. It is not that we want more churches, but we *do* want more ministers. When I see the attention and interest given by *prisoners* to a *short* daily service, I feel assured that many an operative and labourer, who now habitually desecrates the Sabbath, would gladly attend a Sunday service were its duration shortened, and the time convenient. Instead of only two or three services on the Sunday I would have five or six; two of them to be performed in full, and three or four so shortened, or divided, that, including a plain and pertinent sermon, each should not occupy more than from forty to sixty minutes. I entertain a confident hope that these short services would soon be well attended. Many persons who cannot make up their minds, after a hard week’s toil, to give two hours in the middle of the Sunday to their public religious duties, or who do not like to contrast their clothing with that of their wealthier neighbours, would find some satisfaction in thinking that, by devoting a part of the Lord’s day to His worship, they would be better entitled to be called by His name. The rest and relaxation which the working man must have on the Sunday would, after even one short visit to the house of prayer, assuredly be more innocent than it is now;—let him only once practically recognize the claims of the Sabbath, and he would be brought more and more under the sway of religious influences.”‡

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“that if the subject were investigated, it would appear that *this desertion is in the ratio of the density of the population. Village congregations would be found least obnoxious to this remark, and those of large towns most so.*” (Report for 1838, page 10.)

\* Census, 1851, “Religious Worship,” page 158.

† 23rd Report, page 24.

‡ 24th Report, page 26. The late Rev. Sydney Smith—not only the wittyest, but, perhaps, the wisest man of his day—said, in 1801, “In London, I dare say, there are full seven-tenths of the whole population who hardly ever enter a place of worship from one end of the year to the

# "REFORMATORY PRISON DISCIPLINE.

Twelve years have now passed since the introduction, in this prison, of a system of discipline based upon separate confinement as its essential principle. In the government model prison at Pentonville, which had been completed and occupied a few months before, the plans, it is well known, were of a most restrictive character. The separate confinement, there, was not merely such as would have sufficed to prevent conversational intercourse among the prisoners, but, under no circumstances were they allowed to *see* each other. To maintain the integrity of such a system, however, it became necessary to resort to masks, separate airing yards—in which the convicts took their solitary exercise—and separate boxes, which isolated them when attending Divine Service, or when receiving the Schoolmaster's instruction. This discipline, though it secured the prisoner from contamination, (hitherto the great prison evil) and provided those means for reflection and self examination which, under the Divine blessing, were, in many cases, followed by permanent reformation, appeared to me to be uselessly severe in itself, and, at the same time, likely to endanger the mental health of the prisoner. 'The mind must retain, humanly speaking, its full strength, when occupied on such a work as repentance.' Accordingly, while instituting, here, separate cellular confinement as the only safeguard from corrupting intercourse, it was not thought desirable to adopt the masks and other means of strict isolation used at Pentonville. Our prisoners were permitted to *see each other at exercise, at Divine Service, and, after a little consideration, at School*. This modified separate system realized what I had earnestly recommended for many years, and soon produced effects equal to my most sanguine hopes.

While, however, we mitigated the Pentonville system to so considerable an extent, we resorted to what has appeared to many persons—including some eminent members of the legislature—an unjustifiable severity. We placed *prisoners committed for trial in separate confinement*. While 'the many evils of permitting the *untried* to associate still remained unremedied, it became evident—especially with regard to boys—that no *after* discipline could stay the growth of the corruption contracted even in a few days' exposure to that association. The necessity, then, for removing such evils could no longer be resisted: accordingly, in June, 1844, all *boys* committed for trial were at once placed beyond the reach of contamination. Doubts may yet linger in some minds about the *legal* propriety of these measures. The absence, however, of statutory sanction for them is of trifling consequence when weighed against the immense

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other." (See life, vol. 1., page 42.) This estimate was, probably, too favourable, unless we are to suppose that the case was *much* better than it is now. The actual attendance at religious worship, on Census Sunday, 1835, in London, was *under two-tenths* of the whole population! 460,168, out of a population of 2,362,236. So that more than 12,000 persons over and above EIGHT-TENTHS of the London population "hardly ever enter a place of worship."

\* Report for 1841.

moral benefits which the prisoners—and therefore society—derive from them. Should it be objected that to *separate* the untried is to *punish* them, and that punishment must not be inflicted until guilt is proved, I would reply, that a prisoner committed for trial must be either guilty or innocent,—an adept in crime or a novice: if the former, separation is no injustice to him, for *he has no right* to be placed among those whom he would contaminate. If, on the other hand, the newly committed prisoner should be innocent, or unused to crime, he *has* a right to be protected from influences which would inflict upon him a horrible and irreparable injury.\* ‘The authorities of this jail were *the first* to take the most momentous step ever yet taken in prison discipline, by sanctioning *the individual separation of the UNTRIED.*’† We were the *first* to do this, because, fortunately, the County had, at the right time, ‘the right man in the right place.’ The present able and zealous Governor had seen the ruinous consequences of prison association—especially in respect to boys;—and no sooner were our separate cells ready for occupation than, in accordance with my anxious wish, and without waiting for the formal approval which legal difficulties might have delayed,—and notwithstanding a well intended caution from a government official—*all boys committed for trial were placed in separate confinement, and so were saved from the prison-demoralization which had been at work—up to that hour—ever since prisons existed. FROM THAT HOUR, YOUTHFUL CRIMINALITY, AS A SYSTEM, CARRIED ON BY HABITUAL AND ASSOCIATED THIEVES, HAS CEASED TO EXIST IN NORTH LANCASHIRE.* It is not unnecessary, even now, to press this argument respecting the treatment of the untried, because there are, still, well-meaning people to be found who consider that to deprive them of the privilege (?) of associating is both illegal and cruel; and because, even now, and despite the progress made in the question of prison discipline,—*in more than two-thirds of our jails, prisoners for trial are permitted to herd together, and to form themselves into mutual instruction societies for propagating the knowledge and practice of crime.*‡

The PRESTON SYSTEM, instituted, as we have seen in 1843, continued for several years to be the only example of a discipline

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\* 22nd Report, page 8.

† 23rd Report, page 5.

‡ The late Lord Nugent, in February, 1848, moved the House of Commons to allow the association of untried prisoners. Sir George Grey, in opposing the motion, quoted the passage which I have given above from my 22nd Report, and Dr. Bowring—Lord Nugent’s second—avowing that Sir George’s “arguments had changed his previous conviction,” and recommending the withdrawal of the motion, no further debate took place. In 1850, a Committee of the House of Commons resolved that “individual separation ought to be applied to all prisoners before trial, as it is essential, in an especial degree, that such prisoners should be secured from all intercourse with other prisoners.” Two years after the passing of this resolution, however, I was made aware (when under examination before a select Committee of the Commons) that there are still persons of public eminence who are not reconciled to the “hardship” of separating the untried.

which, while insisting upon cellular separation, dispenses with masks, separate airing yards, and separate stalls in Chapel. On the contrary, the prisoners see each other frequently in the course of the day; they take exercise in sight of each other,—‘brisk, exhilarating exercise, which makes the blood circulate healthily through the whole system, and which, being attended by a sense of companionship, promotes so much of mental tone and cheerfulness as effectually counteracts any tendency to morbid depression. In Chapel the prisoners assemble like an ordinary congregation, with scarcely any other restraint upon them than what is imposed by their own sense of propriety.’ After a time the distinguishing features of our system were, one by one, adopted in other prisons, including those of Wakefield, Kirkdale, and Pentonville;† and, in 1852, the Directors of the last named establishment passed resolutions recommending:—1, Brisk walking exercise under such arrangements as will effectually prevent communication; 2, The abolition of the mask or peak; and 3, the discontinuance of separation in Chapel.‡ This recognition of the advantages of plans which had been pursued in this prison for nine years will, no doubt, be satisfactory to the magistrates under whose authority they were carried out; though, at the same time, they may justly question the fairness of a statement that ‘practically, neither the deterring nor the reformatory effects of imprisonment have ever had a trial on a sufficient scale to test their efficiency, excepting in the case of convicts under sentence of transportation.§ Surely the long continued experiment in this prison has been sufficient, both as regards time and scale, to afford a test of its efficiency. Carried on simultaneously with the experiments at Pentonville and Reading, its good effects were as indisputable as they were extensive. I have been able to show, during several successive years, that of the discharged prisoners who returned to their homes, (in the County) after undergoing the sentences of imprisonment passed on them at the sessions, upwards of 60 *per cent.* have given satisfactory evidence of decided moral improvement, or of complete and permanent reformation.|| And while thus, under Providence, producing these happy results, the PRESTON SYSTEM was not chargeable with consequences which, too often, attended the severer one. In one year, 1852, the medical officer at Pentonville reported cases of insanity, delusion, mental depression, &c. &c., ‘rendering removal from the prison advisable,’ amounting, in all, to twenty-two.¶ *Upon no occasion whatever have we found it necessary—or even ‘advisable’—to remove either a government convict or one of our own prisoners for a similar cause.* I am justified in affirming, therefore, that not only have re-

\* 28th Report, page 27.

† The separate stalls, however, still remain in the Chapel at Pentonville.

‡ Report of the Surveyor General of Prisons for 1853, page 10.

§ 5th Report of the Surveyor General of Prisons, page 63.

|| V. 23rd Rep. p.p 37 et seq. | 26th Rep. p.p. 33 et seq.

24th “ “ 41 “ | 28th “ “ 44 “

25th “ “ 25 “ |

¶ 5th Report of the Surveyor General of Prisons, page 10.

formatory measures had a sufficient trial, here, but that they have been followed by results which leave no doubt as to what ought to be the main principle of prison discipline. The adoption and extension of that principle in preference to the *detering* one, I presume to recommend once more—it may be for the last time. The past history of prison discipline is little better than the history of the failures of deterring plans. Proof upon proof has been given that criminally disposed persons cannot be deterred, *i.e.*, they cannot be restrained from crime merely by the dread of punishment: they are only made more cunning and cautious. They have been taught to fear punishment more than to hate crime; and crime, therefore, they will resort to whenever they can persuade themselves—as they almost always can—that they shall escape its penalty. It is not creditable to the humanity or religious spirit of the age in which it is sought to deter criminals rather than to reform them,—in which it is virtually declared—‘all we have to do with a thief is to inflict so much pain upon him for his offence as will save our property from his hands in future.’ But the Christian thinks that we have to do something more with him; that it consists with true wisdom, no less than with the teaching of the Gospel, to attempt to save the poor outcast himself,—and that it really is of more consequence to rescue his soul from death than to preserve some trifle of our property from his grasp.

The advocates for deterring processes did not, perhaps, reflect that—putting aside the question of humanity—there was little *fairness* in punishing with whips, and chains, and tread mills, and cranks, for the non-performance of duties which had never been properly taught; in taking vengeance for violations of the law which are notoriously and confessedly generated in places which the law declines to meddle with. Society has acted towards its criminals as if they *would* not be otherwise—when, in fact, they scarcely *could* be otherwise.

If it be true—as I think it is—that a Reformatory Prison should be regarded as a Moral Hospital, what ought to be the treatment of the patients? The question may be answered when their symptoms are understood: when it is ascertained that gross ignorance has to be enlightened; that hard hearts and thoughts have to be softened; that the sparks of humanity and of conscience have to be fanned by the breath of kindness; and that the dormant principle of Religion has to be called into life by the earnest and judicious use of those means of Grace which a merciful Providence places within a prisoner's reach. And though, at first, it may seem out of character to undertake the curative process indicated, in a prison—a place generally regarded as consecrated to ‘the vengeance of the law,’—a little reflection will convince us that we have—whether duty or interest be consulted—no other choice. When the prisoner was at large, society neglected to instruct him in his duties, and he, consequently, did wrong: \* but as society, nevertheless, expects that he will do

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\* It must not be forgotten that of the thousands imprisoned each year, in this County, only two in a hundred can read or write properly.

better when he has been in a House of *Correction*, in order to satisfy that expectation it is necessary to give him the instruction which had hitherto been withheld. When the prisoner was at large—whether suffering or inflicting suffering—he was led to believe that no one cared for him—for his own sake: it is necessary, therefore, to disabuse his mind on this point; and, now that he can be got at—and not under unfavourable circumstances—an attempt must be made to convince him that his welfare, here and hereafter, is really desired and prayed for by thousands of the very people whom—prejudiced as he was—he had regarded with suspicion and dislike. When at large, he seemed to think that—being poor, and ‘no scholar’—he was not bound to the performance of the religious duties incumbent on the rich and educated. Here, again, the House of Correction must do its proper work. The poor home heathen—whom neither the parish minister nor the town missionary could reach—is, at last, brought into contact with the religious teacher, and may be prepared to receive the message of salvation.

Now the treatment thus outlined is altogether reformatory. It is true that separation, order, and scrupulous cleanliness may be irksome to prisoners of the baser sort, and be, so far, to them, deterring; but by all those who are capable of moral and religious amendment, separation and order are felt and acknowledged to be reformatory.

A few more years’ observation of the effects produced by regular attendance at the service of the Chapel adds to my conviction of its inestimable value as a reformatory power. To those who look on prisoners either as hopeless reprobates or cunning hypocrites it is difficult to convey an adequate idea of the effect upon them of a religious service, which is made, as far as the instruments employed will allow, intelligible, interesting, instructive, and impressive. Convinced as I am, from long continued observation, that the most depraved may be affected by a reverent feeling when brought into a place where everything around proclaims, ‘this is none other than the House of God,’ all means are sought for giving due and solemnizing effect to the daily and Sunday service of the Chapel. Since I last adverted to this part of our discipline, the power of self control exercised by the prisoners, during divine service, has been subjected to a test which supplies another proof that men, supposed to be altogether abandoned, have within them a germ of good, endued with hopeful vitality. When they see that they receive credit for good feelings, they are willing to justify the favourable opinion, and good feelings arise. For some years, a screen was placed in the Chapel, which prevented the female prisoners, who sat in a gallery, and the male prisoners, who sat below, from seeing each other. As the good effects of our better discipline continued to develop themselves, it appeared to me that this screen might be dispensed with. It betokened mistrust and suspicion, and our object was to encourage voluntary self-restraint and willing reverence. The screen was, therefore, entirely removed; and never, for a moment, during the four years that have passed since its removal, has it seemed advisable to replace it. While dispensing, however,

with this mark of distrust, order and decorum are provided for, by causing the male prisoners to enter the Chapel first, and, when they are seated—all facing the east,—allowing the females to enter their gallery at the west. At the conclusion of the service the females depart first. Before better and holier feelings were appealed to in our system, the Chapel screen seemed to provoke impropriety,—shufflings of the feet, factitious coughs, ‘hems,’ and other similar signals; all of which have ceased long ago; and no male prisoner has ever yet been seen to disappoint the confidence in his sense of propriety by turning his eyes towards the women’s gallery. I cannot but think that conduct like this is very encouraging to every one who believes in the reformability of our criminals; and that it shows how desirable it is to discontinue all those unnecessary and irritating restraints which have been—and are—thought indispensable to a prison Chapel.\* When a prisoner, on entering his Chapel, finds himself subjected to painful inconvenience, caged up in a separate box, in which he is compelled to *stand*, during the whole service, and when the softening and elevating influences of music and psalmody have no place in that service, is it to be expected that anything like respect or affection for the house of God will arise in his mind? ‘Surely no good object can possibly be attained by making a prisoner’s attendance at Chapel instrumental to his punishment! If it be the carrying out of the *detering* principle, may not the treatment be *too* successful, and the prisoner, with such experience—perhaps his *only* experience—of religious (!) service, be *deterred* from willingly participating in it for the rest of his life? Upon every ground of hope for a culprit’s amendment; upon every ground of pity for his spiritual wants; upon every ground of sympathy for him as a fellow sinner who, perhaps, never had the means of Grace placed within his reach before—I would urge that the ministrations of Religion cannot be made too acceptable to him—cannot be offered to him too kindly. Is it right that a contrite spirit struggling to approach his Saviour should be held back by painful bodily restraints, which would seem intended to keep alive within him the bitter conviction that his fellow men will not trust him even when he longs to kneel to God for pardon?† It is not in my power to express all that I feel and think of the subject of prison chapel service. That it *ought*—as far as possible—to be instrumental in creating reverence and love for the Lord’s day and for Divine Worship in those who so much need every incentive to true Religion,—all nourishment in goodness, no one will venture to dispute: but no one, either, can dare to hope that anything like a spirit of devotion can be fostered under such circumstances of restraint and irritation as I have mentioned. It is well worth considering by every one who feels an

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\* The “one voice” with which our prisoners chant the responses of the Communion service is affecting and impressive. An observant witness of their conduct in Chapel would also be struck with the *simultaneous* turning of the leaves of their Bibles and Prayer Books, an indication of real interest in the service,

† 28th Report, page 38.



interest in the treatment of our criminals, or in our Christian progress, that 100,000 offenders are discharged from our prisons every year; and that it cannot but be of the highest moment to themselves, to their families,\* and to the community, that they should return into the world with a grateful and abiding remembrance of Sabbath rest and instruction, rather than with recollections calculated to make the very name of Divine service hateful.†

In nothing is the effect of our reformatory treatment more gratifying than it is in regard to the number of prisoners who offer themselves as communicants, and who—after careful examination—are admitted to the Holy Table. Before the introduction of our better discipline, I dare not invite the prisoners to the Sacrament, too well assured that no motives better than hypocrisy or bravado would actuate any who should present themselves; while a small number who might “truly repent them of their sins and intend to lead new lives,” were constrained by the wickedness of “the men in the yards” to conceal their real feelings, and assume an appearance of depravity, which in reality, they had not.

Since the presentation of my last Report the Holy Sacrament has been administered on the usual occasions: the smallest number of communicants has been 84 and the largest 117.‡

I have not thought it necessary to institute enquiries relative to the conduct of discharged prisoners,—feeling satisfied that the information on that subject, so kindly furnished for several consecutive years by Colonel Woodford's police force, has been sufficient to establish the general truth as to the extent of the moral and religious benefits derived by prisoners from subjection to our discipline. At

\* Calculating from the *data* furnished by the committals to this prison, these 100,000 offenders have wives, husbands, children, brothers and sisters, to the number, probably, of 650,000. Most of these may be influenced, for good or evil, by the conduct and language of their lately imprisoned relatives.

† As the reformatory discipline of a prison must, necessarily, be a religious one, and must greatly depend, humanly speaking, upon the zeal and judgment of the Chaplain, it is manifestly desirable that he should be enabled to resort for advice or support, when necessary, to some one invested with official authority, who has gained experience in the prosecution of labours like his own. No one can more thankfully acknowledge than I do the great benefits which prison discipline has derived from the enlightened efforts of the Inspectors of Prisons, with regard to everything of a secular character; but remembering that, with a single exception, they are all *military* men, I may be pardoned for thinking that, as such, they are not likely to be so deeply interested in a Chaplain's work—nor be so well qualified to advise him—as a clerical Inspector would be.

‡ We have generally from 10 to 20 County Court debtors in our custody, who attend the Chapel service regularly, and who being, theoretically, of a more respectable class than the other prisoners, are indulged with each other's society. Not one of this comparatively respectable body has ever expressed a wish to partake of the Lord's Supper. Any religious feeling which might prompt such a wish is counteracted by the association from which the other prisoners are saved.

no former period, however, have I *accidentally*, been informed of so many instances of permanent reformation in persons who had been in our charge. One of these, as narrated in the interesting letter of a neighbouring Clergyman, I have the gratification of giving in the Appendix ; and, as an example of the stability of that amendment of life, which, by God's blessing, may begin even in the " cold shade" of a prison, I also place in the Appendix a short statement by a valued " operative" friend, relating to the J. G., whose remarkable account of the change produced by a three months' imprisonment was printed in the Appendix to my 23rd Report, (1846.)\*

I have not thought it necessary to press considerations of economy into the arguments for a reformatory treatment of criminals. By every one who considers the subject in its proper light, as a social, vital, and religious question of the greatest moment, calculations as to cost will be little thought of. Nevertheless, there is a satisfaction in being able to see clearly that—in prison discipline as in other things—the *best* plans are the *cheapest* in the end ; and, that by exchanging a vicious mode of dealing with criminals, for a rational and humane one, a saving of more than £4000 a year has been effected.

#### " TICKETS OF LEAVE."

The lately adopted plan of liberating convicts, before the expiration of their sentences, with " tickets of leave," has raised an outcry for which, I am well assured, there has been little occasion.

Careful enquiry will show that the public has been hasty and unreasonable in the matter. The experiment would be watched with more patience and candour if it were remembered that we *cannot* send our convicts to the Colonies, as we formerly did ;† and if it were fully known what the community has, unconsciously, been enduring for many years under the *hulk system*—demoralizing as that system was at Woolwich—unspeakably horrible as it was at Bermuda.

My direct means of observing the working of the new plan are, necessarily, very limited ; but what I *have* seen of it is highly encouraging. I believe that upwards of forty-five males sentenced to seven years' transportation at the Preston Sessions, and previously resident in North Lancashire, have returned to their homes on tickets of leave. Two of these have re-entered the prison ; but neither of them for offences of that desperate character which the alarmed public might expect to hear of.‡ With several other " liberates"—from Portland, Dartmoor, and Parkhurst—I have had interesting and satisfactory interviews ; and it is only justice to the discipline of those Establishments to declare that the appearance of

\* J. G.'s narrative is printed in the form of a tract ; copies of which I shall be glad to forward to magistrates who may not be able to refer to my 23rd Report.

† Western Australia still receives convicts : 600 embarked for that place in 1853.

‡ One of them is a poor weak-minded rag-gatherer, re-committed for stealing rags : the other was committed summarily, for one month, on a charge of assaulting his wife, who, during his absence, had given him as he believes, too much cause for jealousy.

the men betokened a physical and mental improvement which I was little prepared to see, and which, with respect to two of them, I should not have thought possible. Both of those two—to my own knowledge—are now leading respectable lives.\*

While, however, I have great confidence in the *general* well working of the "ticket of leave" system, I cannot but doubt its applicability to convicts who have belonged to the habitually, or professionally criminal class of London, Liverpool, or other great towns. We have had many such men among the Government convicts sent to us for probationary discipline; and during my intercourse with them I have been led to believe that—in many instances—they desired, and intended, to forsake their evil course. But they were, themselves, sensible that a return to former scenes could only lead to ill. They foresaw that it would be almost impossible to avoid old associates, and to escape the numerous temptations which would beset them. Some of them have entreated that I would try "to get them to go abroad," where, safe from evil influences, they felt sure they could do well.† Every principle of justice and mercy requires that these entreaties should be listened to.

The great majority of *provincial* convicts are not systematic criminals, but rather incidental offenders, who have been impelled to criminal acts under the stimulus of drink. When these men are not deficient in understanding, their reformation—humanly speaking—is a comparatively easy work. On their liberation they obtain employment more easily than is generally supposed, and are almost sure of gaining character and comfort, if they will only keep out of the ale house and beer shop.

The real ground for apprehension and alarm about discharged criminals is not to be looked for in the 1,500 or 1,600 convicts annually liberated from the admirable Reformatory Institutions at Portland, Dartmoor, &c., but from the 70,000 or 80,000 offenders of dif-

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\* Another ticket of leave man, not belonging to this part of the country, but who had been under our care after his conviction at Lancaster, called upon me, on his way to Northumberland. Disappointed in his first attempt to see me, he delayed his journey, and eventually I had the satisfaction of an interview with him. His whole demeanour and language were such as to win confidence. Indeed, there was no possible motive for imposture or hypocrisy. Supposing he might need some little help in his journey, I offered it: but it was at once declined with thanks. He had been supplied, he said, on leaving Dartmoor, with sufficient means of reaching his destination. In all human probability I shall never see this man again; but the impression he made upon me, will, I hope, long remain.

† In accordance with my earnest wish, E. R., who had been a most accomplished thief, and at the same time, a man of great observation, and no inconsiderable ability, (v. Appendix to my 28th Report) was sent to Hobarton. A few days ago I saw his name, and that of another man who had been a member of my prison congregation, in the list of subscribers to the Patriotic Fund. The Hobarton newspaper, which contained the list, had been sent by E. R. to one of our schoolmasters.

ferent classes and degrees, who are, every year, turned out of prisons in which crime is encouraged by corrupting association. There are more really "dangerous characters" discharged from such prisons, in a fortnight, than could be found among all the "ticket of leave" men liberated from Portland, Dartmoor, Parkhurst, and Portsmouth, in a year.

#### NECESSITY FOR A REFORMATORY SCHOOL IN NORTH LANCASHIRE.

Although the discipline of this prison has put an end to the contaminating association of the "trial yard," where, formerly, young offenders received their finishing instructions in crime, and were enabled to concert future operations, it could not work so strongly *in terrorem* as to repress criminal inclinations in boys and girls—the miserable children of drunken and profligate parents—who had never been subjected to it. These neglected and much to be pitied creatures, when first apprehended for some petty theft, are sent into our care for seven or fourteen days, or a month; and, their imprisonment over, they return to their homes. What homes?—Homes of vice and brutality! Homes cursed by drunken fathers, or unfeeling step-parents! Homes in unused outbuildings, stables, privies, or other similar shelters, in which orphans or children "turned out of doors" are accustomed to pass their nights. Ere long the destitute child commits a fresh offence, and a longer imprisonment is the penalty. But the discipline of both imprisonments together is not long enough to correct what is evil in the child; and, even if it were, it could not strengthen him against the *external* evils to which he will be exposed from the moment he leaves the prison, and which will continue to act upon him, until, after two or three more summary committals, under "the Juvenile Act," and then one or two convictions at the sessions, he is quite ripe for a sentence of penal servitude. Now if, at the outset, instead of considering only the "trifling offence" which this child has committed, and passing a "suitable" sentence for it, (seven, ten, or fourteen days) the condition of the offender himself were enquired into—his mental, moral, and domestic condition,—it would be soon discovered that he was destitute of almost everything which should distinguished the child of a civilized Christian from the child of a heathen savage: and, if the child were thought of more consequence than his "slight" offence, it would be deemed right to place him under *corrective* treatment for such a length of time as would suffice for his proper religious and industrial training, and would enable him to gain an honest livelihood and a good name. But, it may be objected, this would be a long and expensive process. The expence must be defrayed by the "worse than an infidel" parent; and if his vices have brought him to a state which disables him from the fulfilment of the duty, correctional and penal consequences should be imposed upon him; and society must take charge of his child; fully assured that—setting aside the matter of Christian duty—it would be sound economy to do so. The child will cost much less by a few years' proper training than he would by a few years of alternate imprisonment and crime.

But the religious and industrial training required in such a case as the one now supposed cannot be given *in prison*. Certainly not. A reformatory prison, such as this, can provide, and *has provided, in several hundred instances*, permanent correction for boys who had momentarily gone astray, but who, when restored to liberty, were also restored to homes where kindness and good example were not wanting. But no *prison* can be adapted to boys who may require perhaps *years* of industrial and moral discipline. The personal restraints which cannot be dispensed with in a prison render its discipline inapplicable to growing boys beyond a certain period of time. The only place for them is the Reformatory School.

The table and observations at page lxxix, show that, comparatively exempt as we are from youthful crime and destitution, there is still an amount of both which points to the necessity for establishing a Reformatory School in North Lancashire. That necessity, indeed, is becoming more and more undeniable. There are, at this moment, three children awaiting trial at the sessions for offences which are, in reality, burglaries! burglaries effected with a degree of coolness, skill, and resolution which old and practised thieves might envy. Incredible as it may seem, one of these child-burglars is not yet 9 years old! His story, as he tells it, is this:—"My mother is dead: I do not remember her. My father often got drunk: he used to lick us with a rope: he used to bring women into the house—drinking—on Saturday nights. My father married again about two years ago: he sold all the furniture and left us. . . . I have broken into two houses. The first was on a Sunday morning about five o'clock. I had been sleeping in the stable all night. In the morning I got into the house through the cellar. I went up stairs and got into the bedroom, where there was a man and his two sons in bed. I took his trousers into the cellar, and found some copper and silver. I left the trousers on the cellar steps. Some lads got all the money from me but half-a-crown. I was not put up to do this by any one. Four days after, I broke into another house. I got in through the back door about twelve o'clock at night: I went up stairs into the man's bedroom, and took 13s. 6d. from his trousers pocket. I bought something to eat with the money. I slept out every night, and played about all day. I have four sisters and a brother; and I am the youngest but one."

The two other young burglars are respectively 13 and 14 years old, and are charged with the same offence—breaking into a flour mill. They effected their entrance by cutting out a pane of glass from a window. The younger boy says:—"Both my parents are living. I cannot read. My father seldom misses getting drunk once or twice a week. . . . I have often been to the Albion Singing Room: my father does not look after me." The third child's account is very short. He describes the way in which the robbery was effected, and then says:—"I have a *stepfather*: he gets drunk sometimes: he sent me to school: he used to go to Church, but he has given over going for about four years."

In February, 1854, an outcast child of 11 years old, who, with an older brother, had been repeatedly convicted, completed an imprison-

ment of twelve months, and was removed to the Kingswood Reformatory, near Bristol, an Institution of which Miss Carpenter was, mainly, the founder. The poor child's deplorable history was well known to that benevolent lady; and it was at her earnest wish that he was sent to Kingswood. I have reason to hope that the kindness of his benefactress has not been thrown away.

On the fifteenth of last November, a meeting was held in Bristol, for the purpose of making an appeal for the Kingswood Reformatory, so well known as the Institution founded by Mr. Russell Scott, and by our ever honored friend, Miss Mary Carpenter. The following Report of the Meeting, which we insert from *The Bristol Mercury*, of Saturday, November 17th, is most interesting: it shows too that we have volunteers in the quiet walks of home life, soldiers in the cause of humanity, whose self-denial and self-forgetfulness would bear comparison with the heroic, self-sacrificing spirit of the soldiers of freedom and right: the facts referring to Mr. Bengough, and related by Mr. Stanley, are certainly worthy the highest praise, the warmest admiration:—

#### KINGSWOOD REFORMATORY SCHOOL.

An interesting and important meeting of ladies and gentlemen interested in the reformation of juvenile criminals, was held on Thursday, in the theatre of the Philosophical Institution, Park-street, for the purpose of making an appeal to the benevolence of the neighbourhood on behalf of the Reformatory Institution, founded by the philanthropy of Miss Carpenter and Mr. Russell Scott, at Kingswood. The chair was taken by W. Miles, Esq. M.P. for East Somerset, and amongst those present we observed the Right Worshipful the Mayor, J. Vining, Esq., W. H. G. Langton, Esq. M.P., the Very Rev. the Dean of Bristol, Sir A. Elton, Bart., Sir J. Eardley Wilmot, Bart., C. W. Hoskyns, Esq., High-Sheriff of Warwickshire, Purnell B. Purnell, Esq., of Stancombe-park, B. Baker, Esq., of Hardwicke Court, Capt. Bengough, the Rev. Canon Mosely, Rev. Canon Girdlestone, Rev. D. Cooper, Rev. D. L. Cousins, Rev. G. Armstrong, M.A., Rev. W. James, Dr. Wallis, Dr. Budd, R. Leonard, R. Charleton, G. Thomas, J. N. Sanders, D. Burges, junr. R. P. King, W. Naish, J. Livett, W. Sanders, H. Holland, Esqrs. &c. The Proceedings occupied between three and four hours, but the pressure on our space compels us to confine our report to the more practical portions. Mr. Commissioner Hill was prevented from attending by illness.

The CHAIRMAN, after expressing the gratification he derived from seeing himself surrounded by so influential an assemblage, said when they considered the mass of juvenile crime, of ignorance and depravity which existed in the country, and which was manifested at every age, from the cradle almost up to sixteen, it became the duty of every Christian man to do all that he could in order to dissipate as much

as possible the mists of ignorance, and reform those who had erred from the ways of right-doing, and who had become, as it were, the very satellites of sin, (hear). It was his good fortune in 1852 and 3 to sit upon two Committees of the House of Commons upon that subject, and he was then enabled to enter, not only upon the extent of depravity which existed throughout this country, but also to inquire into the workings of the institutions which existed in other countries for the prevention of juvenile crime. From what he heard he was satisfied that England had been too backward on the question, and that it was high time that not only the state but individuals should take it up in earnest. The Chairman here quoted from the evidence of Mr. Commissioner Hill, as given before the Committee, a description of the class which furnished the juvenile criminal population, and paid a merited tribute to that learned gentleman for the many years' interest which he had evinced on their behalf. He continued—He (the chairman), did not think there was generally known the number of committals annually made by the tribunals of the country, and the number of re-committals of the same offenders. He found that after the committal of a juvenile offender to prison, there was little hope of his reformation, (hear). There were difficulties in the way of separation, and difficulties, too, of management, for the child wanted kindness and sympathy, which could not be given him in gaol, and according to his experience the young offender generally came out of prison worse than when he went in. He would now look at the numbers of children annually convicted. Take the six years from 1846 to 1851 inclusive. There were convicted at assizes and quarter sessions, under the age of twelve years, 1023 males, and 166 females; above twelve years and under fourteen years, 2444 males, 416 females; from 14 up to 17 years, 11,294 males, 2258 females; making a total of 17,622. He found that there were summarily convicted during the same period 7633, under 12 years, 1288 from 12 to 14 years, and 3509 between 14 and 17 years, making a grand total of 73,144 children who had passed through our gaols or houses of correction, and giving an annual average of 12,190. Now he moved only last session for a return of all the Reformatory schools throughout England, and the numbers they were capable of containing. The only school not included in the return was that at Redhill. He was sorry to say that all the certificated schools in England would only contain 420 children, (hear), and taking the number of Redhill at 200, the entire accommodation would only reach 620. The chairman then referred to the two acts of parliament passed in relation to Reformatory schools, by which judges of assize and chairmen of quarter sessions were empowered to commit to those schools for, as the shortest period, two years; and before having done with the criminal statistics, he would tell them the number of recommittals, for from the general average something would of course have to be deducted on that account. The number of recommittals in 1849 were—once recommitted, males, 1866; females, 259; total, 2125. Twice, males, 821, females, 122, total, 943; thrice, males, 423, females, 61; total, 484; four times and upwards, males, 670, females, 91, total 761, making a total of males and females recommitted one or more times, 4313. He had thus given them as short a statement as

he could of the position of juvenile crime in the country, and he regretted, when he considered its magnitude, that the government had not carried out the recommendations of the committee. The committee recommended that there should be three classes of reformatory schools established: first, a highly penal school, and his own opinion was, that for the first class, that at Parkhurst would be found sufficient; second, schools which should take juveniles convicted at assizes and quarter sessions, to be supported by the government partly, and in part by county rates, thus going on the principle that the county in which the crime was committed should pay towards the support of the criminal; and third, a class of schools to which children charged with some venial offence, and brought before the magistrates might be committed, such schools to be supported by voluntary benevolence, with some slight assistance from the government. Now they had a school of the first class, they had a few of the third class, but they were wholly deficient as to the second class. He hoped that the government might even yet be induced to take the matter up, and that by and by they would have unions of counties and sufficient schools of the second class. He had now to appeal to them on behalf of the third class, and to ask them, now that they had assisted the poor man to educate his children and bring them up in honest industry, to look a little lower, to the poor criminal children, and to assist those who had already established schools for their reformation, and to whom society could not feel too much indebted. He asked them to aid in making Kingswood school what it should be, so that those who went there tinged with vice, they might hope to bring forth better members of society, (cheers). The chairman then adverted to what had been done during the last sixty years by the Philanthropic Society, which society he regarded as the originator of the reformatory effort, and read from a statistical return by Mr. Sydney Turner, to show what had been done since in 1849 it altered its system by taking a large farm at Highgate; since April 1849 there were admitted to the institution 816 children, and 629 had been discharged from it, so that the present number was 187. Of the 629 discharged, 402 were sent out as emigrants to the colonies, chiefly to New Brunswick, where there were at present 60 of them. During the last three months the admissions had numbered 40, and the discharges 52. Of those discharged 35 had been assisted to emigrate, 12 had been provided with employment, of whom only one had turned out badly, while 5 others had been sent away as incorrigible. Thus, out of 52 criminal children, no less than 46 had been reformed through the exertions of the society. The chairman then referred to the all importance of efficient superintendence, and glanced at the institutions at Hambro and Mettray, referring also, to the necessity for making Christian instruction the foundation of moral improvement. He adverted to the distinguished philanthropic exertions of Miss Carpenter, and concluded by earnestly appealing to his hearers to aid the Kingswood school, so as to enable its promoters to keep from 100 to 150 children (hear).

Mr. Stanley read a report from the committee, from which it appeared that the Kingswood reformatory school was founded by Miss



Carpenter and Mr. Russell Scott, in 1852, as an asylum for young persons who either had become amenable to the law, or were evidently about to fall into crime. The education and training in the school were directed to extirpate acquired habits of idleness and vice, and to replace them by habits of industry, and a sense of moral responsibility, enlisting the will of the children in the work of their reform. The means employed were daily practical religious instruction, based on the holy scriptures ; a firm but kind moral influence, agricultural and other industrial training, and the simpler elements of general education. The premises erected by Mr. Wesley having been purchased, a master and mistress were found, and Mr. Scott and Miss Carpenter superintended the management ; the support of the institution being derived from donations and subscriptions. During the first sixteen months there were received 27 boys and 13 girls. Four of the girls being sent by the Secretary of State under conditional pardon, could be detained, but beyond those there was, till the middle of 1854, no power of detention. After stating the provisions of the act : under the powers of which the school was certified, the report stated that it being deemed undesirable to have boys and girls in the same school, the girls, in November 1854, were removed to a school opened by Miss Carpenter, at the Red Lodge, and in which there were now 22 girls. The Kingswood school was increased to its present number, 40 boys (the most that the present staff and funds will admit of). Of these 29 were under the provisions of the new law, and the remainder received from friends, but with no payment. Almost all the boys had been arraigned at the criminal bar. Miss Carpenter's serious illness in the spring, and the approaching departure of Mr. Scott from England, rendered a change in the management necessary, and a manager was found in Mr. Frere, a gentleman who held a high office in India, and was on a visit to this country, but was now obliged to return. The present state of the school was thus described :—The premises consisted of a building in a healthy locality, capable of lodging 120 or more boys, with large play-ground, and 10 or 11 acres of land ; 40 boys were engaged in field labour, and gardening under a gardener, and at shoemaking and tailoring, and they were instructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and scriptural knowledge. The annual expense of 40 boys was not less than about £950. The incomes were, from the Government, £575 ; from annual subscriptions, about £200 ; leaving a deficiency of about £200. Many donations, &c., were derived from persons at a distance, and the opening of schools in other districts would probably diminish the amount. The object of the present appeal was not to set up a school, for it existed, nor to pay off a deficiency, for it had been supplied by Mr. Scott ; it was with a view to future good. A most important want had been most unexpectedly and generously supplied by Mr. G. W. Bengough, widely known as coadjutor with Mr. Baker in the Reformatory institution at Hardwicke Court, who had volunteered to reside near Kingswood and superintend the school. The Committee felt that conduct so generous should be an encouragement to all.

C. W. Hoskyns, Esq., High Sheriff of Warwickshire, proposed the first resolution—"That a large portion of youthful offenders

against the law are brought up in habits of idleness and vice, with little knowledge of good and evil, and strangers to the influence of kindness and family affection ; and that for the purpose of reforming such offenders it is highly important that schools should be instituted, where they may be trained to habits of regular labour in agriculture and other employments, with elementary mental instructions, under moral and religious care." The speaker expressed the readiness with which, upon the invitation of the committee, he had attended the meeting, and by which he said he had only reciprocated the kindness of Miss Carpenter, whose name as a genuine philanthropist was known throughout England. The resolution, he said, was so admirably framed, that without need of illustration it declared the whole question. The High Sheriff touched upon various points referred to in it, arguing that society had failed in its duty towards the neglected children of crime, who could scarcely be regarded as responsible agents, and that reformatory schools afforded the true means of reclamation. By a calculation made by a gentleman deeply versed in the statistics of crime, it was shown that the number of incurables did not exceed 1 in 100. But as even that single black sheep might, in a gaol, influence the whole number, the true policy was to keep the 99 beyond his reach. The speaker combated the idea that they were making reformatory schools too attractive, and advocated the employment in agriculture as the description of industry most suitable.

Sir Eardley Wilmott, in seconding the resolution, said it was a melancholy thing that in the nineteenth century, and surrounded as they were by all the evidences of civilization and refinement, they should have to embody in a resolution the declarations which that under consideration contained. He considered that the poorer classes of the country, the instruments of all their wealth and all their greatness, had a right to call on the state to give them a greater degree of moral and religious education. It was deeply to be regretted that so little progress had been made. He did not know whether it was that their party contentions or sectarian bickerings (hear) had hitherto interfered with the current of humanity, but the disease existed, and they were called upon to administer a medicine. The learned baronet then referred to an experiment upon the reformatory system, which had been tried for thirty-six years by the magistrates of Warwickshire at Stretton-on-Dunsmore, and where they had found that the influence of kindness on the human heart was all-powerful. The statistics of that institution proved that, beyond all others, agricultural employment was that which was most efficacious. Whether it was that out-of-door exercise assisted the teacher by expanding the faculties, or whether that it was desirable that the children should not be congregated with others in rooms, he could not say ; but certain it was that out-of-door agricultural employment did a great deal more towards reformation than any other description. An important question was, at whose expense was the reformatory system to be carried on ? He concurred with the chairman that they could not expect private benevolence to carry it out in the way in which it was required in this country. If it was not

made a part of the national institutions it would be hopeless to proceed (cheers). From 1818 till March 1854 did the magistrates of Warwickshire go on endeavouring to bring their institution under the notice of government, but all in vain until the day before it closed. The government did then offer to dole out a small pittance, but it was too late ; the institution died the next day. Sir Eardley went on to state that in 1829 an act of parliament, embodying the spirit of the resolution, was drawn up by a committee of which his late father was a member. He criticized the two present acts of parliament, complaining of the clause which compelled magistrates, before they could send children to the reformatory school, to commit them for fourteen days, and also of that which made the minimum term to be spent in the school two years. He said the real object should be to stand at the prison door and prevent the poor children from entering and being contaminated there, and added that the experience of Stretton showed that a few months would generally disclose whether a child could be reclaimed. The clause enabling the authorities to compel the parents of children to contribute not exceeding 5s. per week towards a child's maintenance in the school, would also, he considered, be inoperative. The learned baronet dwelt with much eloquence on the duty which society had had cast upon it ; and appealed to the acknowledged munificence of the citizens of Bristol, and he concluded by inviting Mr. Langton to co-operate with the chairman in procuring such an act of parliament as would enable them effectually to reform their youthful criminals.

Mr. George Thomas supported the resolution in an able address. He said it was much to be regretted that they should have left to the present day so important a matter, and expressed a hope that they were now going to effectually grapple with the evil. He was proud to be permitted to take part in the meeting, and begged to express his obligations to the gentlemen who had promoted the movement, and especially to that truly benevolent and Christian lady who had laboured in it, he feared, much beyond her strength. Mr. Thomas went on to argue that whilst they reformed their criminal population they ought not to increase their number ; he quoted from Mr. Sydney Turner to show that much vice resulted from the penny theatre, the dancing saloons and the low lodging-houses, those fruitful abettors of crime, and he added his own opinion that the public-house, the beer shop, and the gin palace should also be included. The speaker instanced the riotous doings in Hyde-park as showing the degraded state of the lowest classes, and said he looked upon those proceedings as a disgrace to England. After referring to the history of Elizabeth Fry's visits to the gaols of England, as showing what might be done with a little kindness, even amongst the most criminal classes, he concluded by saying that as our laws had hitherto been severe he hoped that we were now entering on a better system.

The resolution having been adopted *nem. con.*,

The Right Worshipful the Mayor rose to propose " That this meeting considers the reformatory school at Kingswood, near Bristol, worthy of public support as a means of accomplishing the foregoing most desirable objects." He said he could not conceive that any

object of deeper interest or greater importance could come before him during his year of office. The citizens of Bristol were deeply indebted to the benevolent lady (Miss Carpenter) who had evinced such a lively interest in the wretched class for whose welfare they were assembled, and who had done so much for them. When he looked at the difficulties by which the question was beset it seemed almost impossible to carry it out; and they owed therefore the deeper obligations to those whose philanthropic exertions had accomplished so much good. He thought it impossible that the city of Bristol could refuse the supplicated help, nay he hoped that it would take the lead as it had done for the promotion of other good objects. After referring to a painful case of a young girl who had been brought before him on the bench, the Mayor said he hoped by the influence of his office that he might do good for the society, and he could assure them that every one who could enter into his feelings would gladly lend it aid.

Sir Arthur H. Elton seconded the resolution in an eloquent speech, in which he referred to an advantage which a private asylum must possess over any strictly government establishment, viz., in the possession of that earnest principle of christian love which was so influential in touching the hearts and reaching the minds of the poor creatures. He was glad to hear from Miss Carpenter's own lips that there were in her school some whom the magistrates of Bristol had sent there, and who were supposed to be hardened criminals, and he hoped now that the chief magistrate had given in his adhesion to the cause, that more idle children would be taken out of the streets. There had been received into the school from Bristol twenty boys, of whom four only were under legal detention. Two of the four were now at Kingswood, each was without a father, one had a mother in gaol, and each had a younger brother about the streets, probably maintaining themselves by pilfering. Surely such cases as those appealed to their sympathies, and told them that it was their duty to do what they could to correct the evil. Sir Arthur spoke at some length, enforcing the importance of the principle of making the parents contribute towards the support of their children. He quoted Franklin's opinion, that the Chinese did wisely in conferring honour on the parents of their great men, instead of on the men themselves, and expressed his own view that much of the good or evil of society depended on the discharge of the parental duty.

Captain Bengough, in supporting the resolution, expressed his opinion that the great cause of children going wrong was not any inherent vice, but their being exposed to the influence of bad habits. He gave some statistics of the Kingswood school. 45 boys were received before the 31st of December, 1854, of whom 8 only were under legal detention. Of the 45 there remained in the school in a promising condition, 14; sent to another school for frequently absconding, 3; restored with a good character to respectable friends, 8; emigrating with good characters (3 of them Bristol boys), 8; maintaining themselves by work in Bristol, 5; re-joining his old associates, having been only six months in the school, 1; sent to sea, but relapsed afterwards into pilfering habits, 1; absconded after a few

months, and again fallen into crime, 4. The condition of the 4 who could not be retained in the school, showed what would have been the condition of the greater proportion of the 45, if they had not been cared for. One of the 4 had been transported, another awaited that fate in gaol, and a third, since he absconded, had completed his tenth imprisonment. One boy in the school had been sent there from the Saltley reformatory school, for which he was too young. He had been fifteen times in the hands of the police, and he was thus described by the master at Saltley:—"He is the worst specimen of human nature I ever met with; he is a devil incarnate; conflagration and destruction are his element; he has set fire to our own premises." He was now, after two and a-half years, a docile boy, particularly affectionate, worked well, and showed no disposition to thieve. Another boy, sent to the school at twelve years old, after various imprisonments, had emigrated under Mrs. Chisholm with a good character. A third, who had been trained to thieving by his father, and whose two elder brothers were transported, had also become a completely changed character, and had emigrated (the speaker exhibited a neatly-made workbox of his construction). Capt. Bengough asked, hearing such good results, whether any one could doubt what was their duty? and he then went on to show the necessity for pecuniary support. Even in the cases where 5s. was paid by government, the amount was insufficient, and when it was considered that five Bristol boys had been sent out at a cost of £10 each, surely there was a claim upon the city.

The Rev. Mr. Osborne, chaplain of the Bath gaol, in ably supporting the resolution, said there was one point which had not been touched upon, but which must yet be grappled with. He respected the magistracy as much as any one, and should be glad to see them invested with greater discretionary powers; but there was one power which must be taken out of their hands. The meeting might not agree with him now any more than the public agreed with him ten years ago about the reformatory system, but it would by-and-by concur with him in feeling that the magistrates ought not to have power to send children to gaol in certain cases. He had in his own gaol a boy of eight years old, who, while playing with some chest-nuts, had accidentally broken a window, and who, because his parents could not afford to pay for it, was sent to prison (cries of 'shame'). He asked them in the name of humanity and justice, should such a power as that be continued? Until the magistrates, instead of committing children to gaol, could send them to the reformatory school at once, the evil would never be remedied (cheers). The rev. speaker went on to say, in reference to the act of parliament, that it was diametrically opposed to what the Birmingham conference proposed, and with respect to the clause which compelled magistrates to commit children for fourteen days before sending them to the schools, he said the man who introduced it ought to be ashamed of himself. An institution which he had been instrumental in establishing had, in order to escape the act, refused to be certified.

The resolution having been adopted,

The Very Rev. the Dean, Dr. Elliott, moved some additions to

the committee, and in so doing, he, in his own name, and those of his coadjutors, earnestly invited Mr. Miles to accept the office of president. If their chairman would do them the extreme kindness of giving them his able assistance and countenance, he was satisfied that the citizens of Bristol would have every confidence in the working of the society.

Mr. W. H. Langton, M.P., in seconding the motion, made an eloquent appeal on behalf of the society, and expressed his readiness to co-operate with Mr. Miles in pressing the matter on the attention of the legislature.

Mr. B. Baker, of Hardwicke-court, supported the resolution in an able and argumentative speech. After expressing his confidence that the merchants of Bristol, and the residents of Clifton and their neighbourhoods, would cheerfully raise far more than the £200 referred to in the report, he proceeded to speak upon a subject which he had been requested to bring particularly before the meeting, viz, the clearing of particular districts (hear). The invention of the system was not his; he had copied it from what he had seen at Capt. Brenton's, nor was the carrying out of it his, it was Mr. Bengough's, and he might therefore speak of it freely. The system of clearing a country meant this:—That the schools at Hardwicke, at Kingswood, and elsewhere, should not content themselves by taking merely such children as came to them, but that they should embrace a much wider field, from which, with the assistance of the magistrates and police, they should draw away the real leaders of mischief, and thus do good, not merely to A, B, or C, but to the community at large. He could not concur as to the propriety of committing all juvenile offenders to their schools, which he considered intended, not for any boy who might accidentally break a window, but all twice-convicted boys, and all once-convicted boys, when there was reason to believe that their dishonesty was not the effect of accidental temptation, but that they were actually living in habits of vice. In his own school he had never had more than eight from his own part of the country, and he had sent round to the magistrates of other districts and from all parts (except Bristol), from Cheltenham, the mining districts of the Forest of Dean, and the clothing district of Stroud, the Gloucestershire magistrates had been unable to make him up a school of thirty, from their own country alone. Now he was anxious to get the co-operation of the magistrates of Bristol, for though his school was at present very full, it would, as he was keeping many for other schools, be in a short time lowered. He was most anxious, if Mr. Bengough would join him, to see if they could not make an attack upon Bristol; and he hoped, in due course of time, if the magistrates and the police would assist him, to considerably lessen the number of juvenile thieves. Mr. Baker went on to express an opinion that two-thirds of the parents could afford to pay, and that if the government would do its duty, the present act would be sufficient to make them. He also thought that the clause which compelled magistrates to send children to prison for a short time was useful, as the children came to school in a better train of mind; and said that the obligatory committal for two years was no

real hardship, inasmuch as on a proper representation, the Secretary of State would abridge the term.

Mr. Budgett also spoke to the resolution, which having been adopted, Mr. R. Leonard assumed the chair, and cordial votes of thanks to Mr. Frere and to the chairman, which Mr. Miles courteously acknowledged, brought the interesting proceedings to a close.

The following subscriptions and donations were, amongst others, given in the room:—George Thomas, Esq., a donation of £50. and an annual subscription of £10; W. Miles, Esq., M.P., (in addition to an annual subscription of £50), a donation of £50; W. H. G. Langton, Esq., M.P., J. Budgett, Esq., and R. Leonard, Esq., subscriptions of £5, and donations of £20; the Very Rev. the Dean, a subscription of £2 2s.

Of the Red Lodge Girls' Reformatory we have received the following Report:—

*"Red Lodge Girls' Reformatory School, Bristol.*

There are now in this School 22 girls, all of whom, except three, have been legally convicted of crime, one of them six times, and several others twice or more. Though, for many reasons, the difficulties to be encountered in the reformation of convicted girls are much greater than that of boys, yet good hopes are entertained of all of them, should they be able to stay a sufficiently long time in the institution. It is encouraging already to perceive a growth of principle in many, and, indeed, a striking improvement is usually observable in a child's countenance and deportment after she has been a few months in the School. The size of the house, which is calculated to receive double the number, affords scope for every kind of house work; washing is also taken in, besides that of the establishment, which is all done by the girls under the superintendence of an experienced teacher. Considerable attention is also paid to plain sewing and knitting, so that the girls may be fitted for ordinary domestic occupations. It need hardly be added that in all, their religious and moral training is made a primary object. The working of the Juvenile Delinquent Bill has been found perfectly satisfactory as regards this School. Though it were greatly to be desired that it should be discretionary rather than compulsory on magistrates to send a child to Gaol for 14 days previously to placing her in the School, that those who have acted 'sans discernement' may not have the prison stain, yet, as most of the cases sent to Red Lodge have hitherto been of an aggravated nature, it has been found practically that a fortnight's seclusion in a *separate cell* has made the child more appreciate the privilege of being in the friendly atmosphere of the School, and the severity of the prison system has been a preparation to untamed natures for the obedience and regular discipline which must be enforced in every well ordered establishment. The provision for compulsory payment from the parents could probably not be available in more than a fourth of the cases now in the School, but in these it is greatly to be desired that the law should be speedily enforced, as a wholesome check on dishonest and neglectful parents.

MARY CARPENTER,  
*Superintendent."*

Whilst Bristol, with its Kingswood, has been thus active, Birmingham with its Saltley has not been idle. In proof of this fact we insert the following important notes, which have been forwarded to us by the attention of a gentleman who is an active and able advocate of the Reformatory principle:—

“The annual provincial session of the *Metropolitan and Provincial Law Association* was held at Birmingham on the 22nd and 23rd of October, when a large number of leading members of the profession were assembled, from the metropolis and nearly every county of England. T. H. Bower, Esq., of London presided, and the proceedings were of an interesting character, but the only paper which will have any peculiar interest for our readers was one presented by W. Morgan, Esq., on Reformatories. This gentleman is well known as Honorary Secretary to the Saltley Institution, and also to the Institution for Girls at Birmingham, and to his labours, in conjunction with the Rev. Sydney Turner, we are mainly indebted for the great impulse given to this cause by that conference, convened at Birmingham in 1853, which resulted in the adoption of the Youthful Offenders' act, and the subsequent formation of the numerous reformatories now springing up in every part of the country.

Mr. Ryland directed Mr. Morgan's attention to the point of sending children to a distance from the places where they live. It was most important to put them into a new sphere, so that they might not find at the door of the Reformatory, as at present, a set of people ready to take them back to their old society. It appeared to him, also, that no Reformatory could be established anywhere successfully unless it had at its head a person who, for a very long time for the work, was willing to attend to it. What were Mr. Morgan's ideas as to communication between parents and children?

Mr. Morgan said, that in the arrangements respecting the subject last mentioned, there was great diversity of opinion. In the neighbourhood of Birmingham the practice existed of allowing, at considerably long intervals, communication, both personally and by letter, between parents and children; and from this, benefits were expected to result. The arrangement was always superintended by the master or mistress of the school, and the letters he (Mr. Morgan) had seen were calculated to produce the happiest moral influences. As to the duty of the State, the greatest possible diversity of opinion existed; but his own opinion was, that we should wait to see how far the present plan of giving public money to aid voluntary efforts is adequate to accomplish the business. He thought that in a few years the number of youthful criminals would be found to be less than people supposed. There could be no doubt as to the desirability of removing them from the scenes in which they had operated. The great complaint against Saltley was, that the boys could escape into Birmingham, meet old associates, and lapse into their old courses. As to children being sent to Reformatories from prison, the law required that there must be at least fourteen days' confinement in prison prior to reception as a criminal into a Reformatory; but



children might be received who went voluntarily to the institution [hear]. However, the great bulk of the children came by sentence of magistrate or judge. He hoped they would not be considered as places of punishment, but that where punishment was deemed necessary, it would be administered prior to their being brought under the more humane family-like influences of the Reformatory School [applause].

Mr. Shaen (London) said, he was surprised to hear it recommended that a child should first receive punishment in ordinary prisons, and then be sent to a Reformatory. There could be no doubt that it was important for Magistrates to be on their guard against sending to Reformatories boys who were too old or too hardened; but he should not have thought that it was wise to send a child to gaol before putting them under training. He agreed with Mr. Morgan as to the importance of keeping them in the Reformatory a length of time, as the object of these institutions was not to produce merely a temporary effect. Coming, as the majority of criminal children did, from a society which had naturally led them into the commission of crime, the most hopeful remedy would be that which would permanently separate them from the influence of that society, and enable them to form entirely new connexions. The Association ought to feel obliged to Mr. Morgan for the paper, as it was out of the usual class of topics introduced for discussion. It would show the varied experience which the Profession had of the different branches of the law, and would also prove that their interest was not confined to subjects merely affecting their pockets and bills of costs.

Mr. Ryland wished to have Mr. Morgan's opinion with regard to Reformatories being considered as places of punishment. If it was thought unwise so to regard them, what mode was proposed for punishing a convicted child before he was received into one of them.

Mr. Mansfield Ingleby said, that in an adult Reformatory in London all criminals admitted were subjected to a probationary term, involving very spare bread-and-water diet, solitary confinement, and divers other things very disagreeable, especially to criminals. If they went through that, they then passed into other departments, and had education; if they could not stand it, the door was open, and they might go. By such a plan the argument that punishment should be altogether dispensed with would be removed.

Mr. J. Hope Shaw said, that the nature of the functions he had to discharge in Leeds had been the means of calling his attention to the subject then before them. He concurred in the observations of Mr. Shaen, that though out of the ordinary range of the business of the Association, it was highly serviceable that such subjects should occasionally be brought under their notice, and they were certainly indebted to Mr. Morgan for the very interesting and lucid manner in which he had placed before them the law affecting juvenile criminals. With regard to the question, whether a child should be punished in all cases, either at the Reformatory or before it is sent there, his experience enabled him to state that, in a very consider-

able number of cases, children who came before Magistrates were more sinned against than sinning (hear). It was bad enough if the training of a child had been neglected, but that was not the worst feature of the cases Magistrates had to deal with. If it had been entirely neglected it was scarcely a fit subject for punishment. Unfortunately, however, cases were not unfrequent where they go far beyond mere neglect. There were cases in which persons, sometimes parents, sent children to prowl about the streets and provide for themselves food, as well as bring something home at night. That child is forced into crime, and would they punish him? They were objects, not for punishment, but for commiseration; and it was truly revolting to send to a place of punishment those who were the victims of their friends' misconduct. The proper place for them was a place of refuge, such as these Reformatories were. They were now experiments, and they had the imperfections which attached to all experiments. Amongst these imperfections was the voluntary character of the formation and support of these establishments. He did not think they would ever be in the position they ought to occupy until they were taken up by the State. He did not say that it was not a wise measure to let them start voluntarily; it simply produced more difficulty in the working, and they must not expect them to produce all the good they hoped for some number of years to come. He was glad to hear that the subject had been taken up in so many parts; but as Reformatories could not be founded except by voluntary contribution, this ought not to be the position they should permanently hold. One difficulty with which he had met in an attempt to remove a child to Miss Carpenter's School, was that of the costs of removal. He was told that it was doubtful out of what fund they might come. He had communications with Miss Carpenter, through a friend at Leeds, on the subject of the length of time which was necessary, and the answer he received was, that there was no prospect of solid benefit if a child was sent for a less period than five years. With this he agreed, as he did not consider it a place of punishment, but rather a place of reformation, where the best possible chance of restoring these unfortunate creatures could not be expected to have a successful result in a short space of time. He was at first startled at the idea of a child being sent to a place of this sort for five years for an act for which it was scarcely responsible, but he afterwards came to the conclusion, that that was the best thing that could be done. As to the responsibility of the parent he quite agreed with Mr. Morgan, that it was an important part of the measure, but he did not look to it as a source from which much pecuniary return was very likely to be received. They were not generally in a position to pay money, and when they were, their habits were such that it was not always easy to be got; but the check which it gave upon the vice and criminality of parents was important, as they should be taught that, either in purse or person, they would be made responsible for the crimes of which they are the authors (hear).

As we were putting this Record to press we received the following report:—

## PROPOSED ESTABLISHMENT FOR ROMAN CATHOLIC CHILDREN.

On Tuesday, October 23rd, a meeting of ladies and gentlemen, members of the Roman Catholic body, from the three Ridings of Yorkshire, was held in the De Grey Rooms, York, with the view of establishing a Reformatory Institution for the reformation of offenders whose parents are Roman Catholics.

On the motion of T. Meynell, jun., Esq., W. C. Maxwell, Esq. was called to the chair.

The Chairman said he had great pleasure in presiding over the meeting, and he trusted the proceedings would be characterised with that harmony and zeal which so good an object as the institution they were endeavouring to establish required. The Chairman then read the requisition calling the meeting, and also letters from Sir W. Lawson and other gentlemen, apologising for their absence. He then observed that he trusted they would all do their utmost in the cause they had undertaken, and by their zeal and energy be enabled to remove every obstacle which might appear. Nothing good or great was accomplished but had difficulties, and it was only by zeal, energy, and generosity, that they would be enabled to establish a reformatory institution, which they hoped would be an advantage to the country, and also to the unfortunate people for whose benefit it was designed. The Chairman then referred to the meeting held on the 4th inst., and observed that nothing was said on that occasion which a Catholic could find fault with. He gave the Protestants the highest credit for their motives in endeavouring to remove the great springs of evil, by the establishment of reformatory institutions. With regard to Catholic children, they did not wish to interfere with them in matters relating to religion, and they were willing to hand such over to the control of an institution in which they would be trained in a manner the most accordant with their previous education. Let them endeavour that the institution they were assembled to form should be a sister institution for the welfare of the country and the promotion of religion where it is most required, viz., among poor criminals of this description.

The Hon. C. Langdale proposed the first resolution:—"That Reformatory Schools for juvenile offenders being about to be established in the county of York on exclusively Protestant principles, this meeting recognises the obligation incumbent upon Catholics of providing a reformatory school upon the principles of the Catholic religion." He spoke of the necessity which there was for such institutions, and stated the reasons which had influenced their formation. These schools affected a particular class of individuals, viz., those juveniles under sixteen years of age, who have been guilty of some criminal offence. The usual mode of punishment adopted with regard to these criminals had proved ineffective; these unfortunate children were sent to gaol, and there associated with criminals of an older age. The result was that though they were comparatively innocent when they were committed to prison, they came out confirmed villains and adepts in the art of stealing. The speaker then read extracts from the report presented at the meeting of the 4th inst.,

with the view of showing the extent of juvenile delinquency in this country ; and he also explained the provisions of the act passed in 1854, by which power was given to magistrates to commit juvenile offenders to reformatory institutions. Several of these institutions had been recently established in this country, and some had been in existence for some time on the continent of Europe. As the meeting was aware, also, it had been determined to erect one for the North and East Ridings, for the city of York, and the town and county of Kingston-upon-Hull, in the neighbourhood of Malton. Under any circumstances, therefore, he believed the Roman Catholics of this country would find it necessary to open an establishment of this description. In the neighbourhood of London, indeed, there had been a reformatory school established by Catholics (with which he was connected), which was now furnished, and had received the approbation of the inspector of prisons, and only waited the final certificate of the Secretary of State before it would be ready to receive criminals. He believed, also, that a similar establishment was about to be formed in the neighbourhood of Leicester. He felt convinced that these institutions must be extended in other parts of the country. Supposing a school to be established where Protestants and Catholics are mixed together, it would be utterly impossible properly to reform these Catholic children, unless they were separated from the others, and unless they receive an education purely Catholic in its principle. To suppose that they could reform children, corrupted as these were, mixed up with other classes, and receiving partly a Protestant and partly a Catholic education, was, he thought, utterly absurd in itself. Therefore, if there were no other positive ground for meeting, he thought it would be quite necessary that they should establish a reformatory school of their own.

He now desired to make a few observations, without, in the slightest degree, reflecting upon his fellow-countrymen, who, he believed, were actuated by a very proper feeling in establishing the reformatory school in the neighbourhood of Malton ; and this, no doubt, forced Catholics to the adoption of the step they now contemplated. The establishment near Malton was to be conducted purely on Protestant principles—the master was to be a Protestant and a clergyman, and the superintendent was to be the same, and to these the entire government of the reformatory was to be confided. In answer to a question put by himself at the meeting to which he had already referred, it was openly avowed that no minister of any other denomination would be admitted into the establishment—it would be an institution where the Protestant religion alone would be taught. If the promoters of this institution had said, “ We will educate Catholic children, but in the Protestant faith,” the proposition would have been a monstrous one, and in utter opposition to every course of law as acknowledged in this country, for in our prisons and work-houses, however inefficiently done, the law did make a provision which enabled persons to call in a minister of their own religion. The promoters of the Protestant Reformatory had made some provision in this matter ; they had fairly said to the Catholics, “ We don’t want to have Catholic children in our establishment ; if they

come here, they must follow the rule and teaching of this house. We can have no second species of religion here, but we are willing to give the Catholic children over to you; establish a school, and you shall have them." Surely this rendered it absolutely necessary that the Catholics should adopt the course they were now acting upon. Mr. Langdale then entered into an explanation of the reasons which had induced him to consent to become a vice-president of the Protestant institution—adding that having consulted with his friend, the Rev. Mr. Walker, he was advised to accept the office, and on mentioning the circumstance to the Bishop, he approved of the course pursued. He argued the necessity for the establishment of a reformatory school to which children of the Roman Catholic persuasion could be conveyed, and expressed his belief that they had more powers of correction in themselves than the Protestant religion had. He believed that men of that character whom they knew were connected with their church, and who were dedicated by vow to the reformation of these unfortunate individuals, possessed greater powers of correcting than they who were not so set apart, and he was convinced that it would be their own fault if they had not such a system established in this reformatory school as would enable them to turn out these unfortunate children amended characters on their return to the community at large. From a statement in the report to which he had previously referred, it appeared that in an institution in France, the reformation was so completely effected, that not above eleven per cent. of those who had been instructed in the school had been found afterwards to return to a criminal course of life.

The Rev. M. Trappes briefly seconded the resolution, which (with those which followed) was unanimously adopted.

T. Meynell, jun., Esq., said he was extremely happy that it had fallen to his lot to announce an act of liberality on the part of their worthy bishop, of a character which was seldom to be met with, and which would relieve the Catholics of this county from the very heavy outlay which they would have otherwise had to make for the purchase of a site for the contemplated institution. He proposed, "That a site for such school, with a suitable farm, being offered by his lordship, the Bishop of Beverley, that the same be gratefully accepted, and that the thanks of this meeting be given to his lordship." Mr. Meynell stated, that in addition to the farm-house and buildings here offered, there was about seventy acres of land which would be admirably adapted for the purpose of such an institution.

Mr. Price seconded the motion, and passed a high eulogium upon the Bishop of Beverley, and the Hon. C. Langdale, for the interest they always manifested in any matter which interested the Roman Catholic body. He spoke of the benefits of reformatory institutions, and expressed his hope that the Catholics would support this institution in such a manner that its efficiency and value might be greatly extended. They were accustomed to move and pass exceedingly good resolutions, but they had not the resolution to carry them out. He hoped, however, that they would not merely pass resolutions *pro forma*, and offer just encomiums to any one of their members, but that they would also determine to carry out to the fullest extent,

the advantages of an institution which was admirably adapted not only to benefit the religion of which they were professors, but the county at large.

H. C. Maxwell, Esq., moved the following resolution :—‘ That for the purpose of carrying out the measures requisite for adapting the house and land presented by the Bishop for a reformatory school, and for the support of the establishment, donations and annual subscriptions be solicited from the Catholics of Yorkshire.’ This resolution tended more to deeds than to any superfluity of words, and he believed there would be very little difficulty in raising the subscriptions required. The Institution was formed upon real, pure, Catholic charity ; the site for it was a donation from the Stourton family, who had ever been distinguished for their Christian benevolence ; and it was a step in the right direction. At the present day, the education of the people was seized upon by the laity ; a position which the Catholics considered it ought not to occupy. Education, he was sorry to say, was now too much a matter of pounds, shillings, and pence, but he hoped that in this institution they would shew the Protestants a model establishment in which the errors of youth are corrected by the effects of religion ; of which, at present, they were without an example.

The Rev. Canon Brown seconded the resolution, and stated that from £703 to £1,000 would be required to put the establishment into operation. He also read a list of donations, some of the contributors being members of the Protestant faith.

It was then proposed that the management of the funds should be entrusted to a committee composed of the following clergymen and gentlemen :—The Hon. C. Langdale, the Hon. P. Stourton, W. C. Maxwell, Esq., J. Holdsworth, Esq., Rev. M. Trappes, T. Meynell, jun., Esq., Sir W. Lawson, Bart., the Rev. Canon Walker, S. S. Byron, Esq., the Very Rev. J. Render, Rev. Canon Brown, Rev. W. Fisher, Sir C. Tempest, H. C. Maxwell, Esq., and R. G. Gainsforth, Esq.

The Rev. Canon Walker seconded the motion and alluded to the liberty they now possessed to establish reformatory institutions, the necessity for which was so obvious.

Mr. Gainsforth then offered some lengthy remarks, in the course of which he contended that the most effective mode of suppressing crime was the education of children before they became criminals. He referred to the want in their body, of a strong middle-class, the members of which, by education and habit, should be fitted to occupy positions of trust and confidence. He also alluded to the reformatory institutions on the continent, with a view of showing that there, where Catholics were in a majority, they were even more liberal to the Protestants there than the members of that body in this country were to the Catholics. He proposed the appointment of two gentlemen, whome he named, as honorary secretary and treasurer to the institution.

Mr. R. Anderson seconded the resolution.

After a few words from Mr. Collins, who spoke of the consideration manifested and expressed for the Roman Catholics, at the meeting

of the 4th inst., Mr. Maxwell vacated the chair, which was taken by Lord Stourton.

Mr. Meynell moved, and the Rev. Canon Walker seconded, a motion, presenting the thanks of the meeting to W. C. Maxwell, Esq. for presiding, and that gentleman having returned thanks, the proceedings terminated.

Here our RECORD of the quarter ends, but in closing it we would beg the earnest attention of our friends to the fact, that in most of the speeches, hereinbefore presented, there is a very general feeling expressed, that the State should aid the Reformatories more liberally; and that voluntary support alone will not suffice to develop the full benefits of the Reformatory system. If this be true of England, how much more true of Ireland; and if the *Youthful Offenders' Act* be advantageous for England, surely it, and a stringent Lodging-house Act, will not be withheld from Ireland. How much Ireland needs such legislation, and how that legislation should be framed, we have, in the 18th Number of this REVIEW, endeavoured to show, founding our opinions and statements upon the most unquestionable evidence and authority.

But, whilst we thus write of governmental support of Reformatories in Ireland, where the principle has not been practically introduced, we must differ with two of the speakers at the Bristol Meeting. In England the voluntary, or private support of Reformatories has been found to work most admirably: the Reformatories are useful to the State, the State recognizes their usefulness by contributing, under *The Juvenile Offenders' Act*, to their maintenance, but the State has no right to step in now and say,—all Reformatories aided by us shall belong to us exclusively, and yet this is what, in effect, was contended for by two speakers at the Bristol Meeting. In our mind, until the voluntary Reformatories shall be full, or until they shall be proved unfitted for the duties which they undertake, the State has no right to obtrude itself, and declare, we will recognize no Reformatories save those of which we are sole and complete owners and directors.

We protest against this plan, it is contrary to all the evidences of successful action offered by Holland, by England, and by France.

With regard to the Ticket-of-Leave System, we wish to impress upon the minds of our readers, that they have now before them the opinions, on this most important subject, of M. Demetz, of Mr. Recorder Hill, of the Rev. John Field, and of the Rev. John Clay : all are in support of the scheme when properly carried out ; all declare that up to this period, through neglect of wise precautions, plain to every thinking man, The Ticket-of-Leave has been, in too many cases, an evil to the holder and a source of alarm to the public.



## ART. X.—PARIS CORRESPONDENCE.

### No. II.

#### THE RUE DE RIVOLI, AND ITS NEIGHBOURS.

Dear Editor,

Contrast is ever a favorite with the many, and its charms prevail in due measure with the few. It has a two-fold principle of life, which does not perish by, but is renewed in change. We should not prize so much the green hopes of the young Spring, did we not remember the gloom and poverty of the bare winter. And, when the glory of Summer has exalted itself, the very cloy of its exuberance makes sweet the sober pride of Autumn, whose decline in turn endears, while it prepares, the shortening days, with the cheery fires and book-evenings of recurring winter in near perspective. Pleasant, or happy, have been the bright months gone—hope we, then, that those to come may be made *comfortable*—the word has been naturalized here and is good French—till the trees shall once more awaken from their winter sleep, and put on their garment of foliage to honour nature's court-days.

We prize not contrast the less in our social relations. Amongst our friends, are there not some we love for their thoughtfulness and even for the reserve, all the more that we have been ofttime charmed by the gay *délan*, and frolic humour of others? And in our books we love change. How sweet to relieve the inspired verse of Milton's human story divine with the sparkling page of Moore, or to turn from the stately gravity of knightly Spenser to the light fantastic measure of laughter-moving Hood. Or withdraw your regard from the gorgeous mosaic of Carlyle, of him whose books are the "illustrated manuscripts" of these latter times, painted with quaint thoughts and glowing words; repose your eyes on a "paper" of Addison, and be at home with the easy grace, and ingenious artlessness of the first author who made authorship a fashionable accomplishment, and introduced literature to the fine gentlemen and witty ladies of the modern drawing-room. What child does not appreciate the power of contrast that makes the fun of the pantomime? What have we there? A fairy palace, with, for roof, a sky blue only as skies can be at the play, and stars stuck all about it of "magnitudes" unknown

to any astronomer other than a scene-painter, and beneath them volcanic illuminations instead of vulgar wax-candles, and a throng of young ladies all in white muslin, roses, and legs. Slap! goes Harlequin's wand—"wots" up now? A magic cave, lighted by a queer-looking moon, "back" in whose shine a small green devil, all over scales, dances, dives, and doubles himself up for the amusement of a blue devil and a red, his particular friends. And who knoweth better than your book-maker himself the trick of effect? Take up any romance of the day—are you not hurried, in chapter 2, if not before, from St. James' to St. Giles'—from the "gilded saloons of rank and beauty," &c., &c., to the "dark abodes of vice and misery"? In truth, we have seen more than enough of this on the stage, and in books, *nettement posé*. In such form it has ceased to be a wonder. But contrast in our days has broken new ground, and taken a new shape. It is no longer content to be shut away out of sight with a closed volume laid by, or to be ravished from our vision by a change of scene at a theatre. This time if it proffer novelty, as of old, it has invoked permanence, too. Here, in Paris, men have carved it into stone, have made fast its feet in the earth, built it up into the air, and made of it a human habitation, and they have given it a name, and the name is the *Rue de Rivoli*. A street, straight from the Tuileries to the Faubourg St. Antoine—with Princess Wealth and Imperial Power at one end, and, at the other, precarious Labour and sullen weakness—a street that links with its long line of lamps the new city to the old, Paris of the Revolution to Paris of the Empire—the middle ages to the nineteenth century—this is indeed a strong contrast. Truly, the *Rue de Rivoli* is a "broad effect."

This street was commenced in the beginning of the present century, and its western end was completed under Louis Philippe. Its prolongation was the work of the Revolution which drove that monarch into exile, and set up the principle of the organization of labour in the place of the Citizen-Kingship of 1830. The provisional government of 1848, forced to find work for the insurgent population, turned its thoughts to the continuation of the *Rue de Rivoli*, and the improvements of the late reign were resumed under the authority of the National Assembly. To pull down old houses was found to be less expensive to the State than to erect new barricades, and the Emperor, whose power had its foundation in the opinion of the masses, has bent all his energies to consolidate it through their welfare. The *Rue de Rivoli* is an epitome of the Empire, and unites in

one unbroken line of habitations, some the homes of wealth, and others the abodes of industry, the workshop and fortress of the people, the Faubourg St. Antoine, to the seat of imperial power at the Tuileries, with the Hôtel de Ville between, the palace of the middle class. The Tuileries are bounded on the north by the Rue de Rivoli, whose western extremity is terminated by the Place de la Concorde. The origin of the Palace dates under the reign of Charles the Ninth, whose mother, Catherine de Medicis, wishing to possess a residence apart from that of the King at the Louvre, took possession of a house which Francis the First had purchased from his mother in the beginning of the 16th century, and which had therefore been the property of the Sieur de Villeroi. It was then outside Paris, and derived its name of *Tuileries* from the fact that the ground, a portion of which it occupied, had been used for the manufacture of tiles. This humble designation has little in harmony with the destinies which have caused its meanness to be forgotten, save by the antiquarian. "What's in a name?" Nothing, or everything. There is no medium. The palace of the French monarchy owes no charm to its appellation. The French monarch owes much to his courage and his wisdom, much more to his name than to either. His election to the presidency was the lie direct to the Revolution of February, so far as it affected to declare anything beyond the *déchéance* of the Orleans dynasty. The name of Napoleon was a rallying-point for the broken energies of the people, a pledge, a sentiment, and of that sentiment Louis Napoleon found means to make a creed, himself its prophet and chief expounder.

It was to Philibert Delorme that Catherine de Medicis entrusted the task of constructing a palace on the site of the Tuileries, and the architect of the Renaissance in France acquitted himself of his duty with success. His part of the work may yet be traced amidst the mass of additional structures, which ages have erected on this spot to which, now as often times in the past, the eyes of Europe are attracted by the spell of momentous destinies. As the sun sets behind the noble arch of the Barrière de l'Etoile, his last glance is bent on the façade of the stately palace which fronts the Champs Elysées. At the close of the day, whatever yet remains of light clings to the walls of the Tuileries, as if to give in the brightness reflected from its hundred windows a promise of returning glory, withdrawn but for awhile, to be renewed on the morrow. Even so, at the close of that forty years peace, which, amidst trials and dangers, has been a day of progress and of hope for Europe, the regard of the fading era

turns to the Tuileries, and there lavishes its pledges of a return of light when the morrow of this Russian night, which now darkens over us, shall dawn for Europe with the brightness of a recurring civilization. Within these imperial precincts we cannot but humbly behold the foresight of Providence manifested in that same Revolution of February, which, once regarded as a great error and great calamity, we now recognize as the fortunate removal of a weak dynasty, whose uncertain principles and divided counsels could give no help to England in the deadly struggle in which the nations of the world are now involved. The pride of uninterrupted prosperity has corrupted her strength, whilst France has emerged from disaster in the possession of a redoubled capacity to meet the emergencies of the times. How sagacious, how prophetic, the instinct which centred the energies of the nation in a single hand, which might curb *émeute* at home, and conquest abroad ! And how wonderful the elasticity of the national character, how prolific the resources of national industry, which arise out of the ruins of revolution with a courage and strength which long prosperous England may admire—or envy—but cannot emulate ! The French equip fleets, and enlist armies ; you print blue-books, and pass resolutions. “ You have sent an army of journalists to the Crimea,” said a Frenchman to one of our country-men some time since, “ we have sent there an army of soldiers.” Of all the destinies which, in turn, have made the Tuileries their habitation, that of Napoleon the Third is surely not the least. Providence has ordained him the protector of order in France, and the champion of liberty in Europe. The prisoner of Ham, the Emperor of the French ! *Digitus Dei*. Well may he head his proclamations, “ Napoleon III, par la grâce de Dieu, et la volonté nationale,” he, the chosen of the one, and the accepted of the other. Strongest page in his eventful history, heir to the hatreds as well as to the power of the Empire, he has cemented an alliance with the nation which had most to fear from the souvenirs of St. Helena, and forgiven provocations launched at his own person in the magnanimity which forgot all things save the vindication of the threatened interests of Europe. The restored Bourbons were your protégés, the Orleans dynasty your tool or your dupe ; a Bonaparte can compromise no dignity, can wound no susceptibility, in courting an alliance with a people who have still more benefit to derive from it than he. Were the worst to come, France could fight Russia single-handed—could you ?

It was the intention of the first architect of the Tuileries to have extended the works, and to have made the original villa more worthy of a royal residence, but the superstition of Marie de Medicis deranged the plans. Astrology was a science of the age in which she lived, and its professors were courted in every great household, for whose inmates the stars were the "bright leaves" wherein "the fate of men and nations" might be read. It had been predicted to the Queen that she would die near Saint Germain, and the site of the Tuileries formed part of the parish of St. Germain l'Auxerrois. She fled from the fated spot, and sought a refuge from the malignant planets in the Hotel de Soissons. The elegant palace of Delorme's devising was abandoned to neglect till the time of Henri Quatre. Then commenced a series of constructions, among which we number the Pavillon Marsan, and the Pavillon de Flora, and which obliterated in their heavy profusion the graceful forms of the early design. After his time the garden of the Tuileries was the site of a menagerie, whose establishment was permitted to reward the enterprise of an humble individual whose name was Renard, the precursor in France of Buffon and Cuvier. The portion of the garden allotted to him was called the *Jardin de Renard*, and was the favorite promenade of the world of fashion and politics in the days of the Fronde. One day the party of the Prince de Condé held there a high feast. His partizans were called by the Satirists, "the beardless chins, and brainless heads," and it was to them the epithet *petit maitre* was first applied. Whilst they quaffed their wine, and cursed the parliament, some two hundred *frondeurs* suddenly appeared; these uninvited guests were not long in spoiling the festivity. They upset the tables, and scattered the *convives*, less numerous, if more hungry than they.

Louis the Fourteenth was the first of the French monarchs who inhabited the Tuileries, and that not often, or for long periods together. As the stars fade out of heaven in the light of the rising sun, the "allures" of the town palace grew dim in the splendour of Versailles. How could the poor *Jardin de Renard* compare with the splendid park of the "Château," with its gardens, its grottoes, its endless alleys, its statues, its "world of waters" creeping in darkness from Marly to rise in silver foam to heaven, and fall again in marble basins rich with the proudest triumphs of sculpture? Louis the Fifteenth occupied the Tuileries during his minority, and it was there that the Regency revelled and schemed. There too

Massillon preached virtue and wisdom to youthful royalty. "The greater we are, Sire," he teaches from the pulpit of the royal chapel, "the greater is our responsibility to the public; the very elevation which wounds the susceptibilities of those made subject to us, renders their censure of our vices the more severe and the more enlightened. The great conceive all licence permitted to them, and it is precisely to the great that all excuse is refused; they live as if none might see them, and yet they stand out from the crowd, alone, aloft, the observed of all observers, an eternal spectacle for the whole earth. And to think of the nations sacrificed to their pride, the idol stained with blood that cries to heaven for vengeance! To think of the calamities that smite entire peoples, with kings for their sole authors! That men are born as evil unto men! That one fault may make a thousand crimes!"

It is to the grandson of Louis the Fourteenth that Massillon speaks thus, and with what fruit history is tired of repeating. A day shall come, when there shall be brief but pithy comment from the royal mouth on the inspired word of the preacher. The monarchy and the monarch are grown old; the scoff of Voltaire and the debauchery of Louis the Fifteenth have done their work. They tremble and mutter round the King. He mutters answer to them, "It will last my time," adding, with a sigh, "*après moi le déluge!*" And this was his *amen* to the warnings of the prophet. "*Le déluge*" swept over France, but a new generation found its ark in the Empire, its Noah in Napoleon. And his nephew has succeeded to his inheritance, and crowned Emperor of the French, sits and listens in that same chapel of the Tuileries to the homilies of the Père Ravignan, addressed to the imperial congregation from the pulpit whence Massillon counselled the court of the Regency.

It is the autumn of 1789, and night has veiled the great city with darkness, but not with silence. The quays of the Seine are thronged with spectators, and the voice of a whole population is raised in unaccustomed accents. The thousands pour forth to welcome their King. Never before was such welcome, never such King. He traverses the metropolis of his kingdom, a prisoner to his subjects. They have torn him from his palace of Versailles, and he enters Paris in state. Leave to him still some shred of his power, that he may the better feel his weakness in the depths of his soul. Denude him not of some last tatter of pomp, that its fluttering may the more keenly mock his nakedness. Thou hast wisely devised, oh! people!

In this show of respect, what utter humiliation ! you do well *Messieurs et Mesdames*, to cry "God save the King." What is now a King ? Let Louis answer. It is meet to order a royal progress with the blazon of banners, and of what kind are these that precede the procession ? Human heads, fixed high on patriotic pikes ! What garter king at arms may decypher such heraldry ! These are the heads of the Swiss Guards who perished in the defence of their master a few hours before. And who are the courtiers that make clear his path of this new fashioned King ? Men in rags who hurl their cries for vengeance to the skies, and abandoned women, sitting astride of cannon, shrieking obscene songs in open air. An address is befitting the solemnity of a royal entry into a great capital. What is ours ? "Take heart my friends ; don't fear that we shall want bread any longer, for here's the Baker, the Bakeress, and the little Baker-boy !" This last is the Dauphin.

Ah ! Louis, this and more might have been spared thy gentle heart, if thy grandfather had but heard *Massillon* aright ! In such guise the Most Christian King enters Paris, and at midnight the *Tuileries* receive him, a sovereign the captive of his people.

The refusal of Louis to sanction the decree against his brothers and such of the clergy as declined to adopt the "constitutionalized" idea of a priesthood, renewed the spirit of revolt, and the populace took possession of the *Tuileries*. For three long hours, the King momentarily expected death at the hands of the *Sans-culottes*. One of them presented him a bottle, inviting him to drink. Some friends who stood near endeavoured to dissuade him, from the fear that the proffered draught might be poison. "What if it be ?" said Louis, "I shall then die without betraying my conscience." Another, with officious stupidity rather than in mocking, bade the King have no fear, that all would be well.

"A good man never trembles," replied he, and taking the hand of a soldier who stood by, and placing it on his breast, he added, "Tell this man if my heart beats faster than is usual." This time revolt grows weary, forgetful, loiters, disappears. But another day of terror succeeds after the lapse of a few months. The King flies for refuge to the Assembly, and the *Tuileries* are sacked. A year after, the Convention held its sittings there. And one other famous day, amongst many yet to come, dawns on the ancient palace. It is the Day of the Sections ! the last revolt of the first Revolution. With its setting rises a sun—the star of Napoleon. It is General

Bonaparte whose cannon have pealed to-day the Requiem of the age of Voltaire. But it is an unquiet spirit, that 18th century, and revisits the earth from time to time. We have seen its ghastly form in our days, but with a fainter terror than of old binding its brow—Louis Napoleon finally exorcised it in December, 1851. Finally?

“Think you, my lord, the spirit will walk again?”

It was in the early months of the first year of the century that Napoleon, then First Consul, forsook The Luxembourg, and sought in the palace of the ancient Kings of France a prouder roof to house his growing destinies. The walls were covered with the emblems of the Republic, and the 10th of August had left there numerous memorials of the ruinous licence of that memorable day when the monarchy of a thousand years covered its head in the person of Louis the Sixteenth with the *bonnet rouge*. But the crown of Charlemagne was not destined long to lie dishonored beneath the feet of revolt. It was the puissant and skilful hand of Napoleon that gathered its fragments, and renewed its lustre. He took up his abode at the Tuileries amidst a pomp more than royal, and from the balcony of the palace saw his tried and trusted soldiers, already veterans in the flower of their youth, defile beneath in ordered ranks, whose discipline was a shield well-befitting the sword of their fiery valour. And Josephine is there. Two hundred years ago, Catherine de Medicis fled from the Tuileries as from her grave, frightened by the predictions of astrology. Necromancy is more gallant to-day. It had been foretold to Josephine in her youth that hers were royal destinies, and she hastens to anticipate the fulfilment of the flattering prophecy. She heeds not the inscription on the palace-front, not yet removed, which had been traced thereon some years before, by the hand of triumphant democracy—“The 10th of August, 1792”—such is the legend—“Royalty was abolished in France; never shall it be restored.” But Josephine believes in the Sybil of her youth, and bides the event with an impatience which will not suffer doubt. She is right; a few days after, the inscription is effaced; a few years after, she is Empress of the French.

With the Empire, the fortunes of the Tuileries flourished. Its saloons were thronged with military prowess, with diplomatic distinction, with the wisdom of statesmanship, with illustrations in every order of intellect, the abstractions of science, the *pratique* of politics. Amidst this crowd of princes and soldiers, of ancient nobles, and ennobled children of the people, one venerable figure



claims a special notice, and attracts a regard, which pierces the present, and traverses the long vista of six centuries. It was in the full tide of the middle age that Pope Innocent the Second visited Paris, and his footsteps have left their print in the old chronicles of the times, of faith. "We guided his way," says an ancient French historian, "in a procession, glorious in the eyes of God and of men, and singing a song of gladness, we embraced him. His people attired him in the mode of the Roman court, with a profusion of ornaments most admirable to be seen, and with, for sign of his power, the tiara, topped with a crown of gold. And his servitors and guards, richly habited, advanced on horseback, two by two, clad all in white, and chaunting hymns. But the barons, and the vassals of the church, and the noble *châtelains* were all on foot. And there were some in front who threw silver pieces before them to withdraw the crowd somewhat aside, and leave free the way, strewn with branches, and shaded with rich tapestry descending from the trees." Since then six centuries are gone. Innocent revisited Paris, in the person of Pius the Seventh. But the middle age has ebbed. We cannot look for veneration in the first decade of the 19th century; we must be content with a decent respect. Yet the papal guest of Napoleon experienced a reception at the hands of the people generally, which surpassed the expectations of the faithful, and thousands knelt for his benediction. Amidst the throng, one young man does worship to the dead age of Doubt with covered head. "*Decouvrez-vous*," was the Pontiff's mild rebuke, "an old man's blessing has never hurt any one." And the recent champion of the 18th century kneels obediently with bare head. In the brief moment of his genuflection, we retrace six hundred years, but cannot recall "the barons, the vassals of the church, the noble *châtelains*" of the days of Innocent. France has kept its religion, but changed its politics. Louis the Eleventh, Mazarin, the Emigration, have hanged, drawn, and quartered Feudality. The new French society does not depend from above, it props from beneath.

Pius the Seventh was lodged at the Tuileries, where the delicate attention of his Imperial host had prepared for him an apartment precisely similar, in its furniture and appointments, to that which the Pope was used to occupy at the Quirinal. An empty compliment to the man, which did not pledge Napoleon to proffer a sincere respect to the Pontiff, in whom he wished to find a servant, not a master.

It was after his marriage with Maria Louisa, that Napoleon con-

ceived the plan of joining the Taileries to the Louvre, enclosing within a square of palaces the *Place du Carrousel*, with its exquisite triumphal arch, but the completion of this magnificent design, commenced by the First Emperor, has been reserved to grace the opening years of the reign of his nephew. Of the four triumphal arches, which decorate Paris, two were erected in honour of Louis the Fourteenth, and you may see him on that of the Porte St. Martin in the character of Hercules. In the statues of that heathen deity, we see him invariably represented with very short, close-curl'd hair, and, no doubt, the classic tradition would have proved a serious difficulty to the court-sculptor, if the history of Samson had not come to his aid, and enabled him to "convert" Hercules. The artist has happily blended the costume of Olympus and of Versailles, and thus we behold Louis the Fourteenth with a club, and Hercules with a peruke. Should they have encountered in this guise in the Elysian Fields, (not to be confounded with the Champs Elysées) which of them must have been the more electrified, is a question which I leave to the savants, pagan and pious. Then, there is the superb triumphal arch of the *Barrière de l'Etoile*, with its towering solidity, and colossal sculpture. But its soaring pride wants the delicate grace of the *Arc du Carrousel*, the prettiest toy in stone in all Paris. It is surrounded by a Victory borne in a chariot drawn by four horses, modelled in bronze after the celebrated steeds of St. Mark, which occupied their place in the time of Napoleon, but were subsequently restored to Venice by the allies. These last have a strange history. At the commencement of the fourth crusade, when "blind old Dandolo" was Doge, there was held one day on the Place of St. Mark an assembly of the Venetian citizens, in the middle of whom suddenly appeared six French Knights, in their coats of mail, with the red cross burning on their breasts. "Princes of Venice," said one of their number, "behold us here in the name of the most puissant nobles of France, to supplicate you that you may consider Jerusalem how it is in the power of the Turk, and its holy places profaned by the feet of the Infidel. You are Lords of the Ocean; aid us, then, we pray you, that the chivalry of France may pass the seas in your ships to the shores beyond, that lead to the Holy Land." A thousand cries answered, "St. Mark for Venice! We will aid. *Dieu le veut!*" A fleet was equipped, and was ready to sail, when a new incident fired the zeal of the Venetians. This was the arrival of Alexis, a young prince of the Greek Imperial family, who came to

demand assistance in behalf of his father, the Emperor Isaac, who had been dethroned by his brother. The youth of Alexis (he was but twelve years of age) his graceful manners, and the wrongs of his family, still more, the promises of recompence he proffered in return for the services he sought for the race of the Comneni, urged the Crusaders to redouble their efforts. Old Dandolo took the command of the Venetian fleet, which speedily set sail from Venice, and cast anchor, after some months, on the waters of the Propontis. The victory of the Crusaders was complete, and Isaac, the father of the young Alexis, was restored to his throne, but his first act was to revoke the promises made in his name by his son. A new revolution followed in the city of revolutions, and another blood-stained usurper mounted a throne accustomed to usurpation. Young Alexis was put to death, and to avenge his murder, and the slaughter of many of the Crusaders by the Greek population, the French and Venetians stormed Constantinople, and the unfortunate city became speedily the scene of the most frightful excesses. The conquerors divided the booty, and the Venetians possessed themselves of the celebrated bronze horses, which adorned the Place in front of St Sophia. Once before had these same steeds witnessed the sack and utter ruin of a Greek city. It was in the second century before Christ, when Mummius, the General of the Roman Republic, took Corinth, the crown of two seas. They rested at Rome, till the troubles of the Western Empire caused the seat of Government to be transferred to the city of Constantine, and they shared the emigration of Roman power to the shores of the Bosphorus. Long were they stabled at Venice, but the Christian Corinth fell in its turn, though Napoleon was more humane than Mummius or Dandolo. Then were the horses of St. Mark "bridled," as Byron tells us, and harnessed to the triumphal car of a greater conqueror than any whose hand they had hitherto obeyed. And Paris fell, like Corinth, like Constantinople, like Venice, but unlike these, retrieved her ancient supremacy. But the steeds of St. Mark escaped her mastery, and led by Austrian hands, retraced their steps to their Venetian resting-place, leaving others of a native breed to compensate in some degree their absence.

The *Place du Carrousel* owes its name to a fête given on its site by Louis the Fourteenth, which was diversified with ancient and modern amusements, tournaments, ballets, races, &c. A building of timber, painted and upholstered with more of expense than of taste, half

theatre and half "stand-house," had been erected on occasion of this festivity, and terribly stirred the bile of a French poet of the time, who was more earnest in his wrath than felicitous in his satire. His doggrel is after this fashion:—

"Wooden cirque, with windows five,  
Big, be-gilt, be-blued beehive,  
Amphitheatre of deal,  
Boast the joiner's clumsy zeal,  
Palace nailed and hammered up,  
Where Kings and clowns together sup.  
Hippodrome of Pantagr'el;  
Pretty place this Carrousel,  
Shaped just like an oyster-shell!"

The Tuileries passed from Napoleon to Louis the Eighteenth, and Charles the Tenth. And the palace knew a new master, who seated himself wisely on "the throne surrounded by republican institutions." And this too shall be shattered. The old man has been subtle, but not wise. His energies, enfeebled by age and even by power, are not equal to the crisis he has provoked. For eighteen long years, or nearly, he has been King of the Barricades, and by that same ladder whereby he mounted, shall he descend.

It is the "10th of August" once more, and again the Tuileries witness the fall of a King. Louis Philippe totters through the garden of the Tuileries, and reaches the Place de la Concorde. There he finds a hackney-coach, and in this humble equipage the dis-crowned son of Philippe-Egalité, commences his flight, with, for starting-point, the very spot, where, fifty-five years before, the first republic began its course on the scaffold of Louis the Sixteenth. The time is, surely, not one for reflection, in the easy-chair sense of the word. Yet, is there an immense power of abstraction in the human mind. Years may be compressed into an instant. The heart of man is a world within itself. What wonder then if, on such a spot, and in such a time, there is room in this old man's memory for de Genlis, and his artificial, over-instructed boyhood; Dumouriez and his perilous manhood; Switzerland and his tutor-days; America, Italy, England, for he has seen men under every sun, and under every institution? But experience is not always wisdom, nor necessity resource, nor old age dignity. These days past, the artillery has resounded in Paris. But its feeble peal was not such as Valmy's

famous cannonade boomed forth into the ears of Europe. Time and man are changed. Where to-day is Dumouriez? Where the gallant young Duke de Chartres? Back in the last century—*both* dead long ago. To-day we only see unbudging Bugeaud, and a "citizen," no longer "King," soon to be "citizen" no more, but exile, simply.

In 1848 a decree of the Provincial Government converted the Palace into an hospital for the wounded of February, and destined it thenceforth to assume the title, and subserve the uses, of an improvised *Hôtel des Invalides Civils*. This was a *ruse* which was intended, and had for effect, to save the Tuileries from the popular fury, which threatened to set it on fire, and lay it in ashes, "from turret to foundation-stone." A subsequent decree ordained the completion of the Louvre, and the continuation of the Rue de Rivoli. Whilst the necessary alterations were in progress, the remains of the Palais Bourbon were discovered by the workmen in digging the foundations for the new buildings destined to unite the Tuileries and the Louvre. It was built by the Constable Charles de Bourbon, but was demolished early in the 16th century, with the exception of a chapel, and of a vast gallery which served as a theatre for the fêtes of the court. In 1577 a company of Venetian actors performed in this theatre, and the price of admission to their entertainments was something more modest than that which opens the doors of the opera, in our days, to the admirers of the musical drama. It amounted—if the dignity of the word be not considered out of place—to the sum of four sous, (two pence.) In 1658, this theatre was granted to Molière, and *l'Etourdi* and the *Depit Amoureux* were "presented," amidst the plaudits of Louis the Fourteenth and his court. In his reign its demolition was effected to make room for the colonnade of the Louvre, of which the Grand Monarque laid the first stone in 1665. Nearly two hundred years from this date, in July 1852, Prince Louis Napoleon, then President, laid the first stone for the new works undertaken for the completion of the Louvre, and its junction with the Tuileries, which have since been effected with wonderful energy and rapidity.

The Garden of the Tuileries was separated from the Palace, before the time of Louis the Fourteenth by a street called the *Rue des Tuileries*. The Garden then enclosed an aviary, a menagerie, of which we have made previous mention, an orangery, and an enclosed warren. It was surrounded by a strong wall, and a deep ditch, like a fortified place. In the year 1655, Le Nôtre, the French Paxton

of the 17th century, was charged with the execution of a new plan for the garden of the Tuileries, and it was he who constructed the two terraces which still exist, that which adjoin the Quay, and that of the Feuillants. Of this date is the splendid avenue, which leads from the Palace to the now Place de la Concorde, and which gives an interesting view of the triumphal Arc de l'Etoile, distant very nearly two English miles from the Tuileries. I need hardly observe that the triumphal arch did not exist in the time of Le Nôtre, whose master little dreamed that the hill which bounded, then, as now, the western horizon visible from the windows of his palace, should in after ages be crowned by a monument erected by the hands of another dynasty than his. The history of France is comprised in that same avenue. At the Tuileries, the ancient race of Kings, who ignored their true origin in the dream of Divine Right, and on the summit of the Arc de l'Etoile the new dynasty, raised up like the old, on the bucklers of the Franks, but which has not yet forgotten how, and by whom, the imperial dignity has been conferred—at the Tuileries, the dictum, *l'état c'est moi*, at the Barrière de l'Etoile, the *Appel au Peuple*—there the old society, at that height of prosperity, and fulness of developement, whose culminating glory casts over the 18th century a shadow ominous of retrogression—here, the modern society, renewing itself amidst ruin and danger, but with youth for its title and the future for its heritage—on the palace front of the Tuileries, the royal creed, now visible only to the eyes of history, *par la grâce de Dieu, Roi de France*, and high in air, above the western horizon opposite the unsculptured, but not the less, existing, and legible inscription, *par la grâce de Dieu, et la volonté nationale, Empereur des Français*. Truly, the grande allée of the Tuileries, and the avenue of the Champs Elysées, are not to be measured by yards, and metres only. Two miles long, did you say? We reckon them still more—two centuries, from end to end.

The Gardens of the Tuileries are adorned with a profusion of statues, all of them of the highest merit as works of sculpture, but almost all offensive to christian taste. The cant of art has been suffered to triumph over the propriety of decent manners. Strange inconsistency—a rigorous exactness of speech is required in an age which tolerates the public exhibition of indecent statues. The subject can only be hinted at, not debated. Your island modesty must turn away its eyes sometimes in the Gardens of the Tuileries. *Allons.*

To the north of the Gardens of the Tuilleries there formerly existed a convent of Feuillants, and adjoining it the manège, famous in history. It was here that in 1790 the Constituent Assembly terminated its session, here that the Legislative Assembly commenced and ended its career, and here that the Convention held its sittings till the spring of 1793, when it removed to the Tuilleries. There was also a revolutionary club which took the name of Feuillants, from its place of meeting, precisely as the celebrated Jacobins assumed that of the monks, whose cloisters, once the abode of pious contemplation, became the very furnace of the Revolution, where the patriotism of Republican France was assayed, and all alloy of moderate-ism fiercely rejected. It was on the site of these Gardens of the Feuillants, and of the adjacent buildings, that Napoleon commenced in 1802 the *Rue de Rivoli*, so called in honour of the victory of that name gained by the French over the Austrians in 1797. Number one in the new street, (which under Napoleon extended only from the Place de la Concorde to the Place du Carrousel) was inhabited by the celebrated Talleyrand, and still bears his name. It was at the same time, and on the same site, that was begun the *Rue de Castiglione*, which joins the *Rue de Rivoli* to the *Place Vendôme*, and which was continued, under the name of the *Rue Napoléon*, as far as the *Boulevard de la Madeleine*. Since 1815, that portion of this splendid street which connects the *Place Vendôme* with the Boulevard, has borne the name of the *Rue de la Paix*. It was on the site of the present *Place Vendôme*, that the Duke de Retz built a hôtel in the time of Charles the Ninth. It was sold in the beginning of the 17th century, to the Duchess de Mercoeur, and afterwards became the property of César, Duke de Vendôme (son of Henry the Fourth). The minister Louvois, to flatter the pride of Louis the Fourteenth, devised a plan for building a great "Place," in the midst of which the statue of the King might claim the homage of his subjects. The Hôtel Vendôme, with its gardens and dependencies, was considered to offer an eligible site, and was accordingly purchased for the crown in 1685. The façades of the buildings which encircled the new Place were completed, and this last was to have been adorned with a magnificent suite of edifices, such as a Royal Library, a Mint, and a Hôtel for the foreign ambassadors, when the death of Louvois caused the works to be suspended. They were, however, resumed under the direction of the

celebrated architect Mansard, and were completed in 1701. This square was at first named *Place des Conquetes* (which you must not confound with the *Place des Victoires*); but when the equestrian statue of the King was placed in the centre, it took the name of *Place Louis le Grand*, which it retained till the Revolution, when it received from the *sans-culottes* a new appellation, to wit, *Pike-place*! But all this time, its old designation continued to be partly used, and has outlived all the others—to day, as in the time of Henry the Fourth, it bears the name of his son, the Duke of Vendôme. In like manner, you constantly meet people here, who, in conversation, call the Place de la Concorde by its first name, the Place Louis Quinze. This little trait of popular manners is merely one indication, amongst many, of the strong feeling of conservatism, the *vis inertie*, which underlies the foundations of human nature. Society prates of progress, but does not like to be pushed on. Call the Place Vendome, then, by what name you will, it was there that was erected in 1699 a splendid bronze equestrian statue of Louis the Fourteenth, amidst a pomp and ceremony which surpassed everything of the kind which had before been witnessed. Previous to this time a general and growing discontent had been excited by the lavish expenditure of the King in peace as in war, and Paris was subject to frequent famines, and to the diseases which follow in their train. In 1698-9, suffering was extreme, and the government was forced to have recourse to extraordinary financial measures. Pride accords ill with misery, and the inauguration of the statue in the Place des Conquetes excited the gravest censures. The Duke de Bourgogne refused to take part in the ceremony. "How can one amuse one-self," he exclaimed, "when the people are suffering?" And even the King himself could not forbear a mild rebuke to the promoters of the ceremony. He was not, however, easily put in a passion by so trifling a fault as an excess of homage, and he was never at a loss for a scape-goat. Blamed by Madame de Maintenon for the extravagant expenditure which had characterized from the beginning this Place Vendome, and all that had reference to it, he burst out with, "I tell you it was Louvois who did it all in spite of me." Here I close, but in my next I shall tell you more of these streets, and all about the Palace of Industry.



## PARIS CORRESPONDENCE.

No. III.

### THE RUE DE RIVOLI, AND ITS NEIGHBOURS.

Dear Editor,

In my last I told you of this street of Rivoli, and all its proximate gentilities, and all its near abodes of wretchedness, and now I come to continue my facts of things as they were, and my facts, fancies, and pictures of things as they are.

The statue of Louis the Fourteenth was replaced by that of Napoleon in 1810, when the *Colonne de la Pluie Vendôme* was erected. The pedestal, shaft, and capital, built of cut stone, are covered externally with bronze, which is cast into bas-reliefs. This bronze has been formed out of the twelve hundred cannon taken from the Russian and Austrian armies in the memorable campaign of 1805. The shaft of the *Colonne* has been designed in imitation of that of Antoninus at Rome, and is covered with bas-reliefs representing the principal events of the campaign of 1805, from the departure of the troops from the camp of Boulogne, to the conclusion of the Peace, after the battle of Austerlitz. The first statue of Napoleon which crowned the noble column, represented him in the garb of a Roman Emperor. On the entrance of the Allies in 1814, the Royalists, under the protection of a foreign army, proceeded to enact an outrage, such as had not, till then, disgraced Paris. If the Revolution destroyed so many monuments, it was the act of the dregs of the people, infuriated by ages of suffering, maddened by a moment of freedom. But in men of high rank and education, the defenders of "order" and "enemies of the revolution," we might have expected to find better manners. From the representatives of the ancient Chivalry of France, a more high-bred courage might have been looked for, than that which had strength enough to trouble public order but not sufficient to subdue the Revolution, and which could only reach that zero in the scale of heroism which consisted in insulting their countrymen under the protection of an army of invasion. The *émigré* was forced to fly from his native land by the Jacobin *canaille*, who overthrew, as we have seen, the statues of the kings of France in the Great Revolution. After a quarter of a century the *émigré* returns,

and his first act is to imitate the barbarous frenzy he once so loudly censured. In March, 1814, the Royalists, headed by some of the greatest names in France, in so far as their birth was concerned, flocked to the *Place Vendôme*, and attempted to pull down the statue of Napoleon from the summit of the famous column. Their efforts were in vain. Baffled in their attempt, they went so far as to send a written order to the artist who had cast the statue, threatening him with immediate military execution if he did not aid them, by his intimate knowledge of the work of his own hands, to destroy the monument. They likewise conceived the plan of mining the place, and blowing pedestal, shaft, capital, and statue to pieces, when the Allies interfered, and "squelched" the notable project. But, though the column remained, the statue was removed a month afterwards. Sixteen years from that date, the government of Louis Philippe decreed the elevation of a new statue of Napoleon, to be erected on the same spot. It is that which now stands on the column of the *Place Vendôme*. It differs from the ancient one in the matter of costume, and represents the Emperor in his *redingote* and cocked hat.

We shall now take leave of this "neighbour" of the *Rue de Rivoli*, and returning thither by the *Rue de Castiglione*, we leave behind us the *Ministère des Finances*, and Meurice's Hotel; pressing still eastward, we turn a little to our right, after passing the Louvre, and rest in the shadow of *St. Germain l'Auxerrois*! On the same spot where it now stands, Chilperic built a church in the sixth century, which has been partly destroyed and again restored, at various intervals during a period of nearly thirteen hundred years. In the sixth century! What was Paris then?

Through a long era of decay the Roman Empire nodded to its fall. During the fourth and fifth centuries, language, laws, manners, costumes, were mixed and confounded together in such a fashion on the soil of Gaul, that it was difficult to distinguish the line which separated the ancient Roman domination from the Gallic nationality. The harmonious language of the south began to borrow a barbarous fire, and uncouth brevity, from the wild accents of the north. At this very hour, French is a corrupted Latin. I constantly hear it said in society, that such a one "*cause bien*." More than beauty, the French prize conversational powers. "*Elle est très jolie—très gaie—et elle cause très bien*." Or, "*Il a l'air aimable—il est très gai—et—il cause bien*." Such is the climax of qualities by which the

French express their opinion of a woman or of a man, as it may be, who fulfils their idea of perfection. Those two phrases—I hear them repeatedly, over and over again—contain more of the true French character, than all that either they themselves or foreigners have ever said or written on the subject. *Il cause bien!* A discourse on the art of conversation would be here out of place—as, indeed, such always is, for dissertations, however learned, cannot teach it—ask the French—but, notwithstanding, I may remind you of the obvious truth, that the aptitude of the language which serves for the medium of communication, is as requisite for this accomplishment as individual wit or information. And what language is that of the gay, amiable, and refined people, amongst whom to “chat” well is esteemed the greatest of social merits, perhaps of intellectual acquirements? No other than the provincial and crumpled Latin which shocked the high-born and cultured Roman’s ear in the Gaul of the fifth century. There is a double lesson of humility in the fact. The favored language has fallen into desuetude, and perished ages ago from the daily occupations of men. The language then despised has since taken the place of the Roman tongue in Europe, and is the recognized medium of communication between man and man all over the civilized world. The Latin is a “dead” language, whilst of all living languages, the French is the most vivacious. Rooted in the genius of a people the most energetic of modern times, it has put forth branches in every clime. It was spoken in times when the Druid sacrificed in the midst of unbrageous groves, and the gods of Olympus had still their worshippers. In its first rude accents were preached to the Gauls the truths of Christianity, which finally displaced the mythological system of the Romans, and the wild legends of the Barbarian worship. The new religion gathered strength amidst revolutions, disengaged itself from all that could endanger, and intertwined itself with all that could foster, its growth. It suffered to fall away, or actively extirpated all that was evil, it protected and cherished all that was good, in the highly social system of the Roman Empire. Whilst the civilization of the old Roman society was dying out, or was trampled out, a new civilization took shelter in the cloister and the church, which were not then merely places of prayer, but a refuge for arts and literature. The Roman, the Gaul, and the Barbarian, were alternately ascendant. What could come of this chaos? But the principle of life was ever there to encounter the elements of dissolution. St. Gèneviève confronts

Attila ; Clotilde appears at the side of Clovis ; and in the midst of the Bruneaults, the Chilperics, and the Frédégondes, beams the serene dignity of *St. Germain de Paris*.

Under the Merovingians, Paris was still confined to the little island of the times of Cæsar, and of Julian the Apostate, which is now the centre of modern Paris, and called the "Cité," as I have had occasion to observe in a previous number. Let us climb to the summit of the hill *Lucotitius*, (*St. Gèneviève*) and regard the Paris of these Frankish ages with its environs. Near us is the church called "Of the Apostles," built by Clovis, and to the east and south east extend vast marshes traversed by the Bièvre. At our feet lies the Palace of Julian (the *Palais des Thermes*) in its colossal strength, and scattered around it we see several churches, amongst which we remark that of *St. Etienne-des-Grès* (*des degrés, de gradibus*), so called from its position on the steep slope of the hill whereon we stand ; casting a glance over the immense plain which extends to Issy, the splendid monastery of *Sainte-croix* and *St. Vincent*, with its gilded roof glittering in the sun, attracts our attention. And opposite, on the other side of the river, is the church of *St. Germain*, called *le Rond* from its circular shape. To the north, seated on its island throne in the midst of the Seine, is old *Lutetia*, with its strong walls, the towers which guard its bridges, the mills which serve to prepare food for its inhabitants, the metopolitan church (the *ecclesia mater*, as it is called in the old records), the palace, and the prison. The houses are of wood, the streets dark and narrow, the churches numerous. Amongst the latter we notice one built by Chilperic. This monarch, whose character was a compound of vice and virtue, like that of most of his contemporaries, resolved to erect a church in honour of *St. Germain de Paris*, whither he proposed to transfer the relics of that saint, who had been Bishop of Paris, and it was completed in the close of the sixth century. Under the second race, this church was called *St. Germain le Rond*. Under the third race it was rebuilt by King Robert, and it was then named for the first time *St. Germain l'Auxerrois*, to distinguish it from the *Abbaye de St. Vincent*, to which the name of *St. Germain* had been added. This church, built by Robert, fell into decay in its turn, and was replaced by constructions of an after date, in the twelfth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In its quality of parish church of the Louvre, the history of *St. Germain l'Auxerrois* is synonymous with that of many of the Kings of France. But the splendour which it

derived from the neighbourhood, and from the frequent visits of royalty, did not prevent it from being the scene, oftentimes, of the loudest clamours of the Ligue, and within its walls thundered the Cardinal de Lorraine. It was from the same pulpit that Maillard attacked the vices of his time, under the reign of the celebrated Louis the Eleventh, who frequently considered himself as personally alluded to in the sermons of the preacher. On one occasion the monarch went so far as to threaten to have him thrown into the Seine. "Tell the King," said the intrepid Maillard, "that, in that case, I'll go quicker to heaven by water, than he can with his post horses." It is necessary, for the complete understanding of this *mot*, to remind you that it was Louis the Eleventh that instituted the post in France, and the transmission of mails throughout the principal towns of the kingdom. Amongst the celebrated persons buried in *St. Germain l'Auxerrois*, may be named Malherbe, Coysevox, and the Daciers, husband and wife. The Revolution twice assailed the venerable walls of this church, in 1793, and again in 1831, a year in which *émeutes* were frequent. On the occasion of a commemorative service in honour of the Duke de Berri, assassinated many years before, the mob attacked the church, pillaged it, and threatened to reduce it to utter ruin. But the rioters were fortunately diverted from their course, and *St. Germain l'Auxerrois* still remains to us grey with the traditions of thirteen hundred years.

It was in the *Rue des Fossés, St. Germain l'Auxerrois*, that Gabrielle d'Estreés died. In that part of the street lately demolished in the course of the improvements which the *Rue de Rivoli* and its Neighbours have of late undergone, existed a portion of the Hôtel de Sourdis, which communicated with the cloister of *St. Germain l'Auxerrois*, and which was inhabited by the Marquise de Sourdis, the aunt of the royal mistress. The journal of Henry the Fourth, for the year 1599, informs us that Gabrielle, after having passed part of the Lent at Fontainebleau, returned to Paris, and lodged in the house of one Zamet, an Italian, who had amassed an immense fortune in the administration of the taxes, and who, in the marriage contract of one of his daughters, described himself under the original title of "Lord Paramount," not of such or such a territorial property, but of "seventeen hundred thousand crowns." He was born a couple of centuries too soon. He should have flourished under Louis Philippe, and had his hôtel in the *Rue de la Chausseé d'Antin*, amidst his peers of the "*aristocratic bourgeoisie*"

who ruled the roast in the golden prime of the Citizen-King. He was a pleasant fellow, a great favorite with Henri Quatre, and his house was a cherished place of *réunion* for the companions of the gay monarch's *petits soupers*. Returning to Zamet's house from the church of the Petit-Saint-Antoine, she ate some fruit whilst walking in the garden, and was speedily after attacked with a burning sensation in the throat. "Take me away from this house," said she, "I am poisoned." She died in convulsions, and was so disfigured by the terrible agony she endured, that the by-standers could not regard without horror the beautiful face, whose charms, a few hours before, were the admiration of the Court, and the envy of her sex. "The marriage," says a writer of the time, "of Henri Quatre with Marie de Médicis, had been already spoken of as probable. As Zamet was a subject of the Duke of Florence, his enemies accused him of the crime." (the death of Gabrielle) "They poisoned the favorite, because the King wished to make her his wife, and," the chronicler adds, with a *naïveté* the most matter-of-fact possible, "when we think of all the trouble her death prevented, we see what a capital service was rendered by it to King and country."

Hard by, there existed, in former times, two other hôtels, not less famous as the abodes of wit and beauty, than the *hôtel de Zamet*; I refer to the *hôtels de Rambouillet* and *de Longueville*. They have disappeared, devoured by the Ogre, Street-improvement. The divinity of the Olympus de Rambouillet was the witty and beautiful Catherine Vivonne, Marquise de Rambouillet. "All is magnificence itself in her house," says Mademoiselle de Scuderi, "resplendent with lamps which you see nowhere else. The rooms are crowded with a thousand objects of luxury, which evidence the taste of her whose graceful hand has collected them. Flowers grouped everywhere in profusion make perpetual spring in her house, and one believes oneself in a place of enchantment." La Bruyère has also given us a sketch of the Hôtel de Rambouillet. "There," he says, "one met a circle of both sexes, united by the bond of conversation, and the *commerce d'esprit*. They left to poor vulgar people the sad privilege of speaking intelligibly; something expressed in their society with but little clearness, brought on another still more obscure, which was in its turn eclipsed by some utter enigma, and was sure to be followed by continued applause." Scarron, Boileau, and Molière found a butt for their satire in the Hotel de Rambouillet, which, after having long enjoyed indisputable notoriety and disputa-

ble fame, gained in the end for its *saloons* the designation of the "*Galerès du bel esprit*." The celebrity of the *Hotel de Longueville*, on the other hand, had no share in the levity of wit or fashion. It was there that Cardinal de Retz wove his state intrigues. It was inhabited at one time by the Duke D'Anjou, who was later Henry the Third of France, and it was there he received the Polish Ambassadors after his election to the throne of Poland.

If the prolongation of the *Rue de Rivoli* has caused the ruin, and total removal of some interesting relics of antiquity, others again owe to it their preservation, and even their renovation. Thus, the splendid tower of the ancient church of Saint-Jacques-la-Boucherie, all that now remains of that edifice, has been repaired, beautified, and restored by the same hands which have ruthlessly overthrown other objects of interest, which were found to be obstacles to the eastern path of the *Rue de Rivoli*. The levelling of the soil in the neighbourhood of the tower Saint-Jacques, has disclosed the foundations of the first church which had been erected on that spot in the times of the Carovingians. A second had been built on the same site; the third and last, the work of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was destroyed in the Revolution of 1789. This last church was consecrated, before its completion, by the Bishop of Turin, who was entertained by the parishioners at a dinner which cost no more than *seventy sous*. The Chroniclers do not inform us if the banquet took place during Lent, but it is, under any circumstances, impossible to conceive the fact to have been as stated, notwithstanding that we take into account the greater value of seventy halfpence in those days than now. Amongst the chief benefactors of this church, figured one Nicholas Flamel. This personage, a scrivener by trade, managed to realize a fortune nowise in keeping with his not over lucrative calling, a great portion of which he spent in pious endowments. His wealth, and certain eccentricities and pretended wonders, caused him to be considered as quite a mysterious being. He had found the philosopher's stone. Vases, retorts, and other magical paraphernalia, were discovered in his house after his pretended death. I say *pretended* death, for Paul Lucas, a traveller of those days, a faithful man, who had seen the devil Asmodeus in Upper Egypt, met a dervish, no doubt at Asmodeus' country-house, who knew perfectly well the identical Nicholas Flamel and his wife, and who felt happy in being able to assure Monsieur Lucas that "*tous les deux*" were in the enjoyment of excellent health. You are no doubt

surprised that so pious a personage as Nicholas Flamel should have any *rapport* with Asmodeus or dervishes, but you must keep in mind that his contemporaries were not clear upon the point of his sanctity, and often regarded his munificent foundations as new-fangled (i.e. new-fangled, in the fourteenth-century sense of the word) devices of the enemy of man.

The *Rue de Rivoli* commences at the Palace of the Monarchy—the Tuileries. It ends at the Palace of the People—the Hôtel de Ville. The towns of Gaul, conquered by the Romans were, with few exceptions, classed as Prefectures, and governed as such by a Roman Prefect. In the sequel, it was found advisable to assuage popular turbulence by, in some measure, guaranteeing popular rights, and a magistracy was accordingly erected under the name of “Protectors of the City.” These were elected by the body of the people from amongst the most distinguished citizens; these were tribunes of the people: amongst their attributions was the administration of justice in certain matters to which their jurisdiction was limited, as also the right of acquiring and disposing of property in the name of the City, and for its benefit. The first Parisian municipal magistrates were chosen amongst the *Mercatores aquae*, the same who consecrated those altars to the heathen gods, which I described in a former paper as preserved at the Hôtel de Cluny. To this hour a ship figures in the arms of Paris. We see in it the recognized cognizance of that company of merchants, whose vessels traded on the Seine, an inland fleet which was under the command of a Roman Prefect. The conquest of demi-Romanised Gaul by the Franks effected no fundamental change in the constitution of the corporation, and, even down to the seventeenth century, the successors of the ancient *nautae* of the time of Tiberius exercised nearly the same power, and enjoyed nearly the same privileges as were known to their predecessors. The council of citizens was presided over by two chief functionaries, the *Prévôt de Paris* (named by the King) who administered justice in the City-court, and the *Prévôt des Marchands*, who was charged with the commercial and other metropolitan interests of the capital, and who was elected by the inhabitants. This latter was the *Lord Mayor* of his time, according to your ideas, and the seat of his authority was called, in the old French of the Middle Ages, the *Parloir*, or *Parloir, aux Bourgeois*, the designation being sufficiently indicative of the popular nature of the institution:—the citizens *spoke* publicly on all matters of common interest, and, no doubt, used their privilege



quite as much as modern aldermen. As the city increased in extent and importance, other trades than that of the *Mercatores aquae* claimed to be admitted into the corporation, which, under Philip Augustus, was an immense Trades-Union, the *élite* of the Bourgeoisie of Paris, organized both as a civil community and as a military establishment. Subsequently, under Louis the Eleventh, a review of the city train-bands took place, in which 80,000 armed men manœuvred, the predecessors of the National Guard of modern times. The place of sitting of the corporation was shifted from one locality to another, till, in 1358, Etienne Marcel, the most celebrated of all the Mayors of Paris, except, perhaps, Bailly, acquired for the city a house which existed on the Place de Grève, and then and there founded the actual *Hôtel de Ville*, which, however, has required the lapse of centuries to reach its present proportions. The admirers of this city magistrate claim for him the title of the greatest reformer, his enemies that of the greatest demagogue, of his time. He fortified and beautified Paris, he introduced many useful measures with a firmness equal to his boldness, and administered the affairs of the corporation with unexampled success. On the other hand, the "*Parloir*" was agitated during his time by a perpetual tempest. We find much vulgar envy mixed up with well-grounded complaint. The corporation wish to pass sumptuary laws restraining the expenses of the rich, that is the very rich, the too rich, the richer than the rich *bourgeois* of these middle ages, so closely resembling their brothers of the nineteenth century, who "level upwards and trample downwards." One evil of the time, which called for reformation, was the dilatory conduct of the magistrates. "They come late to court, dine at their ease, and make the pleaders spend their time in meditating." The following presents us with an interesting picture of the *Hôtel de Ville* in these far-back times. "The Great Chamber of the *Parloir* was strewn with mats in winter, and with green rushes in summer. Over the counter was suspended a *Dieu de pitié*," (a crucifix) "and an image of Saint Gregory. In the hall was a clock which required winding every day. Divers chests, serving at once for money-safe and library, some shelves of wood, covered with black horn, and with clasps of silver, to keep together the papers and registers, a chain of iron from which hung defective measures which had been seized, some forms, and a few chaires an office apart for the Treasurer—such was the furniture and arrangement of the principal state-room in the People's Palace."

Under Louis the Eleventh, the corporation gave a banquet to that monarch and his court, on occasion of the marriage of one of his daughters. The old chronicles describe it, in French as antiquated as the cookery, as "*un moult beau service de chair et de poisson.*" In 1566, Henry the Second invited himself right royally to make merry with his liegèes of the good city of Paris. The sons of many of the principal merchants officiated as waiters on the occasion. Unfortunately the banqueting-chamber was too small for the company, and spoiled the fun. Again, the cannon of the city did so loyally and royally boom and thunder, that the royal steeds took unloyal fright, and very nearly upset the royal person. The singers were hoarse, the comedians, on account of the noise and confusion, could not go through their performance, and such was the disorder that many had to go away who could get nothing to drink after supper. We acquire no favorable opinion of the gallantry of the time, when, amongst the most grievous of the grievances of our chronicler, we find it complained of that, "ye demoiselles of ye citie" had seated themselves to their satisfaction "at ye hyghe ende of ye hall," whilst many "greate lordys" were obliged to sit beneath them. It would appear from this, that "ye demoiselles" were expected to resign their places (or rather not to have taken them at all) to "ye greate lordys." Preach that doctrine, nowadays!— Besides these extraordinary festivities, in the old times the court visited the city, every year, on St. John's Day. It was at once the privilege and duty of the King, or, in his absence, of a prince of the blood, to set fire with his own hand to the bon-fire on the Place de Grève. Afterwards came the city-banquet, which was not always as disorderly as that of which I gave you a sketch above, but which was generally conceived in too frolic a spirit for our sober days. The festivities on St. John's day were always attended with much cruelty, it having been the custom to burn an immense number of cats in the bon-fire. *Deplus*, an unhappy fox has become an historical personage, having been burned on one occasion, of which ancient annals make mention, "to give delygte unto hys majestie."

The *Hotel de Ville* has witnessed the stormiest events that have agitated Paris during many centuries, and, be sure, the Fronde has left its memories there. The day after the battle of the Faubourg St. Antoine, an assembly of the *bourgeoisie* was convoked at the *Hotel de Ville*, and, even from early morning, numerous groups were observed on the Place de Grève, who forced those who passed there,

either out of curiosity, or from motives of business, to assume the badge of the faction opposed to the court. It was a handful of straw, stuck in the hat-band. When the Prince de Condé and the Duke of Orleans presented themselves to the excited multitude, they were travestied like mitners on May-day, straw in their hats, straw for shoulder-knot, a wisp of straw flourished in their hands. Their first act was to sign the treaty of union against Cardinal Mazarin, when a letter arrived from the King, enjoining the *Prévôt des Marchands* to adjourn the assembly for a week, and an immense number of the corporation and of the *bourgeoisie* seemed inclined to obey the royal order. This was not what the Princes wished, and they abandoned the "*parloir*" in anger. Soon the firing commences around the *Hôtel de Ville*, upon which an exasperated multitude pours in hot haste, as if it were a den of Mazarins. In vain the priests of *St.-Jean-en-Grève* carry the Sacrament in solemn procession, to appease the violence of the rioters. The rioters carried the *Hôtel de Ville* by storm, and its inmates threw themselves prostrate, believing in their terror that their last hour was come, as, indeed, it was for many. In every corner the dying confessed themselves to the priests, who hastened from room to room to console the victims of that fatal day, which witnessed the last convulsion of the Fronde. A century and a half from thence, the *Hôtel de Ville* was once more the scene of riot and blood. It was the day of the fall of the Bastille. Flesselles, the last of the *prévôts des marchands*, was killed by a pistol-shot, and his head carried through Paris, fixed on a pike. A few days after, Berthier, Intendant of Paris, was massacred on the same spot. Before his death, the rioters forced him to embrace the head of his brother-in-law, Foulon. The latter was seized at some distance from Paris, and was driven along, like a beast, to the *Hôtel de Ville*, his feet bare, his neck surrounded with a collar of nettles, and some hay thrust into his mouth. It was he who, when the sufferings of the people were the subject of conversation, brutally replied, to an observation addressed to him, in the memorable words, "Let them eat grass!" It was at the *Hôtel de Ville* that Louis the Sixteenth was obliged to assume the tri-coloured cockade, and from the windows he showed himself to his liegèes of his good city of Paris. It was thither, also, he was conducted, on the famous sixth of October, when he made that strangest of royal progresses into Paris, which we have already noticed more at length in a former paper. The last of the *prévôts des marchands* was Flesselles, as we have said:

But the office of Mayor, which replaced, under the Revolution, the old civic title, was filled, in the days of October, by the celebrated Bailly, model *philosophe*, who knew everything except human nature, and believed in nothing save himself. After him came Marat and Robespierre, resolved, as Danton said, to see what plenty of bleeding would do for their patient, the nation. And the 9th Thermidor dawned over Paris, mad with joy at its deliverance from the reign of terror. Under the Empire and the Restoration, the *Hôtel de Ville* played no prominent part in politics, but assumed its ancient rôle of *chef-lieu* of *émeute* in the July of 1830. On the 29th, it was the seat of the Provisional Government. On that day the King consented to form a new ministry. "It is too late," was Lafayette's reply. Then it was that the Republic and the Orleans-monarchy found themselves competitors for the favour of the people. Louis Philippe took time by the fore-lock, and reached the *Hôtel de Ville* on the 30th of July. Lafayette and he embrace. They appear together on the balcony of the *grande salle*, and again they embrace. An enthusiastic acclamation resounded from the *Place de Grève*, and the Citizen-King could assure himself that he had well laid the foundation of the "throne surrounded with republican institutions." And that, too, was shattered, and a new provisional government sits in the *Hôtel de Ville*. And one day, as often before, the staircases and rooms of the old civic palace are thronged with armed men. And their cry is for the Red Republic, for the *Drapeau Rouge*. "You wish," cries de Lamartine, "for the red flag instead of the tricolor. *Le drapeau rouge*! It shall never be mine. Why? Because the tricolor has made the tour of the world with your liberty and your glory, and the *drapeau rouge* has made no other than that of the *Champs de Mars*, dragged along in the blood of the people." The populace applauded, and France was saved.

Beyond the *Hôtel de Ville* is the newly constructed barrack, the magnificent *Caserne Napoléon*, and, in front, the *Rue Saint Antoine*!

In this, and in my last, paper, I have conducted you from the *Tuileries* to the *Hôtel de Ville*—from the new mansions of rank and opulence in the west, to the ancient abodes of labour in the famous quarter of St. Antoine. In our passage through the *Rue de Rivoli*, we have traversed centuries in the life of France, we have passed, in our street promenade, from the Empire back to the Roman Prefecture—from the Revolution to the cradle of the monarchy—and we have had for companions of our walk men amongst

the greatest for their genius, or the most interesting for their career, in a country whose history is rich with genius and interest. Another day we shall take a stroll in a quarter of Paris which will not give us less amusement, I hope, nor less instruction than that *Rue de Rivoli* and its Neighbours, to which we now bid adieu.

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#### QUARTERLY RECORD OF THE PROGRESS OF REFORMATORY SCHOOLS AND OF PRISON DISCIPLINE.

By *The Juvenile Offenders' Act*, the Manager of the Reformatory School is empowered to teach any religion he shall think best to the young criminals committed to his institution. This would naturally be the faith of which he professes himself a follower; and as all the Schools yet established in England and Scotland are conducted by members of the Church, or by Protestant Dissenters, the Roman Catholics, it would appear, felt the necessity for some Reformatory managed by those of their own communion. Accordingly, in the early part of last July, a meeting was held in London, for the purpose of forming a Reformatory School Committee, and of entering into other necessary details. We insert the following "leader," from a recent number of *The Weekly Register and Catholic Standard*, as it expresses, we presume, the wishes and intentions of those who called the Meeting. It is, however, unjust to those who have already founded Reformatory Schools, and is particularly unfair towards our friend Mr. Recorder Hill. In fact the whole truth of the question was most correctly stated by Miss Carpenter in her evidence before the Committee on Criminal and Destitute Juveniles, when she declared, that the founder should be at liberty to teach any religion he pleased in his school, and that all who were dissatisfied should have power, had they the charity, to found Schools in which the Young Criminals of their own creed could be instructed. This we think fair and just, but we do not consider the leader which we shall now insert as either fair or reasonable in accus-

ing those of proselytism who will not teach a religion in which they do not believe :—

#### “THE CATHOLIC REFORMATORY SCHOOL.

We need hardly call the attention of our Catholic readers to the advertisement inserted by the Committee appointed by His Eminence to superintend the establishment of a Catholic Reformatory School. In the present state of the law, any child may be sent to a reformatory school for a trifling breach of the police regulations without any moral fault. If there is no Catholic reformatory school, it is certain that numbers will be sent to Protestant schools, and brought up in enmity to the religion of their parents. No such Act ought to have been passed until reformatory schools had first been provided to which children could be sent without violation of their religious liberties. The reason why this obvious piece of justice was neglected was twofold : first, there is a considerable and influential party with whom it is a primary object to subject Catholic children to an anti-Catholic education, and who hesitate to use no means which may bring about that object. For this purpose they are, wherever they can, freely employing bribery, persuasion, and every kind of art ; and before this Act passed, they had obtained one to enable them to use force in the case of that large class of Catholic children in London whose poverty may bring them, with or without moral fault, into the police court—we mean the Middlesex Reformatory School Bill of last session. That bill was obtained by the Middlesex magistrates. It provided for the education in the Protestant religion of every child who might get into any scrape—true, the Chairman of the Middlesex Magistrates, Mr. Henry Pownall, denied that their object was proselytism : yet, when the Committee of the House of Commons added to the bill a provision that ‘no child should be educated in any religious creed contrary to that of his parents, or to which they shall object ; and that it shall be lawful for any minister of the religious persuasion of any juvenile offender, or in which his parents shall wish him to be brought up, to visit him in school, and under certain regulations as to number, &c., to perform worship there on Sundays,’ the Magistrates, with Mr. Pownall at their head, so strongly opposed this clause that they defeated it in the House of Lords. And on what ground ? We are not left to guess. The ‘Ragged School Magazine,’ the organ of the proselytising schools, published their objection to it, on the ground that ‘the large proportion both of juvenile and adult criminals in the United Kingdom are Roman Catholics ;’ and asked, ‘Will it be pleaded that the objection of the parents ought to be listened to in the case of Roman Catholics ? Are not those parents generally as wretched and ignorant as their children, whom they have for the most part trained to crime ?’ It concluded : ‘We must therefore continue the diffusion throughout all our schools, refuges, and reformatories, of that Evangelism which is common to all true protestants in the land, and without which the degraded and polluted can never be elevated and purified.’ Our extracts give an imperfect notion of the manner in which the paper we are quoting avows proselytism towards Catholic children

as the object of the Reformatory Schools. This might not have committed the magistrates, but Mr. Pownall, their chairman, went out of his way to adopt it; writing to the Editor—‘I cannot sufficiently thank you for it,’ and promising the opposition of the magistrates, and predicting, truly as soon appeared, its rejection by the Lords. He ended: ‘I will not fail to give your Magazine to the magistrates, for which they as well as myself return you our sincere thanks.’ We do not then exaggerate, when we say that a large body of the most respectable Protestants, among whom are the great majority of the Middlesex Magistrates, avowedly desire Reformatory Schools expressly because the greater part of their involuntary inmates will be Catholics, and because they will have the opportunity of educating them as Protestants. We do not suspect Mr. Pownall of intentional falsehood, when he indignantly disavowed any intention of proselytising. He was thinking, no doubt, only of Protestant sects; he meant that the school would not be employed to make converts from one Protestant sect to another; that every possible exertion would be made to bring up ‘Papists’ to Protestantism, he probably took for granted, and thought it unnecessary to express anything so obvious. Members of Parliament no doubt there are who are of the same mind.

However, this party would hardly have been strong enough to obtain a law to compel all Catholic children convicted of any trifling offence to be educated as Protestants if Parliament had been aware what they were about. The truth is, Protestants have no belief that it is possible for the very poor and suffering classes to have any religion at all. They sincerely believe, and the experience as far as it goes no doubt justifies the belief, that not only the beggars in our streets, but the numerous classes which carry on different trades in them, as costermongers, street-sweepers, &c., have no religion at all. Indeed, they would extend this almost without an exception to the labouring class of London and other great towns. This manner of regarding the poor strikes a Catholic with inexpressible force in reading Protestant writings upon almost any subject connected with them. A Protestant poet complains:—‘Times are altered now, and Englishmen begin to class the beggar with the knave, and poverty with sin.’ He does not exaggerate. Father Hutchinson, of the Oratory, says:—

Thus when Mr. Hill, the Recorder of Birmingham, who was examined before the committee on Juvenile Offenders in 1852, was asked whether, if all the children in reformatory schools were to be committed to the care of a Protestant Chaplain, some difficulty might not arise on the ground of differences of religion. He answered that he did not apprehend it, for that the criminals ‘had no religious differences; they have no religion at all; they are not divisible into Roman Catholics and Protestants; they are practically heathens.’ The same argument has been used again and again by different members of the House of Commons. When it was urged upon them that the religious opinions of these children ought to be respected, and that provision ought to be afforded them for being instructed in their own creed, and for practising their own religion, the answer has always been the same, that it was idle to speak of their religious

opinions, for that they had none, but were practically heathens.' And he beautifully adds :—

"In these very places thus spoken of I know of my own knowledge that there are numbers of poor, hard-working, inoffensive Catholics, and hundreds of pure, innocent, Irish boys and girls, crossing-sweepers and street sellers, who, ragged and bare-footed as they may be, are regular in the observance of their religious duties, and are leading good Christian lives in the midst of the temptations and dangers that surround them.—Yet not a word is said of them by these Protestant writers ; but all are most cruelly included in one general charge of ignorance and vice."

In this state of public opinion and feeling, and just after the clauses inserted for the protection of Catholic children in the Middlesex Act had been cast out by the influence of the very magistrates who had to enforce it, it was more than we could have expected, that in the general Act for the establishment of Reformatory Schools, a clause should be inserted, which to a considerable degree places those of different religions, the Catholics included, upon equal terms. Indeed, we are inclined with Father Hutchinson, to believe that this is far better than if the clauses intended to protect Catholics had been left in the Middlesex Act. For beyond a doubt, under the administration of magistrates like Mr. Pownall, those clauses would have been evaded, and while by standing in the Statute-book they would have given the appearance of fairness and impartiality, they would in fact have done little or nothing for our poor Catholic children. Catholic Reformatory Schools, we well know, are the only schools that really deserve the name, for our schools can bring to bear upon their inmates powers supernatural and Divine, while Protestants, having at their command merely a human system, have always found the real reformation of offenders a hopeless task.

We subjoin the notice issued by the Committee, and cannot doubt its success.

Two acts were passed in the last session of Parliament, empowering magistrates to send, at their discretion, any children who may be convicted before them of contraventions of the law, and sentenced to fourteen days' imprisonment, to a reformatory school, for any period from two to five years.

It is obvious that, by the operation of these powers, great numbers of poor and destitute Catholic children, so numerous especially in London, may be placed at once in Protestant reformatory schools, under legal sentence, without possibility of release.

One only means of averting this great and imminent danger exists, namely, the prompt establishment of a Catholic reformatory school. Such an institution may be recognized, according to the provision of the Act, so as to afford an asylum to which magistrates will be empowered, and in justice constrained, to send our poor children.

With this view, certain persons were appointed to take the steps necessary for the commencement of such a school, by his eminence the Cardinal, who placed at once the sum of £1,000 at their disposal.



After some difficulty in finding a house in any way sufficient or suitable for such an establishment, a house and garden were taken at Brook Green, in which it is proposed that the Reformatory school shall be at once begun with the hope of transferring it to a more capacious and adequate site hereafter.

A Committee has been named by His Eminence to carry out the undertaking.

Lord Peter, Lord Edward Howard, the Hon. Charles Langdale, and Charles Townley Esq., have kindly consented to become trustees, and to allow their names to be inserted in the lease of the house.

The Committee proceeded to invite the assistance of the Very Rev. M. Scheppers; Canon of Malines, and Founder of the Congregation of the Brothers of Our Lady of Mercy, whose labours in Belgium, at Vilvorde and St. Hubert are well known; as well as the confidence lately manifested towards them by the special commission of the Holy Father, to establish the Reformatory Prison, which is now in operation at Santa Balbina, in Rome.

Four of the Brothers, of whom one is English by birth, have already commenced the establishment of the Reformatory School. They are engaged in preparing the house for their future work.

It only remains, then, for us to obtain from the charity of the Catholic body, the funds necessary for this most important work, for which purpose the following plan has been suggested, to which your kind co-operation is solicited.

It is proposed:—

1. To invest the sum of £1,000, contributed by His Eminence as a security for the liability the trustees have kindly undertaken.
2. To solicit a certain number of persons to engage for three years to contribute in the following proportions:—
 

1. Five or more at .....	£20 0 0
2. Ten or more at .....	10 0 0
3. Twenty or more at .....	5 0 0
3. To open a general account for donations and subscriptions of any amount.
4. To endeavour, in the course of the next three years, to form a suitable fund for purchasing a site, and for erecting a suitable building, to which the Reformatory School may then be transferred; and to request some five or more of those who are zealous in this work, to undertake the office of making it known, and of obtaining contributions to this Special Building Fund.
5. To request a collection in some of the churches in London, in which this work of charity may be most fittingly recommended once in each of the three next years.

His Eminence has already signified his lively interest in the undertaking, and his willingness to recommend it, by a Pastoral Letter, without collection; or otherwise to the aims of the Faithful.

#### CATHOLIC REFORMATORY SCHOOL.

The Committee named by his Eminence the Cardinal to carry out this most urgent and necessary work, earnestly request the kind support and contribution of Catholics.

Contributions will be thankfully received by the Rev. Dr. Whitty,

V. G. St. Mary's, Moorfields; Rev. Dr. Manning, 78, South Audley street, London; Pedro de Zulueta, esq., 21, Devonshire-place; Hon. Charles Clifford; also by the London Joint Stock Bank, Pall Mall; the Commercial Bank of London, 6, Lothbury, City, and 6, Henrietta street, Covent Garden. Hitherto received:—

Donations:—His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop, £1000; Lord Bishop of Southwark, £86 14s.; Lord Kenmare, £5; The Chevalier Pedro de Zulueta, £25; C.D.M. £5; Total, £1121 14s.

Subscriptions for three years:—Lord Petre, £20; P. de Zulueta, Esq., £20; Charles Townley, Esq., £60; Lady Petre, £10; Lord Edward Howard, £10; Sir John Simeon, Bart., £10; William Mossell, Esq., M.P. £10; C. J. Laprimaudaye, Esq. £10; Hon. Charles Langdale, £10; Charles J. Manning, Esq. £10; Stanley Carey, Esq. £10; J. B. Hope Scott, Esq. £10; W. C. Maxwell, Esq. £10; Rev. W. Waterworth, £5; F. R. Wegg Prosser, Esq. £5; Mrs. Roberts, £5; Rev. Dr. Manning, £5; P. H. Howard, Esq. £5; Lord Southwell, £5; C. £5; Henry Bowden, Esq. £5; Colonel Sheil, £5; Hon. Charles Clifford, £1; Hon. F. Petre, £1; Total, £247.

We regret very much that the Reverend gentleman, whose address is here quoted, did not remember how new the subject was to him, and how old, and well known to Mr. Hill. Mr. Hill was referring to peculiar circumstances, and to the effects springing from certain causes. But the speaker at this meeting argues from particulars to generals, and is not alone unjust to Mr. Hill, but he, unintentionally we hope, endeavours to excite disagreements between the various communions who support the Reformatory Principle. This is not the spirit of the old, proved advocates of the cause, who think always of the whole heart, self-devotion of the school manager, and never of his religious creed: thus Robert Hall writes to us—"If there is a saint on earth that saint is Demetz:" thus Mr. Hill—"Demetz is a wonderful man, heart, soul, and energy bound up with his school, and all for God's love." Thus Mary Carpenter—"Sometimes the Priests take the Roman Catholic children from my school: I don't blame them for this, but I do blame them for not opening a school themselves for those of their own faith." These are sentiments, showing more the spirit of the Christian, and of him who applauded the Samaritan, than of the theologian who, in his "pin point of a soul" sees nothing good save that which springs from his own creed. Let us hope that the Reformatory Movement will not become a seed-plot of sectarian bickering, but that each communion will work earnestly and thoroughly, and thoroughly for the common object.

Since our last Record, two very important documents, bearing upon the Reformatory School question, in its practical phases, have appeared. The first is a letter addressed to Mr. J. Symons, by Mr. Bengough, the able and activeco-manager, with Mr. Baker, of the now famous Hardwicke School. The letter is as follows:—

“*Exeter, May 11th.*”

MY DEAR MR. SYMONS,—I have been so much interested in the report of the paper which you read last week before the Society of Arts on the subject of juvenile crime, at which I was unfortunately unable to be present, that I should like to offer you a few remarks upon it. The discussion was, I think, well confined, under the advice of the chairman, to the root question, so to speak, of the whole subject—a child's responsibility, and consequent criminality and liability to punishment. I cannot think of anything more important than a reconciliation, if it be possible, of the conflicting views upon this subject; and one remark which fell from Mr. Power, Recorder of Ipswich, holds out the hope that in the direction to which it points a common ground may at last be obtained. I allude to Mr. Power's reply to Lord Lyttelton's observations, which in the report of the discussion in the Society's Journal stands thus—‘I beg to say that I have no objection to any amount of punishment, so long as it is directed to the reformation of the offender. What I oppose is vindictive punishment, which has *not* reference to the reformation of the offender, but merely as some atonement to society, which he has offended.’ I think Mr. Power himself must admit that the tenor of the objections which he himself raised to that part of your paper which touched the question of punishment, appears to go very considerably further than the interpretation which he puts upon them in the words I have just quoted, and it is, therefore, a matter of great importance to have gained a declaration so explicit from one who is sometimes supposed to be the great advocate for not punishing children at all.

In this admission, then, and the distinction between vindictive and reformatory punishment which all will allow to exist, I think will be found the elements of agreement between opinions seemingly so discordant as are those of Mr. Power and others who think with him and those represented by yourself. Vindictive punishment, by its very nature, can never be of a reformatory kind; but there is a kind of punishment which is inflicted, not with any notion of making the offender *atone to society* for the injuries it has received at his hands, but as an absolutely necessary consequence to *himself* for the fault he has committed, as it is a *sin*. Against such a kind of punishment, to which alone, in strictness, the term ought to be applied, I conceive that, with one proviso, namely, that it should at least not be of a kind to *hinder* if it did not actually promote reformation in the subject of it—the opponents of a *vindictive* punishment could not with any consistency object. I need scarcely remind you how we have inspired authority to state that the infliction of this punishment is the province to which the Divine appointment of rulers has immedi-

ately destined them : this carrying out of the inseparable connection between sin and suffering, which it is one of the greatest exercises of faith to receive, and with many one of the greatest difficulties of reason. One great objection is, I know, advanced against our attempting to carry out this punishment now, in the impossibility of estimating the *relative* much more the *absolute* wickedness of any given crime. But granting this impossibility to the full, we should not, in the first place, be deterred by this difficulty from carrying out, as perfectly as we can, what seems to be an absolute duty imposed upon all who have the power ; and in the next place, the *severest earthly* punishment which we could inflict would be, absolutely, not excessive for any real sin. To questions of how far the sanction of a human law can make that a sin which is not made so by the Divine law, I do not wish to turn aside. Theft, the main crime we have to deal with in the class of juvenile offenders, is a sin by the law of God. That it is a sin of much greater heinousness in those who know its nature well—who have had the advantage of good education and careful nurture, than in those who, perhaps, do *not* know (if there are such,) that it is,—what they understand as it were by nature the force of—wrong I need not formally admit. But is it not to be punished at all in them? What, then, does our blessed Lord mean, when he speaks of ‘the servant who knew *not* his lord’s will,’ but is *yet* to be ‘beaten with few stripes because he did it not.’ The infliction of punishment, indeed, I cannot but consider a paramount duty of those who are entrusted with power ; but, as I have already intimated, I as firmly believe that, except where such is the direct command of Him from whom all power is derived—all *human* punishment should seek, what all *His* punishments in this life at least, with perhaps some singular exceptions, do seek—the reclaiming the sinner from his sin. Now, say that a poor child just taken from the kennel does not know that he has done wrong in taking that which was not his own, will he not be the more likely to remember in aftertimes the lesson that it *is* wrong, because he receives with it that other lesson—that wrong *deserves*—by a higher law than man’s, and by a higher appointment is here to *receive*—pain. Nothing indeed can be more futile—a more entire departure from that great example which all rulers ought to imitate than *so* to punish, *not* the incorrigible and hardened, for of them we are not speaking, but the weak and ignorant, as that it should leave them only more hardened in their sin. Futile it is because it injures that society which it is their object and duty to protect. But with the fullest admission of the Divine right of real punishment, I easily conceive the existence, which we perceive—of the very strongest objection to those which are at present practised among us, both for their nature and for their manner, partaking as they do much of the vindictive character, in which they are inflicted. I do hope, then, that it is here alone that that apparently great difference of opinion lies between the advocates for, and the opponents of, the punishment of juvenile criminals. I believe that we are all seeking in reality one object. To put an end to the worse than absurdity of treating a little child as the object of *vengeance* for the wrong done to society, which is beyond doubt more sinned against than sinning itself in the neglect

which it has suffered the child to grow up in ; and we all, I think, see very clearly that imprisonment and our whole penal system, as at present conducted, can leave scarcely any other impression upon the child's mind than that he is so treated—can leave certainly very little of the impression that he must suffer *because he has done wrong*. But beyond that we all are agreed also, I believe, on the necessity of protecting society against at least any further injury on the part of the child, and, therefore, of reforming it before we permit it to have its liberty again. But although the two objects should ever be kept together in view, if what I have already observed with regard to the Divine obligation of punishment is true, the mere restriction of the reformatory process cannot rightly supersede it, as you remarked, or take its place. They are unpleasant, it is true—irksome to a painful degree, especially at first to the untamed spirit who must be subjected to them, but they are not inflicted *as a punishment*, and besides, in most cases, are nearly or quite counterbalanced by the regular comforts which are at the same time enjoyed. If, then, children who have sinned must be punished, (and the punishment, we must remember, inflicted on that ground—its only true one—reacts for the benefit of society as a deterrent of others, for which purpose primarily—as I believe—society would have no right *whatever* to inflict it), if, I say, children must be punished, and feel the punishment to be the necessary meed of their crime, it is, indeed, a most important question—how and where they are to undergo it. As to the place—though I confess at one time I was strongly opposed to the uniting of a penal and reformatory establishment together—the great difficulties which exist in making a child committed to even our best prisons feel the *real* intention of the punishment inflicted upon him there, and the exaggerated attention of which he is necessarily the object tending so strongly to inflate his pride, have considerably modified my opinions ; and, on the other hand, I had not to *learn* to believe that if we can make a child understand *why* he has been punished, and why he must be detained after his punishment, our having punished him will no more interfere with that child's confidence, nay, his love of us, and the influence of our exhortations, and of our setting before him the pleasure of a reformed life, than punishment would deprive us, which God forbid, of the love of a child of our own. With regard to details, I would have the place or the appliances of punishment strictly different in outward aspect from the reformatory portion of the establishment, while the latter should present the *greatest* amount of liberty, with the *lowest* of rigidity or severity of discipline which would be compatible with the safe detention and orderly behaviour of the children. I may appeal to my own experience, as well as that of others who have been engaged in the same work, as to the superior reformatory influence which is at work where the fullest scope is given for individual action and the development of individual character. But before proceeding, as I should like to do by-and-hye, to the further consideration of this point, I will see whether it is not possible to reconcile the conflicting opinions as to *what* the punishment is to be. You will understand that I do not think it will be held that it need be *positively* reformatory, so long as it be not the *contrary* in its

action. The reformatory process is to succeed it, and may begin when the punishment is at an end. I do not myself see, then, how we can dispense with either of the only two punishments which are possible to us—confinement of various degrees of strictness, and flogging. The latter, however, should only be inflicted in cases where there was any great aggravation of the crime, as in the knowledge of the offender, or the circumstances under which it was committed. But, practically, this consideration must be left to the judge who sentences the culprit. In cases of a first or very slight offence, however, I may suggest that confinement in separation, or even in association, if tolerably strict, and with silence enforced, would be sufficient. The terms should never be very long, and I am inclined to think that the extremest cases would be amply met with a flogging, followed by not more than a week of close confinement, and a subsequent longer term in association. To flog a lad and turn him into the streets again, is, I know, worse than useless; but I know also, from what the boys I have had charge of have told me, that the *first* flogging they ever had did produce a very wholesome effect for the time upon their minds, and I cannot but think, indeed I have seen myself that, inflicted solemnly, as a punishment, under the eye at least of the manager of the institution, and with everything to impress it upon the boy's moral feelings, it would have its effect; even where he had been flogged in prison repeatedly without effect, because in a mere formal, and often, I know, in an openly vindictive spirit on the part of those who inflicted the punishment, where a boy had been frequently in prison or troublesome while there. A sentence of, say, one month's imprisonment, then, should imply one week in close confinement, and three weeks in associated confinement, in entire or partial silence, with work and instruction. My own experience has led me to think that too high a value can scarcely be placed upon a short close confinement, unrelieved by occupation of any sort, and only by an occasional visit at the hours of meals. I have inflicted this myself with no injury to the boy's health, and a very great and decided benefit to his character. It was for an outrageous act of dishonesty on two boys at the Hardwicke school: I may therefore state, from my own experience, that to a lad of 13 to 15 it would not be an excessive infliction: a child of 11 or 12, I suppose no judge would think of sentencing to it.

With regard to the association of the boys under punishment, we must remember that after punishment they will be associated with as few restrictions as possible upon their intercourse, and that while under punishment they may, if it is thought desirable, be associated in classes, according to the extent of their culpability, as measured by the length of their sentence of punishment.

On the whole, then, I conceive that the necessary punishment of the juvenile offender would be more probably efficiently carried out in an institution where only the boys—of course the same, with certain exceptions, will apply to girls—where only the young are to be dealt with. A person who may have every qualification for the governor of a prison where men are to be dealt with, would be very often little fitted for dealing with boys. The manager of a reforma-

tory institution *must* seek far more than the other *need* do, to win the *affections* and confidence of the children. He should be the first to teach them, as I have said, the reason of the punishment which he is *ordered*, nay, obliged, to inflict upon them. He *should* have the power of pointing them on to the time when they *will* see him in a different light, of encouraging them to learn to look upon him from *the first* as their friend, and anxious to see them put where they may freely do well, first under his own eye, then, when they leave him at last, under only the eye of God. On the manager, be he clergyman or layman, be he called master, or chaplain, or governor, or what not, the whole success indeed of the institution will, under God, depend. It is not the rules—they may hinder or help him—but it is only the man, by his personal action, that can reform. And can the state find such men? Has the experiment been ever fairly made? There are two difficulties in the way of its success; first, that of steering between making the appointment so valuable as to tempt men to undertake it who have no sort of qualification for it, and of making it so little remunerative that many a man who might have the necessary qualifications would be unable or unwilling to enter upon it; secondly, that of allowing the person who is charged with it the very great liberty of action and freedom from interference, without which he could hardly hope for success. The particulars in which this liberty would be most essential, I should consider to be these:—The absolute power of appointing and dismissing every person employed in any capacity about the institution. The authority, within certain broad limits, of punishment, not subject to the questionings of visitors or inspectors, unless the occasions, as entered in a Journal, were so frequent as to justify an inquiry into his general management; thirdly, the assurance that his recommendations for liberty, partial or entire, to any boy, or even for the relaxation of any rule of the institution which he found on trial to work ill, would meet with the consent of those with whom the ultimate authority over the school might lie. I say the ‘assurance,’ and I would imply that it should be the province of the inspector to see that no rule was altered without his knowledge, but not to withhold his sanction for any alteration, not fundamental, but concerning the details of the system, without positive cause existing externally to his possible private opinion. He should, besides this, have to take care that the money expended was duly accounted for, that nothing was ordered but through him, and he would be then quite a sufficient check upon the manager’s necessary freedom. As I have spoken of some rules as fundamental, I am led to enter briefly, as I am desirous to do, a little more into the principles of reformatory treatment. I have already mentioned full liberty for individual action, and the development of individual character, as being almost at the foundation of all which can be truly called by that name. That the boys should have the most complete opportunity to speak and act as their nature prompts them; certain actions and certain subjects of conversation, or forms of speech—such particularly as any reference to the crimes of their previous life, should be decidedly and plainly interdicted, and as decidedly punished when they occurred,—the one just specified most appropriately by sending the offender

back again to the punishment of silence in the penal ward. But within these limits, and with due regard to the maintenance of order, for instance, during the meals, and in the dormitory, and not allowing the boys by talking to neglect their work, no restriction should be sought to be imposed on them in this respect. In practice it will not be found that there is very much talking during work, and its permission will be amply repaid by the greater freedom of intercourse which will grow up between the boys and those who superintend their labours. On them a great deal of the success which may be hoped for will depend, which makes it the more important that their appointment and removal should rest entirely with the responsible manager of the institution. Their manner should be firm but kind. They should seek to encourage those who were doing their best, but felt their lack of skill: and for their own sake as well as for the example which they would show the boys, they should be actual workers with them. They must be numerous enough in proportion to the boys, (that there should be no lack of strength in such establishments, has been most forcibly and earnestly urged by Mr. M. D. Hill,) and they will find no difficulty in superintending, at the rate of a moderate number, say from 8 to 10 boys each. Here, again, I may appeal to the experience, first of Redhill, and then of the Hardwicke school, and I venture to assert that the superintendence which the labourers in those places exercise is fully as efficient as, and much more healthy in its influence than, that of the military warder of Parkhurst, against which place, however, I have no wish to make any invidious remark. With the exception of the penal ward, which should bear its character in its very appearance, as little evidence of restraint should certainly exist as could, with safety, be at all dispensed with. For all practical purposes of safe custody, the security of the dormitories would be almost the sole thing needed. The buildings connected with the ordinary requirements of life, *i.e.*, the washing apparatus, &c., might be readily so placed as that no boy could enter them or leave them unobserved, which would preclude the possibility of their making the use of them, at night for instance, to cover an attempt to escape. Before darkness set in the whole of the boys should be mustered in the school or day room, previous to which time they of course should not have been for any time out of sight, either of the labourers, during their work, or of one of the school teachers during the time allowed for recreation (which would not be long) in a playground, so placed that he might command a view of the only exit from it. I think that such necessary securities against evasion as these might be esteemed fundamental parts of the institution, which an inspector should see rigidly carried out. Such also might be the regulated hours of work, sleep, instruction, and meals, while I can easily conceive that the manager of the institution might reasonably expect his representations of the desirableness of alterations in this respect, as the result of experience, to meet with careful attention. But in his desire to test individual boys, by allowing them much greater liberty than it would be safe to allow to all, it would be essential to give him all but an absolutely unfettered discretion, for with such only could he hope to create or strengthen in the boys' minds the



sense of responsibility or the power of self-control. I should claim for him also the absolute judgment as to the fitness of a boy to leave the establishment. He should be able unhesitatingly to promise a boy, with the security of being able to keep his promise, that he should obtain on any given occasion his discharge. It is well known how greatly the success of the system devised by Captain Maconochie was interfered with by his being unable to fulfil the expectations he held out to the prisoners under his charge.

I have, however, by this time extended what I had intended to say to you, in connection with the paper and discussion to which I at first referred, much beyond what I had anticipated when I began. There is much, especially on the principle of reformatory treatment, which I have only imperfectly touched upon, but I think I have addressed myself to the principal points which that paper and discussion brought out, viz., the questions of the right of punishing children at all—of how they ought to be punished—and most important of all, of the possibility of, and the terms necessary to, the enlistment of that agency by the State in its behalf, which has so abundantly, and, on the whole, so successfully answered the summons of the voluntary labourers in the great public cause, the reformation of juvenile offenders. That the necessarily considerable responsibility which must be placed in the head of a reformatory institution, and the difficulty of securing the first attempt against the chance of being entered upon solely for the emolument connected with it, should render people of very different views adverse to the attempt being made at all, is not a matter of surprise. If it be made, and made wisely, the earnest attention of all who wish well to the cause, and I believe their fervent prayers, will be with an experiment which may be the first partial solution of one of the most difficult of our social problems; and as I believe the attempt will some time be made, we shall see, I hope, men casting aside their present prepossessions for particular systems, and contributing all the influence that their experience can bring to bear on getting it made with a well-considered and deliberate wisdom.

I remain, dear Mr. Symons,

Yours very truly,

G. H. BENGOUGH.

Our good friend, Mr. Baker, has, like his fellow laborer, Mr. Bengough, been engaged, during the quarter, in recording some of his experiences. He has long contemplated the establishment of an Adult Male Reformatory Institution, and in the following letter he states some opinions, not alone applying to this latter plan, but also to Reformatory Schools for Juveniles, which, like all opinions issuing from Hardwicke Court on this subject are of the very greatest importance to the friends of the movement :—

*To the Editor of the Gloucestershire Chronicle.*

“My dear Sir,—I am thankful for the expression of your good wishes towards an object which I have very strongly at heart.

Much may be done to diminish eventually the amount of crime in the country by the establishment of Reformatory Schools; yet, many criminals have already passed that age, and more will frequently pass it, without being brought sufficiently under the notice of the law to enable the Reformatory Schools to act upon them. Many, too, we must remember, will relapse after they leave our school. Not sufficient to discourage us; on the contrary, I can only feel most thankful for our success in stating that of 32 who have left us *with our permission*, only two have been dishonest, two have been idle, and one drunken; 27 are doing well. Four others have been taken away by their friends, in cases in which we had no legal power to detain them, and five have absconded, making of all whom we have attempted to undertake—

Now in school ... ..	35
Placed out and doing well ... ..	27
Left with consent, but failed ... ..	5
Taken by friends against our will ... ..	4
Absconded ... ..	5
Total number attempted ... ..	76

Now, as I say, considering the class from which they are taken, and considering our inexperience at the commencement, I think we cannot be other than thankful for such a result; yet, though we trust our accounts of the next three years will be more satisfactory than the last, there will always be failures—not, as some hold, from the inherent badness of the boys, but from the mistakes which managers of schools always will make more or less.

But besides these instances of failures in the management, and those who taking to evil courses later in life have escaped the operation of the schools, there are, we must remember, that unhappily numerous class who, from the want of such schools, have already grown beyond the age of sixteen, and therefore cannot be received under the late act, and who, if nothing be done to aid them, will be driven on, less by their future crimes than by our negligence, to a life passed alternately in penal servitude and crime.

Some years ago we might have been warranted in supposing that however we might have lamented such a course we could have done nothing to prevent it. It was supposed that when a man was very bad we could do little or nothing to make him better, and the only means we could take to prevent crime was to transport out of our sight the guilty, and to frighten the innocent from commencing such a course.

Alas, the crowded state of our gaols—the immense increase of crime, which has at length so glutted our colonies with criminals till they have refused any more—has been sufficient to show that the course we have hitherto pursued has not been so entirely satisfactory as to forbid our trying any other.

It is more than this. Our magistrates, our judges, all feel and all allow that *we cannot go on* as we have done hitherto. The only question is—what change can we make? We have tried one change, viz., the ticket-of-leave system, and though I believe it to have worked

far better than is generally supposed, yet it is far from being entirely satisfactory.

But meanwhile the badness of our old system is not the only discovery. It has been proved by one experiment after another that the reformation of adults, if properly managed, not only is possible, but is actually easier than that of juveniles, *when taken up in the right manner and with the right spirit*. This fact is not generally even known, far less has it had time for the truth to be generally recognized. Yet, nevertheless, I believe that no one who has enquired closely into the result of recent experiments will doubt the fact. Four or five years ago the few who were aware of the existence of the institution in Great Smith-street considered it as a wonderful experiment, which few, if any, could hope to succeed in. But now that we see Mr. Bowyer, in the New-road, London, and Mr. Wright, in Norfolk, not making vague experiments—but carrying on the work steadily and regularly in town and country—not merely ‘giving men a chance’ by enabling them to emigrate to a new country where they were not known—but giving them such habits of steady industry and honest principle—that they are both able to find places in the *lower classes of labourers* in their own country, and willing to bear the brand, the natural and proper effect of their former vices, till they have honestly worked it off, and won back the good name they had lost. When, I say, we see such things as these carried out in a few places, who would not wish to see them spread more widely through the land? There is, besides, another great change which has come over our land within the last few years. I am not going to discuss the *vexata questio* of causes, no matter whether from Australian gold or English corn, or Russian bayonets; no one can doubt the fact, that ten years ago, few among the poor, and only those of the best skill in their several occupations, the best strength, and the best character, could get their constant supply of labour; and even then the wages were very low.

Now, on the contrary, the fact is indubitable, that though many trades are at present unusually slack, the demand for labour is greater than the supply. Formerly, though we could hardly justify, we could not wonder at the feeling, that the best thing to be done with our criminals was, to ‘get rid of them anywhere, and ask no questions.’ We had too many people in England, they had too few in Australia. The inference was at least natural. But now our only alternative is, shall we keep men in gaol at an enormous expense to the honest portion of the community for one-half of their lives, and allow them to keep themselves by plundering the same honest people for the other half of their lives, or shall we at one-tenth of the cost try to make them honest, useful, *producing* citizens?

In the plan which Sir George Grey has kindly allowed me to lay before him, I ask for no alteration of the law, and not one sixpence of additional cost to Government; yet I have no doubt that the result would be even a wider spread of adult reformatories than we have lately seen in schools of a similar class, although their adoption in 20 counties, in 12 months, is considerable.

It is hardly probable, indeed, that a Secretary of State, oppressed

with weightier matters than the mere state of crime of the country, will find time to waste on the crotchets of an obscure country squire; yet still, I cannot but hope that the subject will ere long force itself forward.

I believe, my dear Sir, that you will hail that time as gladly as  
Yours very faithfully,

T. B. LL. BAKER.

Hardwick Court, July 5, 1855.

All readers of THE IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW are fully acquainted with the history and progress of Mr. Nash's institution, but there is another establishment to which we now desire to draw attention; we refer to the

*Preventive and Reformatory Institution, No 19, New Road, near Gower-street, North, under Government inspection.*

*Patrons*—His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, The Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of London, The Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of Lichfield, The Most Hon. The Marquis of Blandford, M.P., The Right Hon. Lord Robert Grosvenor, M.P., Lord Ebrington, M.P., Right Hon. Lord Southampton, Hon H. Fitzroy, M.P., Sir Fitzroy Kelly, M.P., Sir Benjamin Hall, Bart., M.P., Hon. W. F. Cowper, M.P. Hon. A. Kinnaird, M.P., Chas. Bowyer Adderley, Esq. M.P., M. D. Hill, Esq., Recorder of Birmingham.

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*Hon. Governor*—G. J. Bowyer, Esq., 43, Amptill Square.

*Hon. Sec. and Treasurer*—S. Cave, Esq., M.A., 23, Wilton-place.

Donors of £100 or Subscribers of £10 annually, who are privileged to have one nominee at a time in the Reformatory, provided he be considered a fit object by the Committee; and provided they pay one shilling towards his maintenance during his stay.

Donors of £50 or Subscribers of £5 annually, may similarly nominate one inmate, provided they pay three shillings weekly towards his support.

1. The objects of the Institution are—Prevention of Crime, by giving an asylum to boys, who from the loss, or the character of their friends, are specially exposed to temptation.

2. Reformation of criminals, by receiving them when released from prison, and enabling them to abandon their old habits, and begin the world afresh in a worthier manner.

To these ends, religious, and secular instruction is afforded them; some are taught, under master workmen, the trade of the Smith, Carpenter, or Turner, and most satisfactory specimens of their industry and aptitude in these three branches, are always on sale on the premises, to which the attention of the public is earnestly invited. Others are employed in making clothes and shoes for the rest.

Their entrance, and continuance in the Institution, is perfectly voluntary, and they are themselves chiefly depended upon for carrying out its rules, the system being directed to the creation of self-respect, self-denial, and self-control, qualities usually most deficient in the class from which they are taken.

A fortnight's separation, on bread and water, is deemed a test of sincerity; but independently of this, there is nothing in the diet, or accommodation to induce them to play the hypocrite, or prefer the Reformatory to a prison.

The course of training lasts for about twelve months, at the end of which they are sent out as emigrants, or assisted to provide for themselves in this country; thirty have already quitted the Institution, and the subsequent career of the larger number has given much encouragement to its promoters.

The most moderate calculation gives an average of £300 a year, as the value of the property stolen by each thief in London; when to this is added the cost of his conviction and punishment, and the amount he would have produced as an honest workman, it is within the mark to say that every prevented and every reclaimed criminal, is a saving to the country of £500 a year, and this result is attained at an expense of about £25.

Passing by then all higher motives, every person who has rates to pay, or money to lose, should be induced by mere economy to support a system which does so much at so small a cost towards emptying workhouses, and jails; and it surely seems unreasonable that those who are willing gratuitously to devote their time, and labour under such difficult circumstances to the public benefit, should be hampered by pecuniary embarrassment.

Though the Institution was commenced only in December, 1852, on a very small scale, with accommodation for six inmates, there is now room for forty, and the expenses, including the rent and salaries, are necessarily very large; for as the inmates leave when they

become tolerable workmen, they can do but little to make the Institution self supporting, and it costs about £12 to fit out an inmate for Canada, or set him up at home.

The Committee, who are constantly obliged to refuse applications, could extend their operations to more than double the number, and in a more complete manner, had they the means of building on a site already under their control; for this purpose £1000 are required; when this is accomplished, they hope to send out yearly one hundred individuals who, if they fall again, at least will not be able to throw the blame on society, as in too many cases they do now.

To show how far the difficult principle of self-denial is attained, it may not be uninteresting to mention the purely voluntary relinquishment by the eighteen elder inmates, of their supper for five weeks before Christmas last, in order to contribute to the patriotic fund.

Personal inspection at all times is invited, as well as inquiry from the Clergy and Police as to the effects produced by the Institution on a populous and disorderly neighbourhood.

Cast off Clothes, and Books, and orders for work, will be thankfully received at the Institution.

Subscriptions and Donations may be paid to Messrs. Prescott and Co., 62, Threadneedle-street; Messrs. Williams, Deacon and Co., 20, Birchin-lane; G. J. Bowyer, Esq., 43, Amphil-square, Hampstead-road; S. Cave, Esq., 23, Wilton-place, Belgrave-square; and to the Honorary Governor, at the Institution.

I shall be happy to be called upon by the Collector for a Donation or Subscription.

Name,

Address,

I shall be happy to undertake to collect the sum of £

by

next, on account of the new Building Fund.

Name,

Address,

#### *The Table of the Institution.*

*Week Days*—Half-past 5—The inmates rise. 6 till 7—Out-door exercise. 7 till a quarter to 8—Secular instruction, Reading, &c. Quarter to 8 till half-past 8—Prayers and Breakfast. Half-past 8 till quarter to 1—Industrial employments; viz.—Carpenters' and Smiths' Work, Turnery, Shoemaking, &c. Quarter to 1 till quarter to 2—Dinner and Recreation. Quarter to 2 till quarter to 3—Industrial Employment. Quarter to 3 till half-past 3—Tea and Recreation. Half-past 3 till half-past 4—Secular Instruction. Half-past 4 till 5—Exposition of Scripture, Singing and Prayers. Quarter to 10—Bed.

*Sunday*—Half-past 6—Inmates rise. Quarter to 8—Prayers and Breakfast. 11—Church. Half-past 1—Dinner. Half-past 3—Instruction in the Scriptures. Quarter to 6—Tea. 7—Church. 9—Prayers. Quarter to 10—Bed.

From 4 to half-past 4 daily, the Hon. Governor takes two lads, in rotation, for private conversation of a quarter of an hour each.

From half-past 4 to half-past 5, there is a class composed of the very backward for Reading, &c.

#### *Preliminary Statement of the Committee of the Preventive and Reformatory Institution.*

In making this their first appeal to the public, the Committee of the

Preventive and Reformatory Institution feel it incumbent on them to recapitulate briefly, and in anticipation of the report they propose issuing at the end of the year, the objects, and progress of the establishment under their supervision; the cause of which they advocate to-day.

In a portion of the buildings occupied by the Institution, in the centre of a perfect nest of bad characters; and almost touching one of those dens where the young of both sexes are instructed in theft, and bring every night the profits of a day of crime; a ragged school has been for several years established, in which the originators of the Reformatory were accustomed to teach: and it was by the experience gained in this school that the conviction was forced upon them of the inefficacy of education alone to reform the peculiar class which came within the sphere of their labours, and the necessity of removing them from temptation if they would do any permanent good.

The lads who attended the Ragged school, particularly those who formed the adult class, were most of them connected with gangs of thieves in the neighbourhood; but, as may be supposed from their attendance at the school were dissatisfied with their sinful life; and thus came gladly to the only place open to them, with a sort of vague hope that they might find there, they knew not how, a means of escape. In this they were disappointed. The extreme error of their course was indeed pointed out in plain terms. They were convinced that their life was in direct opposition to the law of God, as well as that of man: they had no longer ignorance as their excuse, and it may be said their happiness. But there was no opening for them to lead a different life, no chance of an honest maintenance; for they labored under that worst species of disqualification; want of character, and no one would employ them. They were therefore compelled to pursue their former avocation, feeling themselves to be indeed guilty creatures, but seeing no way for escape, no place for repentance.

They were in addition to this exposed to the jeers and taunts of their more hardened companions, to whom the scruples of an awakening conscience appeared mere signs of weakness, and subject for ridicule. This simple tale was told from day to day to the Governor of the Institution. "Oh sir," they would say, "we see the misery of the life we lead, but cannot help ourselves, we have no character, and cannot get work, we are forced to herd with the bad, who abuse us for coming to school, we can't stand it, and must leave off coming, if you can't take us away from these places: but oh sir! only give us a chance, and see if we will disappoint you." Such appeals could not but make a deep impression on the most careless: and they naturally fell with greater force on the mind of one who had long been amongst them, and felt that they spoke the truth. He consulted his friends, and after much deliberation, for it was no light matter they were undertaking, it was determined to make an attempt at supplying these poor fellows with refuge and employment as well as instruction.

Means were limited, and the experiment though not untried elsewhere, was too novel to obtain the general support of the public.

They were therefore obliged to content themselves with commencing on a very small scale. In December 1852, the Preventive and Reformatory Institution, the case of which is brought before you to-day, was opened with six inmates. Those who were present can never forget how deeply interesting was this commencement of a new era, as it were, in this part of London: nor with what mingled feelings of hope and anxiety they found themselves embarked on an untried and difficult enterprise. Those mingled feelings have never since been wanting, while the character of the inmates, and difficulty of meeting necessary expenses have caused many an anxious moment. There has also been abundant reason for gratitude for the past, and ample grounds of hope for the future.

Those six lads, it is gratifying to state, have all turned out well. Five of them were English, and one was an Italian,—of the English, three have gone into the army, one was when he was last heard of, a full corporal, and expecting to be made a serjeant.—The second a drummer, has written most interesting letters to the Governor; and from the commanding officer of the third, a very high character has been received of him. The fourth is in the navy, sharing in the present operations in the Black sea. The fifth is a bricklayer,—and the sixth, the Italian, gets ample employment as a maker of plaster moulds.—Since that eventful day, little more than two years ago, the progress of the Institution has been rapid. The signal success of the experiment enabled the promoters to make more confident appeals to their friends and neighbours. They have also received material aid from the Government, and the Ragged School Union, and from collections after Sermons by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and others of the Clergy who most kindly and powerfully advocated the cause. Encouraged by these favourable circumstances the promoters of the Institution ventured to extend the sphere of their operations, additional house-room was obtained, and means of affording instruction in useful trades; a master carpenter, a master turner, a master smith, attend all day at fixed salaries: and no visitor can fail in being struck with the industry of the inmates. Constant employment for their energies is found the great safeguard against a relapse to former habits which would infallibly result from mere book instruction, which cannot but prove wearisome to persons of their active habits,—though the amount they obtain from their labour is trifling, a penny out of every shilling as their own, and another halfpenny put by for their outfit. It is astonishing how many hours they will work for this. The Institution is full of different products of their labor and ingenuity which find a ready sale, care being taken to fix the prices so as not to compete unfairly with the neighbouring tradesmen.—The Committee encourage these branches of work as much as possible, as calculated to inculcate habits of industry, though the amount of material wasted, and spoiled by beginners naturally renders the profit to the Institution very small; at the same time secular and religious instruction are not neglected, and the Committee have much pleasure in mentioning the assistance the Governor has received during the present year from a gentleman, the son of one of the Judges, who has kindly volunteered to give up a portion of his time to the Institution.



Since the commencement, 35 inmates, including the 6 already mentioned, have left the Institution. Of these 5 unfortunately have not experienced its benefits, 1 was obliged to be dismissed on account of dishonesty, of the other 4, one left after a few days, another at the end of three weeks, a third at the end of a month, and the fourth at the end of two months.

To the remaining 30, the Committee can refer with much satisfaction.—Two have emigrated to Australia; two have been provided for by friends; eleven are serving the country in the army and navy, and fifteen are established in different trades, with nearly all of whom the Governor keeps up a constant correspondence.

There are now in the Institution 32,—five of whom are shortly going to leave, 3 as emigrants, and 2 as artisans at home. Including them the 32 are thus divided:—there are 9 carpenters, 8 smiths, 8 turners, 3 shoemakers, 2 tailors and 2 kitchen-boys. The usual plan is to set a lad to work for the whole year he remains, at the trade which he prefers, but if he intends going into the army and navy, he is shifted about, and employed in the rough work to make him generally handy, and is especially made conversant with the kitchen department, and given that sort of knowledge of plain cookery in which recent disasters have shewn our soldiers so deficient. When a youth comes into the Institution, his first feeling is very often dismay at the step he has taken; the younger he is, the more liable to be discouraged at the out-set, and to look back after putting his hand to the plough. It is then the Governor's first endeavour to gain his confidence, to point out to him the evil of his former life, and the advantage of industry and honesty. When the new inmate appears really to have comprehended the advantages of the Institution the strength of his resolves is tried by probation, or separate confinement for a fortnight on bread and water. At present, though three have shirked this trial, and one left after he had undergone it, none have quitted during its course, which the Governor attributes entirely to the strong conviction they had previously formed by experience, of the advantages of the course to which this trial is a passport.

The Committee have been obliged to abandon reluctantly a portion of the original system, that of taking quite young boys. Whilst they state with feelings of sorrow, that of existing criminals something like seven-twelfths begin crime from nine to twelve, and many much younger than nine, they have found from experience that these boys have not acquired a sufficient sense of their position to desire to abandon it, and that precocious as they are, their characters are not sufficiently formed for a voluntary system. Like children in other stations, they must be compelled to go the right way, and therefore till the Institution is sufficiently large to admit of two entirely distinct systems, these poor little victims of neglect and crime must be left to other hands.

The Institution, as its name implies, is Preventive as well as Reformatory. It takes youths tottering on the brink of crime, and those already convicted.—The Governor reports, that he finds no practical inconvenience from this admixture: and there is this advantage, that

there is no difficulty in obtaining situations in this country for the non-convicted: while in case of convicts, though the present scarcity of journeymen would make many masters overlook their antecedents, yet the Committee feel themselves bound to send them only to places where they are not likely to meet their old associates, not have their former career cast in their teeth.

Besides the numbers already mentioned as rescued by the direct operations of the Institution, there are many who have been indirectly benefited by its influence. The Committee could point out several who were just beginning a life of crime, and who have quitted their evil courses, in consequence of the gangs they had joined having been broken up for want of leaders, who have been taken into the Institution, and by reason of advice and assistance they have themselves received there, the Governor has been able to trace the subsequent career of most of these, and knows that they were rescued ere too late, and are now maintaining themselves by honest industry. The neighbouring clergy bear willing evidence to such facts as these, and the police have many times mentioned the great improvement which has taken place in the thickly peopled, and disorderly quarter in which the Reformatory is situated.

Such was the origin, such has been the progress, and such is the present state of the Institution. Its future prospects depend entirely upon the success of its appeal to the public. Its present supporters cannot do more than maintain it at its present extent. It is only by great exertion, and some sacrifice, that they will be able to accomplish this.—At the same time they feel that lack of funds alone prevents their enlarging their sphere of usefulness materially. That the Institution is not sufficient for the wants of the neighbourhood is proved by the number of applicants the committee are obliged to reject. The expenses would not increase in equal ratio with its enlargement, for the same superintendants at the same salaries could overlook more than double the number. The Institution itself consists of two separate buildings at some distance from each other, and the consumption of fire and gas, as well as the difficulties of management, are necessarily increased by this inconvenient arrangement, which also prevents the important system of probation, and the working of the trades from being completely carried out, and the necessary passing backwards and forwards exposes the inmates to constant danger of contact with the unreclaimed lads in the locality.

The site of that part of the building, which fronts the New Road, is capable of being converted into a reformatory complete in itself and able to accommodate one hundred inmates, which the committee consider as much as one Governor can superintend, for they attach much importance to the private conversations he holds regularly with each inmate. The expense of this alteration is estimated at £1000.—A large sum, but one which in such a metropolis as this the committee do not despair of collecting. And the rent of the second house, which they propose letting as a lodging house under proper supervision, will go towards the expense of the new inmates. The committee have set before you in a plain statement, the case of

the Institution, its strong points, and its defects ; its successes, and its wants. They are always most ready to receive hints, and beyond everything court personal inspection and enquiry. It is their wish to place the Reformatory on the soundest basis in their power, and fit it for accomplishing the greatest good. It is for the public to decide whether they have carried out those intentions, and whether they are worthy of being entrusted with the means of extending their endeavours to elevate and restore the poor and degraded outcasts of society.

May 3, 1855.

The excellent gentleman who acts as Honorary Secretary to this Institution, informs us that a site has been obtained for building, but £1,000 are required, and with this sum accommodation for 100 inmates could be secured. "You will see," writes Mr. Bowyer, "from my time-table, that hard work is the order of the day, and is, I am convinced, the secret of the great success of this institution. I hear not one failure of those who remained their time in the institution, and were placed out in trades, &c. Lately, in the smith's department, they have been making pack saddles for the Crimea: my lads used to work from four o'clock in the morning till half-past seven at night—thus shewing that when anything is wanted they are most willing." We have received many letters advocating the claims of this institution to public support ; but in our mind its best and truest claims were stated, as follows, at a Meeting held last April in London, by the Honorary Secretary, and by Captain Williams, and reported in the first number of the new series of *The Philanthropist* :—

"S. CAVE, Esq., *Secretary and Treasurer*, said that the financial affairs of the institution were in a very bad plight, they had hard work to push on from week to week, and still harder to pay off their debts. It was difficult to turn away the pitiable objects who came imploring to be admitted, knowing as they did, that if denied there was no hope elsewhere ; they felt almost responsible for that man's career which must be from bad to worse: and that responsibility must rest somewhere: some one who could have given, and would not give, was responsible for the murder and execution which followed the rejection of Levi Harwood from the Westminster Reformatory, and when he heard of 100*l.* given for an Opera ticket, which humanly speaking would have turned four thieves into honest men, he could not but think that a fearful account would some day be rendered by those who spent their money on their own pleasures, and closed their ears to appeals like this. The expenses were very great, especially during these high prices ; but their chief difficulty was want of publicity. Meetings for charitable purposes were thinly attended : newspapers would only put in advertisements, which were very ex-

pensive, overlooked by many readers, and looked upon with suspicion by many others. It had been said that thieves could not be reformed; but they had instances of self-denial which shewed a change of character. Last year the inmates gave up their supper for five weeks to subscribe to the Patriotic Fund, and this year when bread was dear, they clubbed part of their daily allowance, without speaking of it to the governor, and distributed it to the neighbouring poor. One of the most steady of the inmates, now about to leave, had been in prison six or eight times, had never known a mother, his father had died in gaol, two sisters were the worst of characters, and two brothers had been transported. What chance had he ever had of being other than what he was? Another who had come at seventeen, an old, wayworn sinner, had recovered not only the feelings and demeanor, but positively the looks of youth and innocence. It was much to be deplored that one so adapted, and so devoted to the cause as the honorary governor, Mr. Bowyer, should be hampered and crippled in his operations by want of funds in such a metropolis as this.

CAPTAIN WILLIAMS, *Government Inspector of Prisons*, said, that the reformatory met with his entire approval. He had closely looked into its working, and there was only one fault he had to find. It was deficient only in one respect, and that was in funds. It had but one want—want of support. He found great fault with the neighbourhood for allowing so useful an institution to languish. It was all very well saying government ought to support it, but government would not, unless the inhabitants of the district first interest themselves warmly in it; and then exercise a pressure upon the government, and urge them to contribute, in which case it undoubtedly would. He advised the meeting liberally to support an institution which was doing so much towards the suppression of crime."

In Northamptonshire the question has been taken up nobly and earnestly, and to the honorary secretaries, the Hon. and Rev. Alwyne Compton, and Rev. H. J. Barton, the success of the movement is more than attributable. "I believe," writes a gentleman much interested in the Northamptonshire Institution, "our movement differs from others in this,—that we take up the whole question of education; and so you will see by the enclosed appeal, we hope to establish not only a Reformatory, (I should rather say two Reformatory Schools—one for boys, the other for girls) but a training and middle schools likewise. I am thankful to say the appeal has been nobly responded to; and we have every reason to believe that it will amount ultimately to not less than from four to five thousand pounds, with a proportionate annual subscription. We have already taken land for the Reformatory, and the plans for the building are prepared, chiefly upon the design of those of Mr. Baker of Hardwicke-court. The training school is to be re-

moved from Northampton to Peterborough, for which an acre of land has already been given by the Bishop, under the sanction of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. And it is hoped that in another year the middle schools will be in operation, beginning first with the old grammar schools, by restoring and adapting these as far as possible to modern requirements. You will, I think, allow me to observe that the charge sometimes not untruly brought against the wealthy laity, of being backward in supporting the school movement, and throwing the chief onus on the poorer clergy, cannot be applied to the county of Northampton.

The laity have nobly come forward at the call of their clerical friends, and the tenant farmers also, as you will see by the Archdeacon of Northampton's charge, are taking a deep interest in the movement."

The documents above referred to are the following :—

*Appeal in behalf of the Northamptonshire Society for promoting and extending education in accordance with the principles of the Established Church.*

"The object of the Society—which was re-organized in 1854—is three-fold :—

- 1st. The improvement of Parochial Schools, by establishing a Training Institution for Rural Schoolmasters at Peterborough, and by other means.
- 2nd, The establishment of a Reformatory Institution for Young Criminals.
- 3rd. The improvement of the Grammar Schools in the County, and opening, if necessary, additional Schools for the Middle Classes.

The Society having determined, at the General Meeting, held on February 13th, that the Reformatory School should be first proceeded with, appeals to the Public for aid in this necessary and useful work. The object of a Reformatory School is to teach Young Criminals habits of industry, and, at the same time, to enable them hereafter to support themselves. The great objection hitherto felt by the Public to the support of such institutions, is the risk lest parents should be tempted to obtain for their children a gratis Industrial Training; but, by the Act passed last Session, the Parents of any child sent to the Reformatory by the Magistrates may be obliged to pay for his maintenance. In his late charge to the Grand Jury of the County of York, Baron Alderson states, on the authority of Mr. Sydney Turner, that 'of the whole number of criminal boys admitted into one of the largest of these Establishments, 75 per cent. are reformed, and become honest and industrious members of the community.' Upon which the learned judge remarks, 'that if such results, or anything like them, can be attained by Reformatory Schools for Young Criminals, you will, by promoting

them, have done much for humanity, and give me leave to add, for economy also ; for, if you take into account the amount stolen, the expense of the police to watch offenders, the cost of prosecuting, and afterwards maintaining them in gaol, I believe you will find that the cheapest, as well as the most humane, mode of treating your criminals is *to reform them*. And this you will be enabled to do by adopting the provisions of an Act of the last Session of Parliament.'

But in making them *primary*, the Society would guard against the idea that Reformatory Schools are the only object of their solicitude. If these Schools are required for the purpose of reclaiming youthful Offenders, the establishment and improvement of Parochial Schools, especially where Industrial training is introduced, is no less needful, to prevent the Young from falling into crime.

And if the *Poor* demand our care in this respect, the **MIDDLE CLASSES** must not be forgotten ; for all National and Parochial Schools must, to a great extent, prove unsuccessful, unless, at the same time, a corresponding improvement be effected in Schools for those classes.

The influence which each of these kinds of Schools must have upon the success or failure of the others, and the impossibility of realizing the benefits to be derived from any one class, so long as we neglect the rest, suggested to the Society the idea of combining them in one undertaking, leaving it to the friends of the Institution to determine whether they would subscribe to the General Fund, for the good of all, or limit their donations and subscriptions to some one in particular. In either case they felt that a common interest would be excited, and that the benefit which must arise from uniting the Nobility and Magistracy with the Clergy and Laity generally, throughout the County, would be of incalculable advantage, by giving strength, stability and permanency to the undertaking.

No one will doubt that where EDUCATION, properly so called, has felt its way, there a sensible diminution of crime has been the consequence. Strongly impressed, therefore, by the great importance of the objects contemplated, the Society appeal to the County for support, under the conviction that ample means will be provided for carrying out their undertaking successfully, and that its benefits and blessings will be felt, not only by the present, but still more by future generations.

On behalf of the Committee,

ALWYNE COMPTON, } Hon. Secretaries.  
H. J. BARTON, }

**"TRAINING, REFORMATORY AND MIDDLE SCHOOLS.**—With this object in view,—the education of the poorer classes in the principles of the Established Church,—a society was formed, as you are probably aware, in the year 1812, in the county of Northampton, and central schools established in the town of Northampton. Since that time, however, great changes have taken place. In order to promote and extend education in accordance with the requirements of the present day, schools of a more efficient character are deemed needful. Accordingly, on the 30th of June last, a general meeting of the Northamptonshire Society was held for the purpose of considering

the best means of improving and extending education in the Arch-deaconry, either by the establishment of Training, Reformatory or Middle Schools, or other institutions, as well as by the appointment of Diocesan Inspectors. A very able and interesting report was drawn up by the chairman of that meeting (Lord Alwyne Compton), and it was at length determined to re-organise the society, and to endeavour to carry out the three following objects, viz.:—‘The improvement of the Parochial Schools by establishing a Training institution for Rural Schools at Peterborough, and by other means.’ Secondly, ‘The establishment of a Reformatory Institution for young criminals;’ and, thirdly, ‘The Improvement of the Grammar Schools in the county, and opening, if necessary, additional schools for the middle classes.’

**SCHOOLMASTERS AND SCHOOLMISTRESSES.**—There can be no doubt that, if the people are to be taught at all, we greatly need a better supply of schoolmasters, and, I may add, a supply of better schoolmasters, at least in country villages, not so much men of great talent, as men of good character and religious principles, who shall be able to give such secular instruction as shall qualify their pupils for the stations to which in after life they may be called, and such religious instruction as may lead them to the ‘Fountain of Wisdom’—to Him who, in answer to the prayer of faith, is ready to give them strength to resist the temptations to which they are sure to be exposed, and grace and power to enable them to discharge aright the duties which they owe to God and to their neighbour. Those are the truly good village schoolmasters who, besides the secular knowledge they endeavour to impart, bring up their charge in the fear and love of God, who have learned to govern themselves whilst they attempted to govern others, who, by the example of a good and holy life, allure their pupils to the love of what is good, and lead the way to a better and a brighter world. There may be a wide difference between what is required for a Christian School and what can be obtained, but we ought to aim high. All will agree that unless we can obtain masters who are able to introduce order, discipline and habits of industry into our schools, with right christian principles, influencing the heart and conduct, our labour and our money will have been spent in vain. One principal object of the present society is to endeavour to obtain for our Rural Schools right-minded men, who have a full sense of their high responsibilities; and, by training, to enable them to discharge their arduous duties under a better system, and with a greater degree of efficiency and comfort. A school for giving such a training to the master might, it is believed, be established with great advantage at Peterborough. The society itself does not deem it necessary to erect an extensive building; they consider that a small school for training masters for the rural parishes would be amply sufficient. The daily services of the cathedral would amply supply the place of any chapel service, and the opportune facilities for acquiring some knowledge of music and singing, so desirable in the teacher of a village school, would be close at hand. It is also in contemplation to train schoolmistresses as well as masters, and if this vastly important measure should meet

with general support, not merely from large contributors, but more particularly from small annual subscriptions and means devised for assisting to support evening and adult schools.

**REFORMATORY INSTITUTION.**—The second object of the society is the establishment of a 'Reformatory Institution' for young criminals. This is an object of immense importance, and where it has been already tried, a most beneficial effect has been produced. At this time new Reformatory Schools are in process of establishment at Liverpool, in Devonshire, Hampshire, Dorsetshire, Warwickshire, and Yorkshire. The report to which reference has already been made states, what is indeed well known, that juvenile offenders under the old system of gaols invariably came out of confinement worse than they went in. A remedy, however, for this evil has been found in the establishment of Reformatory Schools. In these, the young offender is subjected to a strict discipline, and trained to habits of industry. The master lives with his pupils, shares their meals, their work, and their amusements, and by his personal influence over them, leads them to a high standard of duty. Of course, a certain degree of secular instruction is imparted to them, and religious teaching is by no means neglected; but their time is principally occupied either in laborious work, such as digging, or in learning some trade. The one great rule is, constant employment. 'Idleness,' says Mr. Turner, in a letter lately addressed to Mr. Adderley, 'has been in most cases the chief source, or at least, the chief instrument for producing the disease. Industry and labour must be constantly called on for the cure.' By this means, when two or three years have elapsed, they leave the school with thoroughly formed habits of industry, with well-settled principles of religion, and with the means of supporting themselves, and are both willing and able to gain an honest livelihood. All this, necessarily costs money. But it cannot be doubted that it is far cheaper to reform a criminal than to punish him—one or other must be paid for. No doubt every writer loves to make the best of his own cause, and every secretary of his own institution. But, there seems to be very little that is visionary in the supposed effects of these institutions. One of our judges, as most of you know, Baron Alderson, in his late charge to the grand jury of the county of York, states, on the authority of Mr. Sidney Turner, resident-chaplain of the Red-Hill Institution, near Reigate, Surrey, that 'of the whole number of criminal boys admitted into one of the largest of these establishments, 75 per cent. are reformed, and become honest and industrious members of the community.'—Upon which, the learned judge remarks, 'that if such results, or anything like them, be attained by Reformatory Schools for young criminals, you will, by promoting them, have done much for humanity and, give me leave to add, economy also; for, if you take into account the amount stolen, the expense of the Police to watch offenders, the cost of prosecuting and afterwards maintaining them in gaol, I believe, you will find that the cheapest, as well as the most humane mode of treating your criminals is to reform them.' At a meeting, held at Warwick, on the 3rd of April last, to consider the propriety of establishing a Juvenile



Reformatory Institution, at which Mr. Turner was present, he said that, 'at the establishment at Red-hill, they had received in six years 750 boys and young men, varying from eight or nine to eighteen or nineteen years of age, and it was a great encouragement to know that of these 750 persons 530 had emigrated, and of these 7 out of 10 had become excellent members of society. If they succeeded in reclaiming an offender, let them not look at the expense of doing so; they would save cent. per cent., whatever it might be, as he had lived by plunder, and if he was committed it would be at their expense, therefore, they might depend upon it, it would be a good investment for the money they might spend.' This consideration has weighed so strongly on the minds of our legislature, that an Act of Parliament has been lately passed [17 and 18 Vict., c. 86] authorising magistrates and others, on the conviction of any person under the age of 16 years, to send him to a Reformatory School for any period between two and five years, and to oblige the parents or step-parents of such offenders, if of sufficient ability, to pay a sum not exceeding 5s. a week for his maintenance. Under this head of payment by parents the act is said to be very imperfect; but Mr. Adderley has undertaken to bring in a bill to remedy this defect. A most interesting meeting, composed of the principal nobility, gentry, and clergy of the county, was held at Leicester, in February last, for the purpose of setting on foot a Reformatory Institution. It was announced by Lord Howe, that a noble lady of the county—Lady Noel Byron—had placed at the disposal of the county a house and 12 acres of land, rent free, and free from all taxes and burdens upon it, in order to shew her approbation of the plan, and her conviction of its success. A very sensible address was delivered by Mr. Baker, of Gloucestershire, who, from his own experience, was enabled to explain the working of one of these Institutions. He said, 'that one object in their Gloucester schools was not only to reform the boys whom they took into the school, but to keep an eye upon them, and find employment for them when they left the school. And again, his object in his own county was not so much to do a certain and calculable amount of good to these bad boys, but to do an incalculable amount of good to the honest boys of the county, by taking away the instructors and instigators to crime from among them. We must start then with the remembrance that these three things are to be done:—first, to establish a school to take the boys; second, to make preparation for employing them when they leave the school; and thirdly, that their endeavours should be, as much as possible, directed to cutting off the weeds before they went to seed; by which he meant, removing the bad boys before they corrupted the others. *A magnificent building would be almost fatal to a great part of the benefit of the undertaking;* but Lady Byron, by her extreme good judgment and thorough knowledge of the subject, had saved them from this difficulty by offering them a house and 12 acres of land at Peckleton. He always regarded an old farm house as the very best thing for the beginning of such a school, and the arrangements should be so plain as that, when these boys left the school to go out as labourers in a

farm house and as common farm servants, hired to do all sorts of work, they should feel a rough bed in the garret something of a gain. They must feed them well, because if they did not, they could not get out of them the amount of work they required, but in everything else it was desirable to keep them as roughly as possible; he believed that they could now say that Gloucestershire was the first county in England, cleared of its regular juvenile thieves.' My revd. brethren and gentlemen churchwardens, if what has been quoted shall induce those among you, who have not already done so, to read the report of the Northampton society and the speech of Mr. Baker at Leicester, you will not be sorry for the hint, however tedious the giving of it may have been.

**MIDDLE SCHOOLS.**—The last object of the Northampton society is the improvement of the grammar schools in the county, and the opening, if necessary, of additional schools for the middle classes. If "Reformatory Schools" for the purpose of reclaiming youthful offenders be required, then, as the report states, the establishment and improvement of parochial schools, especially where industrial training is introduced, is no less needful to prevent the young from falling into crime. I am not acquainted with any schools in which industrial teaching has been introduced, but I am assured of the fact that, where tried, it has been found successful, both in a moral and pecuniary point of view. And if the poor demand our care in this respect, the middle classes must not be forgotten. The heavy charges to which the middle classes are liable for the education of their children, makes the improvement of middle schools absolutely necessary. But the committee think that the endowed grammar schools and hospitals which exist in many large towns would, if properly managed, serve, in a great measure, to supply this want, and they refer to what has been recently done so successfully in Birmingham, though, what that is, I really do not know. "Reformatory Schools" have been established in other counties, nearly 60 in Great Britain, but only in Northamptonshire, I am informed, has the whole question been taken up—in no other has been combined with them "the more noble and necessary duty of endeavouring to *prevent crime*, rather than reform the criminal." This plan has been looked upon very favourably by the middle and higher classes of farmers in the county. *One influential gentleman farmer is known to have said that, had he been aware of the nature of the proposed plan as regards Reformatory and middle schools, he believed, he could have brought £20 or £30 out of the grand jury room, at the last quarter sessions at Northampton, and he concluded by making a donation of £5.*

**INFLUENCE OF RELIGIOUS, COMBINED WITH SECULAR, TRAINING.**—The committee adds—"No one can doubt that when education, properly so called, has felt its way, there a sensible diminution of crime has been the consequence." I, for one, do not doubt it, where education, properly so called, has been given, *i.e.*, where secular knowledge has not been neglected, but where religious principles have been inculcated;—where every child is taught to live as in the constant presence of God, with the full persuasion that the

eye of that God is every moment upon him, who will assuredly call him to account for every deed done in the body, whether good or bad; and where every act is influenced by the motive, "will this that I am about to do be pleasing or displeasing to my God." "Train up a child in the way in which he should"—i.e., ought to—"go"—which, alas! is seldom done—"and when he is old," we may well believe that, under the teaching of the Holy Spirit, "he will not depart from it." It is, indeed, most gratifying and encouraging to hear from the Duke of Cambridge, in his recent examination before a committee of the House of Commons, that the character of the soldiers in the British army, even in his day, has been greatly improved; and in a speech in the House of Commons we have similar evidence from Sir de Lacy Evans, who said that, though education alone was not sufficient to make an officer (as education alone will not make a christian,) yet, even in matters of education, the mass of the population had made wonderful advances. The army which he had in Spain, some years ago, collected under the most unfavourable circumstances, shewed a far higher degree of morality than the Duke of Wellington's army in the Peninsular war, while, as regarded the army now in the Crimea, there was hardly anything like a capital crime committed. The conduct of the soldiers has been most eminently obedient and subordinate. A movement like the present might have the beneficial effect of bringing all classes into closer union with each other, "the great want," said one of our judges with his dying breath, "of England's society." The higher, and lower, and middle classes have not had that feeling one towards another which ought to exist between members of the same body. There is no lack of money giving. The wealthier classes, with few exceptions, are ever ready with their purse, but there has been a want of sympathy. It cannot be said of English society as was said of the Early Christians—"See how these Christians love one another." By a combined movement of the clergy and laity, coming together as often as possible for the purpose of forming a thorough union, they would do good to one another by mutual encouragement and by sympathy. The feelings of the humbler classes would be warmed and won over. "We see," they could scarcely help saying, "the country gentlemen, and our masters and employers, uniting with our clergymen, and using every means they can think of to do good to us and our families. They establish schools for our children to improve their minds, to teach them how to use their abilities so as to advance themselves in life. They try, first, to keep them out of the way of evil, and if, unhappily, they are tempted to go wrong, and become subject to the penalty of the law, which is enacted for the punishment of evil doers, they do not even then leave them, but follow them with instruction and advice to reclaim them from their fall and snatch them from ruin, and re-establish their character among their fellow men, and restore them to the favour of God." Indifference and neglect are sure to widen the distance between the different classes of society, and they are never forgiven nor forgotten, but where genuine sympathy is manifested, it is not in human nature (bad as

that nature may be) to resist its influence for good. "There is a spell and a sway," says Dr. Chalmers, "in human kindness, if it but give the unequivocal tokens of its reality, which even the hardest and most ungainly of our race feel to be irresistible." Only let Christian sympathy, then, be manifested one towards another, and, though we dare not say that crime, with its attendants, anarchy and tumult, will be entirely banished from among us, yet we may safely affirm that honesty, and goodwill, and order, will be more firmly established, and God's blessing rest upon our land.

The Society is under the management of the following general and special Committees:—

#### GENERAL COMMITTEE:—

The Lord Lieutenant of the county, the Marquis of Northampton, Earl Spencer, Earl Fitzwilliam, Lord Southampton, Lord Lilford, Lord Henley, Lord Overstone, Colonel Cartwright, Hon. F. W. O. Villiers, Rev. Lord Alwyne Compton, Rev. Henry J. Barton, the Lord Bishop of the Diocese, the Very Rev. the Dean of Peterborough, the Venerable the Archdeacon of Northampton, the Worshipful the Chancellor of the Diocese, Rev. Canon Argles, Hon. and Rev. P. A. Irby, Rev. John Wetherall, Rev. G. S. Howard Vyse, Rev. Francis Litchfield, Rev. H. Rose.

#### COMMITTEES FOR SPECIAL PURPOSES:—

1. *Training and Parochial Schools*—Earl Spencer, Lord Overstone, the Dean of Peterborough, Rev. Chancellor Wales, Rev. D. Morton, Rev. T. James, Rev. J. H. Brookes, Rev. G. S. Howard Vyse, Rev. H. De Sausmarez.

2. *Reformatory School*—Lord Southampton, Lord Henley, Colonel Cartwright, William B. Stopford, Esq., William Smyth, Esq., Rev. John Wetherall, the Worshipful the Mayor of Northampton, J. Nethercoat, Esq., Rev. Thomas Hutton.

3. *Middle Schools*—The Dean of Peterborough, the Archdeacon of Northampton, Henry O. Nethercote, Esq., Rev. H. De Sausmarez, H. P. Markham, Esq., F. S. Perceval, Esq., Rev. Chancellor Wales, Rev. T. James; Rev. Lord Alwyne Compton, Rev. Henry J. Barton, Honorary Secretaries.

About £2,646 have been paid as donations to this movement, and sums to the annual amount of about £300 have been subscribed. The Marquis of Exeter is the lay patron of this Institute, the Bishop of Peterborough being the clerical patron.

In our last Record we referred to the fact that a Reformatory had been established for the East and North Ridings of Yorkshire, and the town and county of Kingston-upon-Hull, and of which our Lord-Lieutenant, the Earl of Carlisle, is President.

The society was originally suggested by Mr. Travis, the Stipendiary Magistrate for Hull, but at the quarter sessions

held on the 3rd of July at Northallerton, for the North Riding, and at Beverley for the East Riding of York, committees were formed to co-operate with the committee first appointed on the 12th of April. These several committees assembled in York about three weeks ago, on the 13th of July, passed resolutions for a joint society, and appointed a sub-committee which is now engaged in making statistical inquiries, preparing regulations, and endeavouring to obtain land. There can be little doubt or fear as to the complete success of this movement in the East and North Ridings of Yorkshire.

As soon as the sub-committee reports, active steps will be taken to obtain subscriptions throughout the district, and a general meeting will be held at York, to be presided over by the Earl of Carlisle as president of the society, or in his absence by the Earl of Zetland, Lord-Lieutenant of the North Riding.

The list of Vice-Presidents is headed by the Archbishop of York, and is composed of the chief noblemen, magistrates, and clergymen of the county. The Honorary Secretaries are Charles W. Strickland, Chairman of quarter sessions, East Riding; Joseph Walker Pease, Hessle Wood; T. J. Travis, Police Magistrate, Hull, and James Pulleine, Chairman of quarter sessions, East Riding. To Mr. Pulleine we are indebted for these particulars, and also for the following admirable report, which is full of information, quite a Record in itself:—

“The following magisterial report as to the advisability of establishing a reformatory school in Hull, was adopted on Wednesday. The Justices’ committee consisted of the Mayor (chairman), Mr. Travis (vice-chairman), Mr. Blundell, Mr. Jalland, Mr. J. W. Pease, Mr. Edmund Smith, and Mr. Ward.

*“To the Justices of the Borough of Kingston-upon-Hull.”*

“In compliance with the request of the Justices at the last gaol sessions, your committee have considered and now offer their report upon ‘the steps that seem to them most desirable, with the view to effecting the establishment in Hull of a reformatory school for juvenile offenders.’

The first subject that necessarily engaged the attention of your committee has been the amount of juvenile delinquency within the borough, and on this point approximate results only can be obtained. These, however, sufficiently shew the alarming extent to which criminal and vicious courses have prevailed among our juvenile population, and indicate the necessity of very prompt and active measures to ensure, or even render probable, the success of any reformatory efforts that may be made.

Your committee will leave the facts contained in the appendix to this report (table No. 1) to speak for themselves,

The attention of your committee was next directed to the expense necessarily attendant on the establishment of a reformatory school of any kind, and it is conceived that the best mode of raising the requisite funds is by inviting the attention of the public to the importance of the subject at a public meeting; by soliciting contributions to the objects in view; and by the institution of a permanent society, having for its object the reformation of juvenile offenders, through the instrumentality of reformatory schools.

Such a society once formed, with funds raised for the express purpose of obtaining for this borough the benefits of a reformatory establishment, would be in a position to commence a school upon such a basis and of such extent as might seem most desirable, giving due weight to the experience to be derived from the existence of similar institutions and to local circumstances.

Your committee in the appendix to this report (table No. 2) have submitted for your consideration an epitome, affording the means of ascertaining the original cost, annual expense, extent, kind of industrial occupation, and ultimate results of most of the principal reformatories that have been heretofore established, and though your committee might perhaps point out some leading features that distinguish many of them (the permanent value of which time may probably prove beyond all doubt), still your committee do not feel that they could with propriety recommend any specific plan to be adopted as incontestably superior to all others, in reference to the peculiar wants of this place, and still less to propose a plan of any kind for the adoption of a society yet unformed.

Your committee venture, however, to suggest the following course as, in their opinion, safe and having many immediate advantages not otherwise attainable, namely, that (a reformatory society having been established) the committee of such society be directed not only to expedite, as far as possible, the actual commencement of a reformatory establishment in Hull, but also to make such arrangements as they may think desirable, so that through other reformatory institutions, this borough may obtain *immediate* benefits in proportion to its wants, and the means available for the purpose.

Your committee have great pleasure in stating that they have ascertained the practicability of this course, having had an offer from the honorary secretary of the valuable reformatory institution at Saltley, at once to receive into that institution three or four boys at £12 a-year, and to make arrangements for receiving a further number on equitable terms.

Your committee believe that similar advantages might be obtained (if desired) through other institutions, both in reference to female children as well as boys, and to obviate the difficulties that might unavoidably occur from delay (which under present circumstances would be greatly to be deplored), your committee feel disposed to look with much favour on the temporary expedient suggested; it being borne in mind that a vigilant committee of the society would expend to the best advantage the intervening period till their plans

are matured, accurately ascertaining the wants of this locality, and diligently learning from the experience of others in similar undertakings, what may most conduce to the successful conduct and well being of a reformatory school in immediate connexion with the borough of Hull.

# APPENDIX, TABLE No. 1.

*Brought before the Police court during the last five years, under 15 years of age :—*

	Males.	Females.	Total.
1850 ...	257 .....	36 .....	293
1851 ...	251 .....	49 .....	300
1852 ...	302 .....	11 .....	313
1853 ...	219 .....	23 .....	242
1854 ...	219 .....	23 .....	247
	<u>1248</u>	<u>147</u>	<u>1395</u>

*Against these the charges were as follows :—*

	1850	1851	1852	1853	1854
Willful damage .....	5	1	13	4	Particulars not published
Uttering bad coin .....	—	—	1	1	
Disorderly apprentices .....	2	5	4	11	
Cruelty to animals .....	1	—	—	—	
Disorderly characters .....	63	95	123	28	
Drunkenness .....	4	2	1	—	
Gambling .....	10	13	16	5	
Reputed thieves .....	8	15	12	9	
Suspicious characters .....	5	7	2	10	
Vagrants .....	71	74	30	22	
Indecently exposing .....	—	—	1	—	Particulars not yet published.
Smuggling .....	—	—	—	1	
	<u>169</u>	<u>212</u>	<u>203</u>	<u>141</u>	<u>126</u>
Other offences .....	—	—	—	—	121
Cutting and wounding .....	1	—	—	—	Particulars not yet published.
Assaults .....	2	1	5	1	
Breaking into shops, &c. ....	1	4	2	—	
Do. into dwelling houses .....	—	—	1	—	
Larceny in dwelling houses .....	7	1	2	10	
„ from person .....	4	5	4	4	
„ by servants .....	—	—	1	—	
„ simple .....	93	62	78	66	
Misdemeanors, with intent to steal	—	—	—	5	
Unlawful possession of goods .....	16	13	12	7	
Embezzlement .....	—	—	—	1	Particulars not yet published.
Burglary .....	—	1	—	—	
Dog Stealing .....	—	1	—	—	
Receiving stolen goods .....	—	—	1	1	
Frauds .....	—	—	1	2	
Illegally pawning .....	—	—	3	4	
	<u>293</u>	<u>300</u>	<u>313</u>	<u>242</u>	<u>247</u>

*Total of all ages taken into custody, committed for trial, and convicted.*

	Total taken into custody.	Committed for trial.	Convicted and sentenced.
1850.....	2606	204	149
1851.....	2575	211	142
1852.....	2473	178	132
1853.....	2119	170	137
1854.....	2008	229	186

Of these, between the 1st October, 1849, and the 30th September, 1854, there have been—

88 children under 12 years of age convicted;  
178 children 12 and under 14 years of age; and  
381 whose ages were between 14 and 17, making

a total of convictions of children under 14 amounting to 226, and giving an average of about 53 per annum, and a total under 17 of 647, being an average of about 127 per annum.

#### TABLE, No. 2.

*Philanthropic School, Redhill, near Reigate.*—Established as a Reformatory, 1848, commenced with 17 boys, now contains 170. Nearly 700 have been inmates of Redhill since it was remodelled in 1848. Of these the chaplain states that about four-fifths have turned out well—the occupations are chiefly agricultural, the farm of 230 acres being divided into portions of about 30 acres each, each portion being under the care of one of the families into which the school is divided. This institution has been attended with much expense from various causes. The total amount of salaries, &c., for management, being about £600 per annum, and the cost of each boy 8s. 9d. per week, and of each master 11d. per day.

*Stretton-on-Dunsmoor, Warwickshire.*—This establishment was probably the first in England of the kind, being commenced in 1818, and ceased to be carried on, 1854. Occupation agricultural. From 1818 to 1827 the reformatons were 48 per cent. 1827 to 1843, ditto, ditto, 58 per cent, and since then 65 per cent. The whole cost of reformatons is £80 per head.



Name of Institution— Industrial Occupation.	Date of Commencement.	Number at Commencement.	Present Number.	Original Cost.	Annual Expense.	Results, Remarks, &c.
Salley, near Birmingham, Agricultural (certified)	1853.	25, but can receive 30.	25.	Not exactly known. Mr. Adderly gave the land, &c. See next head.	For 8 Superintendents and 30 boys, £500 per Annum.  Current expenses from Sept., 1853, to Feb., 1854, £63 11s. 3d. Food, &c., £20 16s. 8d.— £86 7s. 11d.	Very satisfactory, see report Jan. 24, 1854.  See report published Feb., 1854, and the report of the past year.
Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Agri- cultural and trades	Sept. 1853.	5, and from com- mencement gradual- ly increasing up to Feb., 1854, when 18 were in the School.	18.	See next head.		
Red Lodge Girls Reforma- tory, Bristol (certified), vari- ous household-work, needle work, &c.	Oct. 10th, 1854.	10.	10.		Total cost of every kind up to Dec. 31, 1854, £173 4s. 2½d.	The school is at a house, purchased by Lady Byron for the purpose, and rented at £80 per Annum. It was formerly held at Kingwood, in conjunction with a boys' school, containing 41 boys—still continued there.
Hardwicke School, Gloucester- shire, Agricultural only (certified)	March 24, 1852.	3.	36.	Not known. Mr. Baker provided place of resi- dence, &c., &c.,	£16 per head, besides con- sumption of farm produce.  £1000 per Annum.	Very satisfactory—the establishment has been carried on without strict regard to economy. See report, read to British Association, 1854. The origin of this institution is extra- ordinary. Above 200 persons have been sent out as emigrants by it, or put to situations at home, and are doing well. See "A place of repentance," by Rev. S. Martin.
London Colonial Training Institution (not strictly a Reformatory School)	1848.	2.	104.	The founder, Mr. Nash, was at the cost, which he defrayed out of his own very limited means. The cost (to Mr. Nash very great) was very small in amount. Scarcely anything.		499 out of 437 prisoners restored, or placed in respectable situations, passing through this refuge.
The Durham Refuge for Discharged Prisoners (not strictly a Reformatory School)	1848.				The total cost of every kind up to April, 1852, was £198 17s. 11d.	

Besides the above there are other reformatory institutions in England, that have been recently established, and in Scotland, several houses of refuge may be found at Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh, the regulations and arrangements of which deserve attention.

TABLE No. 3.

Name of Institution—Industrial Occupation—  
New York House of Refuge, America, Trades, Arts, &c. &c.

Date of Commencement—1825.

Number at Commencement.	Present Number.
3 boys and 6 girls.	1852—340 boys and 70 girls.
Original Cost.	Annual Expense.
16,000 dollars.	About 15,000 dollars.

Results, Remarks, &c.—Of 4397 boys and girls received prior to January 1st, 1849, it is believed that three-fourths have been saved from ruin, and have been reformed.

At Boston, Philadelphia, Westborough, and other places, similar institutions have been established, and of the condition of 2250 inmates received into the Philadelphia House of Refuge previous to January 1, 1849, quite as favourable a report as the above would be fully warranted. (See Prize Essays on Juvenile Delinquency).

*France, Mettray, near Tours, Agricultural.*—Since the first establishment of this institution, January, 1840, there have been received 521. The number in 1853 was 348, leaving a remainder of 173. Of these 17 have died, 12 have been sent back to their prisons for misconduct, 144 have been placed out in various situations in the world. Of the 144 thus placed out 7 have relapsed into crime, 9 are of doubtful character, and 128 are conducting themselves most satisfactorily. Each house for 40 inmates costs £325, and the furniture, &c., £20, and the boys about £20 per head per annum. For a full account of Mettray see appendix, page 460, to report of select committee of the House of Commons, ordered to be printed June, 1853.

The same system of employment has been tried by the French Government, in Gaillon and Fontrevault, and other places, with great success. 210 young offenders detained at Fontrevault had been restored to the common course of life, of whom 74 were taught husbandry, and 136 other branches of industry, and there have been of 9 recommitments in the space of three years, eight of which were of the manufacturing class, and one only of the agricultural.

*Reform School of the Rauhen Haus, at Horn, near Hamburg.*—This valuable institution was commenced in 1833, under the care of Mr. J. H. Wichern, and presents a very remarkable history. It contained at first fourteen children, from five to fourteen years of age, and in 1853 accommodated upwards of 70 boys and 25 girls—a barren patch of earth having by the criminals themselves been converted into a thriving reformatory settlement. This establishment is the model upon which similar schools have been formed at Bremen and Lubeck, and in Mecklenburg and Schleswig Holstein.

*Rotterdam and Amsterdam, Holland.*—The Spin-house at Rotterdam, a reformatory institution, or rather a kind of prison for boys, and also a similar institution at Amsterdam for girls, present very curious data as to the state of juvenile crime in Holland, and are deserving of notice.—See a Tour in Holland in 1836, by W. Chambers.

*Bavaria, at Nuremberg; Hesse Darmstadt, at Arnburg; Saxony, at Braunsdorf and Dresden; Hanover, at Volpripshausen; and Switzer-*

*land*, at Bachtelen, Buch, St. Gall, and Freienstein, have each established reformatory schools, to the history of which attention is invited.

*Wurtemberg* possesses nineteen reformatory schools, containing 1061 children. The total cost of these has been £17,547 8s., and the annual cost per head of each child is about £5. The Wurtemberg schools are among the most valuable that have been established.

*Berlin*.—In 1825 a house of refuge was formed for boys and girls. The former has since been placed under the direction of M. Kopf, and has obtained much celebrity.

*Denmark*.—The late Count Holstein founded on one of his estates at Finxendal, in the island of Seeland, in 1834, an agricultural asylum for morally-endangered children, and a house of refuge has recently been erected at Copenhagen.

*Austria*.—Houses of refuge for vicious and morally-endangered children are established at Vienna, Brum, and Prague.

*Hungary*.—A reformatory agricultural school has been recently formed at Zelemer, near Debreczin, in Hungary.

*Russia and Spain*.—In the Russian provinces on the Baltic reformatory schools have been successively formed at Arnburg, in the island of *Æeel*, at Pernau, and at Reval; and in Spain, at Salamanca and elsewhere, there are similar schools.

The appendix to the report of the committee already referred to, contains, amongst other very valuable matter, important information on the following subjects:—

The Fermes Hospices of Flanders .....	p. 404
Farm Schools of Switzerland .....	p. 405
Reformatory Schools in Germany, and the Northern States of Europe .....	p. 408
Reform Schools of Wurtemberg .....	p. 410
The Reform School of the Rauhen Haus, near Hamburg ...	p. 414
Do. at Dusselthal, in Prussia .....	p. 416
Reform Schools and Juvenile Agricultural Colonies in France	p. 417
Agricultural Colonies of Belgium and Holland .....	p. 422
and the application of the experience of the Continent to the guidance of English efforts, p. 426.	

In conclusion, your committee beg to state that, though in the execution of the duty assigned to them they have ventured to refer briefly to some of the sources of information respecting reformatory schools, they feel that such a course was perhaps scarcely necessary, assured as they are that every detail respecting the reformatories both of the old and new World will be carefully examined by those upon whom it may hereafter devolve to recommend a plan by which a really good reformatory school may be secured for the borough of Kingston-upon-Hull.

For the county of Chester, George William Latham, Esq., of Bradwall Hall, Sandbach, has founded a Reformatory School, which, it is hoped, will be ready for occupation about the first week in October. Of this projected School we have been favored with the following report:—

#### *Bradwall Reformatory School.*

“ This School is intended for the benefit of the County of Chester, a district partly agricultural but comprising also the manufacturing towns of Stockport, Macclesfield, Ashton and Staleybridge, the coal-

fields of Poynton, the salt works of Northwich, Middlewich and Nantwich, and the sea-ports of Birkenhead and Warrington—and is now about half finished, and will be in operation at the end of September or October. The buildings are much on the plan of those at Mr. Wright's school at Buxton near Norwich. Built in the form of a quadrangle with the master's and bailiff's house in front, the school-room and dormitory on one side, the offices on the other, and the out-buildings, cow-house, stabling and tool-house at the back, so that the closing of one door at night confines the boys, and satisfies the neighbourhood, that any petty depredations which may take place are not caused by the inmates. The number of boys, when complete, will be 35 or 40, but it is proposed to fill the school gradually, and that nearly three years shall elapse before the whole number is received. The cost of building, furniture, and stock will not exceed £900 and this is supplied by a subscription in the County, and a guarantee has been entered into for the first three years, so that the cost of the establishment until the school is full, will be divided, and not fall exclusively on the Managers; after three years, it is calculated that the establishment with the Government pay will be self-supporting. Mr. George William Latham of Bradwall Hall, is the sole manager, there is no committee, and he has the entire responsibility and control. The school is built on his land, about half a mile from his house, and he will be able to add from time to time such land as is wanted for the industrial labour of the boys, and will charge the school with an agricultural rent for it. It is intended that the labour shall be entirely agricultural, and that as many of the boys as places can be found for, shall be apprenticed to farmers when their reform has sufficiently advanced to allow them to leave the school. Several offers from farmers in the County, have already been received.

Mr. Latham is much indebted to Mr. Baker of Hardwicke, for many valuable hints and much sound advice, and to the Lord Lieutenant of the County, the Marquis of Westminster, for his support, and to Mr. Randle Wilbraham of Rode Heath, who has managed the financial part of the scheme, and by his efforts raised the necessary funds to start with."

From Hampshire we have received some very interesting information, and as the documents sent to us form the best record of the movement in the county, we here insert them in order:—

#### *Hants County Reformatory School.*

"A few Gentlemen who were desirous of taking advantage of the powers conferred by the Act of 17 & 18 Vic. Cap. 86, for the establishment of Reformatory Schools, having previously conferred together, a Meeting was held at Winchester, on the 1st. January last, at which were present the Right Honorable the Speaker, Lord Henry Cholmondeley, Sir William Heathcote, Mr. Compton, Mr. Scott, and Mr. Charles Castleman.

It was resolved that it was very desirable to establish a Reformatory school, in the County of Hants, for the reception of Juvenile

Offenders sentenced to Detention under the act 17 and 18 Vic. c. 86, and the gentlemen then present formed themselves into a Committee for that purpose.

Subsequent meetings having since been held and an efficient master having been secured, and Mr. Compton having most liberally offered a house and a sufficient quantity of land for the purpose,—

It was resolved, that a school, to receive a small number of boys, should be established for one year, by way of experiment.

It was further resolved that, pending this trial, no appeal for contributions should be made to the County at large, but that a few noblemen and gentlemen believed to be very favourable to the measure should be applied to, to aid the Committee in meeting the necessary outlay of the experimental year.

The number of children under 16 annually committed to Prison, in this county, exceeds 200,—a fact that fully establishes the necessity for this school. The system of management proposed to be followed will be religious, moral, and industrial, similar to that of the Philanthropic farm at Red Hill. The boys will be treated as sons of the labouring poor, and with every kindness consistent with necessary firmness and discipline, but great care will be taken not to accustom them to comforts which, on their leaving the school, they will be unable to procure by their own honest industry."

*St. Ives House, Ringwood, February, 1855.*

By the desire of the Committee for establishing a Reformatory School in the County of Hants, I enclose you an extract from the Resolutions passed at their meetings, and earnestly entreat your co-operation and assistance in a work from which such permanent benefit to the County may be confidently anticipated.

The estimated expense of the experimental year, including the requisite furniture, fittings, &c., &c., is roughly calculated at £500: nor will this sum appear excessive, when it is considered that the staff expenses are nearly as heavy for a small as for a greater number of Boys. whilst the outlay necessary at the commencement of any undertaking is always large. In this case however some considerable portion of the charge is for works which will be available in the future conduct of the school, should the experiment prove successful.

If the committee receive the support they require the school will probably be in operation within two months, and they have every reason to hope, from the experience of similar schools, that, by careful watching and good management, this institution may be successfully established, and prove as efficient in the reformation of juvenile offenders as those which are elsewhere in full operation.

I have the honour to be your very obedient servant,

CHARLES CASTLEMAN,

Hon. Sec. to the Committee.

List of subscriptions towards defraying the expenses of the experimental year already received:—

The Speaker, £20; Lord Henry Cholmondeley, £20; Sir William Heathcote, £20; Mr. Compton, £20; Mr. Scott, £20; Mr. Wyndham Portal, who has been added to the Committee, £20; Mr. Charles Castleman, £20.

## HAMPSHIRE REFORMATORY SCHOOL.

*St. Ives House, near Ringwood, 16th. April, 1855.*

Reverend Sir—At the request of the Committee for establishing a Reformatory School in Hampshire, I beg to apprise you, that a sufficient sum having been already subscribed to warrant their commencing the undertaking for one year by way of experiment, the School will be in operation towards the end of this month, at a cottage and land at Eling, which Mr. Compton has most kindly placed at their disposal.

The Committee consists of The Right Honourable The Speaker, Lord Henry Cholmondeley, M. P. Sir William Heathcote, M. P. Mr. Compton, M. P. Mr. J. W. Scott, Mr. Wyndham Portal, The Reverend John Compton, and myself.

The object proposed is to form "a refuge" for the Religious, Moral, and Industrious training of Children, convicted and sentenced to detention, under 17 and 18 Victoria, Cap. 86, and of Children whose destitution renders them imminently liable to fall into crime. They will be chiefly employed in labour connected with agriculture, and will be treated as the sons of the labouring poor, with every kindness consistent with the firmness and discipline necessary to their reformation, but great care will be taken not to accustom them to comforts which on their leaving the School, they will be unable to procure by their own honest labour.

The deep importance of the work cannot be more forcibly shewn than by stating that in this County, there are annually committed to prison, upwards of two hundred boys, under 16 years of age, a very large proportion of whom might by judicious treatment be certainly reclaimed, and thus the supply to our criminal population effectually checked.

The Committee feel fully assured that this fact alone will arrest the interest, and insure the hearty co-operation of the clergy of our church, who are ever foremost in doing good, and I am authorized to say that the undertaking has the sanction and anxious good wishes of the Bishop of the Diocese, and of the Archdeacon.

The chief difficulty in developing the full benefit of these Institutions is the mode of disposing of those who have passed satisfactorily through their term of probation, and it is to assist them in this part of the work that the Committee now appeal to the clergy to become corresponding members of the Society, and to afford them their aid in their different parishes.

Before a lad leaves the "boys' home" he will have been well accustomed to hard labour, and have been taught agriculture and garden work, the management of the common farm animals, and the use of ordinary rough carpenter's tools. We believe that thus instructed, he would prove a valuable apprentice to a farmer, or to any tradesman having the occupation of land, who could overcome the prejudice that attaches to taking boys from one of these schools, and I may add that from the experience of those who have long watched the effect of these Reformatories in large towns, amongst the most apparently irreclaimable individuals, we are warranted in saying, that the instances of those who have been properly trained for some time, and shewn sufficient evidence of reformation, relapsing into vicious courses

are of very rare occurrence, especially where, as in this case, the lads are removed entirely from the influence of their former evil associates. We would therefore ask you to endeavour to find for us some eligible person in your parish, who, when we have a boy fit to be discharged, will consent to take him as an apprentice, with a view to completing the reformation begun at "the home," and who will treat the boy with kindness and firmness, and take an interest in watching his moral and religious progress. The committee would consider the lad's keep and clothing with some little money payment, part of which would be paid to the boy, and part invested in the savings' bank, and to be dependent on his good conduct, as a sufficient remuneration for his labour.

We should then have to ask the favour of your sometimes seeing and making enquiries of the lad, of your permitting him to look to you as a friend whom he might consult in difficulty, and of your occasionally informing the committee of his welfare.

In conclusion, permit me urgently to entreat your kind acquiescence in our request, and your authority to enter your name as one of our corresponding members.

I have the honour to be, Reverend Sir, your very obedient servant,

CHARLES CASTLEMAN,  
*Honorary Secretary to the Committee.*

*Eling, in the county of Hants.*

The school is called the "Boys' Home." It is managed by a Committee consisting of the Rt. Hon. The Speaker, Lord Henry Cholmondeley, M. P. Sir W. Heathcote Bart., M. P. Mr. Compton, M. P. Mr. J. W. Scott, Mr. Wyndham Portal, the Rev. John Compton, and Mr. Charles Castleman who is also the Hon. Secretary. The above gentlemen were the originators of the School and have raised amongst a few friends a subscription sufficient to defray the expenses of the first year. Mr. Compton has kindly placed the house and as much land as may be required at the disposal of the committee. The school has been in operation about three months and there are at present six inmates only, but as soon as the additional buildings are completed a government certificate has been promised when the numbers will be gradually increased as the Committee feel justified by the progress of the boys, then already in the school. Judging from the efficiency of the master and matron it may be expected that the number will be increased to twenty before the school has been opened eighteen months. It is intended at the end of the first year to make an appeal to the county at large for support.

The Bishop of Winchester, the Archdeacon and Clergy have taken great interest in it, and the latter have kindly promised to endeavour to procure in their parishes places for the boys on their discharge.

In Leicestershire a school has been established, and we have received, through the attention of a friend, the following information relating to this institution :—

"The buildings and grounds are admirably adapted to the purpose. Perry, when he came over to inspect and certify, was

much pleased with them. We have gone on rather more slowly than I should have liked, having only five boys yet. And until a second man can be found capable of being out at work with the boys, and also of attending to their schooling, the managers do not seem desirous to venture on more. If you could help us to such a person, it would be a great advantage. A nephew of the bailiff, a young man (now a gentleman's under gardener, and said to be capable of teaching) offers to come at £30 per annum and board, but the managers think it too much. We have three good cows, and have made and stacked 17 acres of hay and clover, and have some oats and barley to cut. The boys are digging up the clover for wheat as it is eaten off, and next year they will have 17 acres arable under crop somehow, and 12 or 13 grass, so there is plenty of work for the number certified for (21), and the house might hold as many more. I am assured there is an evident improvement in the present inmates; four of them read the 103d Psalm very nicely with me yesterday—the fifth cannot yet read. We have received about £500 and spent about £300. Our annual subscriptions do not yet reach £100, but we hope to increase these.

I like what I have seen of the bailiff and his wife.

The Rev. Mr. Gamlen's loss is a serious one to us in many ways. We do not yet hear who is to succeed him."

In our last Record we referred to the fact that Mr. Wheatley, of Cote Wall, had established a school, or had, by his example, induced his brother magistrates to, unasked, aid him in establishing a Reformatory School for the West Riding of Yorkshire, and we extracted some most interesting passages from a very able and valuable lecture on his visit to Mettray, delivered in Dewsbury by Mr. Wheatley.\* Mr. Wheatley has since revisited Mettray, and has inspected some of the continental schools of which Mr. Recorder Hall has written,† and we sincerely hope he will publish his notes of this tour: meanwhile, we are enabled to record the position of the West Riding School as follows:—

*"Reformatory Schools. West Riding of Yorkshire.*

In November last at a meeting of Magistrates in Adjourned Quarter Sessions, a committee was appointed to take measures to provide a Reformatory School, for the Riding, for 100 boys.

After some months the committee reported that it could find no satisfactory site, and came to an end. Seven gentlemen then formed themselves into a committee to attempt the thing on a smaller scale,

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\* See IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, No. 18, pp. xxx to xxxiv of the Record.

† See IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, No. 18, at end of Record, for this lecture of Mr. Hall.



on the plan of that at Hardwicke. One of the number undertakes to provide land, at Mirfield, as it may be required, from one acre to one hundred, at ordinary farm rent, and to provide thereon simple buildings, which if not required for the school, might be converted into cottages, charging four per cent upon the outlay. The committee undertake to be responsible for the current expenditure. It is proposed to begin with a few boys, and to increase gradually up to 25. For these a building is nearly ready. An old house is being fitted for the purpose. Should more accommodation be required, it is proposed hereafter to provide one or more detached buildings, each to contain a family of about 25. It is hoped that the matter may be taken up at Leeds and elsewhere in the Riding."

In Bedfordshire a Reformatory movement has been commenced, and we have the following, as the writer calls it, "rough sketch" of its rise and position :—

"In consequence of a visit of some Bedfordshire gentlemen to Mr. Baker's Reformatory Establishment at Hardwicke, the subject has been taken up in that County. Subscriptions are anxiously sought by a Committee, of whom are Lord C. Russel; Mr. T. Whitbread, M.P.; Captain Stuart, M.P.; Mr. Harvey; Mr. W.H. Luintele; Mr. Talbot Barnard, and his brother the Mayor of Bedford; Mr. T. C. Higgins, and Mr. Tuckney, &c. Ground has been offered by a member of the Committee; a plan has been drawn by Mr Jackson, the county surveyor, who has gratuitously offered his services; and Mr. S. Wiley of Bedford has kindly consented to act as Honorary Secretary. Should the County liberally respond to the appeal the work will soon be set on foot.

It is proposed to begin, in the first instance, in a very quiet way, and to build for about twenty boys, and to increase the building as necessity and funds may arise. The real fact is that nothing is wanting to set on foot an Establishment but a liberal supply of funds."

Dorsetshire is about to work the cause, and, in The Lothians, "the heather's on fire." From Worcestershire we are informed that the magistrates, expecting the Government would make some material alteration in the Juvenile Offenders' Act, have hitherto postponed the consideration of the subject; but now, seeing how admirably the Act works, in its present state, they will, we have good reason to hope, push the matter forward speedily and earnestly.

In Dorsetshire Mr. Maunsel is the worker; in The Lothians, Mr. Cowan; and in Hants, Mr. Compton and Mr. Castleman are to be aided by Mr. C. Sartoris, in a school to be opened by him at Bishops Waltham. This will do good service by clearing the county of the master thieves in less time than one school could do it; and if it should be found in a year or two, (as is

probable) that one school will suffice for the County, the other may be turned into a FARM FOR ADULTS, of which project we presume Government will then have learned the great value and national importance.

In Sussex the question of Reformatory Schools has been ably advocated by *The Sussex Advertiser*; and in the number of that journal for August 14th, 1855, we find the following admirable letter :—

*“ To the Editor of the Sussex Advertiser.*

SIR,—In a letter which you were kind enough to insert in your paper some weeks ago, I mentioned that Mr. Baker had for the last four years been carrying on a Reformatory School on his property at Hardwick Court, near Gloucester, and having lately, through the kindness of that gentleman, had an opportunity of visiting his school, it may perhaps be interesting to yourself and others to have some account of the details of its cost and management.

The School consists of two cottages, connected by a plain brick building, two stories high, the lower serving as a day and school room, the upper story as a bed room for the boys. The cottages are inhabited by the bailiff and schoolmaster, the former, who is the general superintendent, receives thirty pounds a year and his board, the schoolmaster twenty pounds and board also. The cost of the entire building amounted to £391 12s. There are now 37 boys in the school, of these 29 are from Gloucestershire and eight from London and other counties. The number of acres attached to the school including the garden is 32, 12 in pasture and 20 under spade husbandry, and producing very heavy crops of wheat, beans, turnips, &c. The school is frequently visited by the Vicar and Curate of the parish, and two to three or more hours daily, according to circumstances, are devoted to religious and secular instructions. The diet of the boys is bread and milk for breakfast and supper, and meat twice, soup twice, and bread and cheese three times a week for dinners. The dress is a suit of cord and smock frock. The cost of the establishment for the last quarter was £173 5s. 6d. (including food, salaries, and every expense connected with the school and farm), for an average of 33 boys and 5 grown-up persons, including two masters now in training for schools in other counties. The government allowance for each boy is 5 shillings a week. As to the result, it appears that out of 77 boys received, 44 have passed through the school, of these 27 have turned out well, 7 not well, others have emigrated or not been heard of.

It has all along been Mr. Baker's object by regulating the expense and arrangements of the school on the most economical and unpretending scale, by enforcing a strict yet kindly discipline, by requiring each day a sufficient quantity of hard work, and by imposing a considerable degree of confinement, 'to avoid creating an impression that the admission to such a school being in itself usually the consequence of crime, should be considered as an advantage which the

honest and industrious cannot procure,' and in this I believe Mr. Baker has been eminently successful. I must also add, that I was much pleased by the willing, active spirit, and the free open yet perfectly respectful manner of the boys both to Mr. Baker and the bailiff.

If, Sir, this imperfect account of what has been done, and is now doing, in Gloucestershire, should tend to hasten the establishment of a similar school in Sussex, my object in asking you to insert a second letter in your paper will be most fully attained.

I am, Sir, yours very faithfully,

A MAGISTRATE."

In Liverpool, as we stated in our last Record, the movement has been warmly supported.\* We understand, from the Rev. Thomas Carpenter, the excellent Chaplain of the Borough Gaol, that a hulk has now been obtained, and the whole original principle is being carried out as contemplated.

These are all cheering facts, but nothing in this whole Record is to us so cheering as the fact that young, and educated, and independent gentlemen are becoming, in England, the leaders of the movement: thus, amongst the most active workers, we have Mr. Wheatley and Mr. Latham. And after all, an intelligent magistrate can hardly grudge the time it takes to enable him to work a school: it does not stop his hunting or shooting. Mr. Baker, in his paper, read last September, before the British Association, at Liverpool, tells us, "Our staff consists of Mr. Bengough and myself as managers. He lives twelve miles from the School; I about one. He comes and spends a few days with me now and then (alas very rarely). I, when I have an hour or two to spare (very rarely also), go over and look at the boys working, and have a chat with one or another. I should think that I devote on an average four hours a week to looking on and chatting. Such are our arduous labours."†

We have heard many suggestions offered, all purporting to be improvements on the Youthful Offenders' Act, but in our mind the less the Act is now meddled with the better. We would, however, suggest that its provisions might be extended to all persons under thirty years of age; we have heard too, that the Secretary of State will permit the removal

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\* See IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, No. 18, p. xxii to xxv of the Record.

† See IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW No. 18, p.p. 431 to 435, Art. "Reformatory Schools for Ireland."

of a few well conducted boys from an old established to a new established Reformatory, the cost of maintenance being repaid to the county in which such school shall be situated. A friend well acquainted with the subject thus writes to us, referring to this plan of school management :—

"You know the idea which I and many others have, that at the commencement of a school it is a great advantage to begin with boys who are sharp and clever, and have known the pleasures and the pains of dishonest courses—but who have been more or less reclaimed in some earlier school—and have acquired a certain degree of *good tone*. These have as I believe more power in influencing the newly caught offenders than any masters would have—by acting in fact the part of tame elephants to controul the wild ones.

I am happy and thankful to say that the Secretary of State has said, that he would give a favourable consideration to any recommendation I may give as to the removal of any offenders from my school to any other *certified* school—and farther, that a new school may be certified before any boys are received into it.

This will enable any manager about to open a school—to have it certified, and then to apply for the removal of five or six boys from some long established school—Saltley, Kingswood, Stoke, Newcastle, or Hardwicke, and by sending his masters to train at that school for a month previous, he will begin with a master and boys used to each other and working well together.—The old school will no doubt take a proportion of wild elephants (say half the number) in exchange for the six tame ones—and a great advantage will be gained by both parties. N.B. The 5s. a week will be transferred to the new school with each boy."

These opinions are fully supported by experience; and the admirable effect produced by these "tame elephants" is well shewn, in a letter from Mr. Archibald Prentice, of Manchester, and printed in the Record of the 17th number of THE IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

In Ireland, no movement has yet commenced, as we wait the passing of some such enactment as that, the draft of which we printed, and explained in our last number;\* but during the quarter the method of support of our prisons has been most ably brought before the country by the editor of *The Tipperary Free Press*, and so well has this topic been treated by him, that at the Summer Assizes of the South Riding of Tipperary, an address to the Lord Lieutenant, in support of the Editor's arguments, was signed by the grand jurors assembled. The chief of these "leaders," and the petition, we here insert :—

\* See No. 18, p. 420 to 429. Art. "Reformatory Schools for Ireland."

*Important to Rate-payers—County Prisons—Hints for Grand Jurors.*

We have received some letters touching a matter interesting to the public, namely—the transference of the cost of maintaining County Prisons from the shoulders of the Rate-payers to the consolidated Fund, and we have been asked to re-publish an article on the subject, which appeared in this journal some three weeks since. With this request we can have no hesitation in complying, and we accordingly append the remarks referred to:—

“At the present moment when the pressure of taxation is felt by every one from the peer to the peasant, it may not be inopportune to direct attention to one item, which, we believe, it will be agreed upon should be liquidated from imperial resources, and not assessed upon the rate-paying community of the various counties of Ireland. We allude to the expenditure for the maintenance of County Prisons, which is a considerable item, and which should be paid out of the Consolidated Fund, as is done in England. That some idea may be formed of the cost incurred in those institutions, we may mention that last year the Grand Juries at the Spring and Summer Assizes presented a sum of £4,365 7s. 6d. for the Clonmel Gaol alone; and we are not above the mark when we say that the prisons at Clonmel and Nenagh cost the county annually no less than about seven thousand pounds.

We do not mean in discussing this question to impute to the Boards of Superintendence any extravagance in expenditure, or to the officials any remissness in curtailing the outlay. On the contrary, we believe there are few public institutions better managed than the Clonmel Gaol, under the direction of its respected Governor and its efficient local Inspector; but what we contend for is this, that of right the cost of County Prisons should be borne by the Consolidated Fund, and that we are entitled to ask from the Government that this charge should be transferred to it from the shoulders of the Rate-payers. This step, it is well known, was about being taken by the late Sir Robert Peel, who acknowledged that in this respect Ireland had a claim upon the Imperial Exchequer, but circumstances interfered to prevent it; in place of the County Prisons, another item of taxation was substituted, and since then no attempt has been made to procure an alteration of the system, under which, Grand Juries every year assess the cost of management and maintenance.

If, during the administration of Sir Robert Peel, the justice of this claim was admitted, how much stronger has it since become? Then, if Ireland asked aught from the Consolidated Fund, she was tauntingly upbraided with the difference in the taxation of the two countries, and threatened with the infliction of an income tax; now, the taunt no longer applies, since, unfortunately, we have been saddled with a double income tax, and that at a period when the circumstances of the country rendered it less able to endure the extra burthen placed upon its resources. But this imposition gives us a claim which we should not be slow to assert; and if we are forced to pay additional taxes, in order that we should be further assimilated with our more wealthy English neighbours, we see no reason why we should not share equally the advantages as the disadvantages of such assimilation.

Within a very few days the Grand Juries will be called upon to assemble in every county for the discharge of fiscal business ; and we allude to this matter thus early, in order that some member thereof may be prepared to bring before them a memorial to government to effect the change we have to-day advocated—a change which we think the Ministry should not hesitate to adopt, and which would be productive of considerable benefits to the rate-payers of the country."

As the Grand Jury are now sitting, we trust some of its members will bring forward a memorial to Parliament in reference to this question. We submit that this is a matter demanding their immediate attention, and worthy of being considered with care and deliberation. Much blame has been from time to time cast upon the Grand Jury system ; and in truth, the Jurors evince but little anxiety to improve it, being for the most part content with getting through the fiscal business, and finding bills for the Crown, seldom caring to look beyond the discharge of those duties of ordinary routine. There are many topics of importance which would form legitimate grounds for deliberation and for action, of which that briefly discussed in the above article, is by no means the least important.

#### COUNTY TAXATION.

We alluded to a matter of very considerable importance to the Tax-payers of this country, in a late number of this Journal, namely—the placing of the sustainment of the Prisons and Lunatic Asylums of Ireland on the Consolidated Fund, as they are supported in England, instead of levying, through the medium of County Rates, the very large amount necessary for such purpose. The injustice, as well as hardship of this latter mode of exaction was so apparent to Sir Robert Peel, that it is said that great statesman was determined to use all legitimate means to render imperial resources subservient to an object partaking so largely of an imperial character. In the expectation that the present Government may be actuated by the same laudable desire to extend equal justice to her Majesty's Irish subjects, a memorial was submitted to the Grand Jury of this Riding of the County, at last Assizes, by Alderman Hackett, J. P., which we had the satisfaction to state was unanimously agreed to, and being signed by the Foreman, was transmitted at the request of the Grand Jury, by Alderman H. to the Lord Lieutenant, and has since been duly acknowledged. We have reason to believe that Government may not be fully aware of the enormous amount levied, year after year, on the hard-working farmer, and the industrious, struggling shopkeeper, for what is denominated COUNTY RATE. We wish very much that some active member of the Senate would move for returns of the amount of County Cess in three of the principal counties of each province in Ireland for the last seven years. The result of such a motion, more especially if accompanied by Poor-Rate returns for a similar period, would most satisfactorily demonstrate to the public mind of England, ample grounds for the concessions now required, and which, notwithstanding, were denied some years since, because Ireland was not then under the Income Tax.

That objection was since most unfortunately removed, and there does not appear to be any remaining impediment to a measure already in operation in England, and which there can be no doubt, will have the most beneficial effect on the people of this country. There is a question we don't care to discuss, calculated as it is to widen the differences and weaken the efforts of subjects of the realm—we mean the inequality in the administration of the law, and the law itself, in England and Ireland.—The obvious policy of a wise administration must be to make such differences “small by degrees and beautifully less ;” and the confidence we have in the good intentions and straightforward honesty of the gifted nobleman now at the head of the Irish Executive, leads us to cherish the well grounded hope that the object of the memorial of the Grand Jury to his Excellency, in which men of all grades and politics fully concur, will receive the most favourable consideration.

The following are copies of the memorial, and the Under Secretary's acknowledgment of it :

*To His Excellency the Earl of Carlisle, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.*

May it please your Excellency,

We, the Grand Jury of the South Riding of the County Tipperary, assembled at Summer Assizes, 1855, respectfully, but firmly, call on Her Majesty's Government, through your Excellency, to take into their serious consideration the pressure of Taxation which bears so heavily on the Ratepayers of this country, and as a means of lightening that burthen, we would earnestly urge the assimilation of the law which places the expense of the sustainment of Prisons and Lunatic Asylums in England on the Consolidated Fund ; a measure of equal justice which we are now in a position to call for, in respect to Ireland, being as it is placed under the heavy infliction of the Income Tax.

We respectfully ask your Excellency to convey those views to the Government, and to support by your Excellency's powerful advocacy the object of the application.

(Signed)

For Self and Fellow-Jurors,

STEPHEN MOORE,

Foreman of the Grand Jury of the South Riding  
of the County Tipperary.

Clonmel, Summer Assizes, July 20th, 1855.

Dublin Castle, 21st July, 1855.

Sir—I am directed by the Lord Lieutenant to acknowledge the receipt of the memorial of the Grand Jury of the South Riding of the County Tipperary, praying that the expense of the sustainment of Prisons and Lunatic Asylums may be placed on the Consolidated Fund, transmitted in your note of the 20th instant.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

THOMAS A. LARCOM,

Alderman Hackett, J. P., Clonmel.

French philanthropists, always active, resolved that the

gathering of men from all nations, which the Exhibition drew to Paris, should not pass without some effort being made to render the occasion useful to humanity. Accordingly the following circular was, early last April, issued :—

PARIS, le 1er mai, 1866.

REUNION INTERNATIONALE DE CHARITE. SECRETARIAT RUE DE GRENNELLE-ST-GERMAIN, 42

A PARIS. NOTA.—LES LETTRES NON AFFRANCHIES SERONT REFUSEES.

La Société d'Economie charitable a cru trouver dans l'Exposition universelle, qui va s'ouvrir à Paris, une occasion favorable de réunir et de mettre en rapport les hommes qui ont le plus contribué à développer l'esprit de prévoyance et de charité. Elle a pensé qu'en les priant d'apporter à cette réunion, sous forme de mémoires ou de rapports, des documents positifs sur les institutions et les Œuvres de leurs pays, elle obtiendrait un exposé complet de ce qui a été essayé pour prévenir et soulager la misère, et ferait ainsi profiter chaque nation de l'expérience de toutes.

Pour atteindre ce but si éminemment utile, elle compte sur votre bienveillant concours. Elle a donc d'honneur de vous inviter à assister aux séances de la Réunion internationale, qui s'ouvriront à Paris le 19 juillet prochain, et seront accompagnées de visites aux établissements de bienfaisance publique et libre. Elle vous demande en même temps un travail sur l'ensemble ou sur quelques-unes des institutions de la ville que vous habitez.

Permettez-nous d'espérer que vous ne lui refuserez pas ce tribut de vos lumières et de votre charité.

Agréez, Monsieur, l'assurance de notre haute considération.

Les Secrétaires.

Le Président du Comité d'organisation.

H. BETTENCOURT;  
ALEXIS CHEVALIER.

VICOMTE DE MELUN.

NOTA. Pour les renseignements relatifs à la Réunion internationale, s'adresser à M. C. F. AUDLEY, l'un des membres du Comité, rue Madame, 40, à Paris, les lundi, mercredi et vendredi, de neuf heures à midi.

On pourra obtenir, à la même adresse, des renseignements sur les sujets proposés dans le Programme de la Société des Arts, de Londres.

PROGRAMME DES TRAVAUX PRÉPARÉS PAR LES MEMBRES DU COMITÉ POUR LA RÉUNION INTERNATIONALE, SUR LES ŒUVRES ET INSTITUTIONS CHARITABLES DE LA FRANCE.

MM. Marbeau.	Crèches.
Cochin.	Asiles.
Michel.	Écoles.
Le vicomte de Cormenin.	Ouvroirs.
Le comte de Lambel.	Patronage des apprentis et des jeunes ouvriers.
Le vicomte Anatole Lemercier.	Enfants-trouvés, orphelins ou abandonnés.
Demets.	Colonies agricoles.
Amédée Thayer.	Caisse d'épargne, caisses et pensions de retraite.
Alexis Chevalier.	Sociétés de secours mutuels.
Le prince de Chalais-Perigord.	Monts-de-Piété, institutions de prêt.
Audigane.	Législation ouvrière.
Vée.	Logement, nourriture et hygiène des ouvriers.
Adolphe Bauden.	Réfectoires et fourneaux économiques.
Le duc d'Uzès.	Bibliothèques, Cercles et Sociétés d'ouvriers.
Albert Du Boys.	Œuvres et institutions en faveur des ouvriers et des
Le baron de Montreuil.	patrons des campagnes.
Leguyt.	Émigrations.
Martin-Dolsy.	Hôpitaux et hospices.
Mahul.	Secours à domicile.
Defau.	Aveugles et sourds-muets.
Jules de Lamarque.	Patronage des jeunes détenus et des jeunes libérés.
Marbeau.	
Martin Dolsy.	Extinction de la mendicité.
Cochin.	
Le comte F. de Champagny.	Société de Saint-Vincent de Paul.



L'abbé Mullois.	}	Institutions et Œuvres de charité privée.
Adolphe Baudon,		Législation relative à la charité privée.
Le comte de Montalembert,		Congrégations vouées au service des pauvres.
Anatole de Ségur.		Examen des publications françaises sur l'économie charitable.
Le vicomte de Melan.		

L'abbé Hue.  
Bettencourt.  
Etc., etc.

Des institutions de charité en Chine.  
Œuvres de charité dans la Terre-Sainte.

Tous ces travaux paraîtront avant l'ouverture de la Réunion internationale, dans les *Annales de la Charité*, qui en ont déjà publié plusieurs dans leurs livraisons de Mars et d'Avril.

The following papers were read, and published in *Les Annales de la Charité* for June and July :—\*

Des Institutions de charité dans les campagnes, par M. le baron de Montreuil.  
Du logement, de la nourriture et de l'hygiène des ouvriers, par M. Vée.  
Du patronage des jeunes détenus et des jeunes libérés, par M. Jules de Lamarque.  
De la Charité dans la Terre-Sainte, par M. Henri Bettencourt.  
Quelques observations au sujet du Rapport de M. de Watteville sur les Bureaux de Bienfaisance, par M. le comte de Lyonne.  
Société d'Economie charitable. Travaux préparatoires du Comité pour la Réunion internationale (suite et fin.)  
De l'Interdiction de la Mendicité en France, par M. F. Marbeau.  
Des Sociétés de Secours mutuels en France, par M. Albert du Boys.  
Des Cercles et Sociétés d'Ouvriers, et des Bibliothèques à leur usage, par M. le duc d'Uzès.

We insert at length, the paper of M. de Lamarque, on those admirable institutions, Patronage Societies, and regret that owing to the late period at which we received the *Annales* we are unable to present an English version ; we beg the attention of all readers to this paper, as it is devoted to a subject which has been warmly commended by Lord Brougham, by Miss Carpenter, by Mr. Recorder Hill, and by Mr. Robert Hall :—

#### *Patronage des Jeunes Détenus et des Jeunes Libérés.*

Le gouvernement et la bienfaisance privée n'ont pas attendu, pour étendre leur sollicitude sur les jeunes libérés, que la loi du 5 août 1850 les eût placés sous le patronage de l'Etat. La création de la première Société de patronage remonte à l'année 1822, et dès 1847, le ministre de l'intérieur, par l'intermédiaire de ses nombreux agents

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\* This admirable work is published monthly at Rue Cassette, 29, Paris, and is sold in London by Burns and Lambert; it costs, supplied out of France, 15 francs per annum : and will not be supplied for a shorter period than a year, commencing with the first of January.

et des municipalités, prenait des informations sur la conduite des jeunes libérés aux lieux de leur résidence, afin de constater les résultats de l'instruction morale et professionnelle qu'ils avaient reçue dans les maisons de correction. Enfin les directeurs de ces établissements ont aussi exercé une sorte de patronage en s'occupant de placer comme ouvriers ou domestiques quelques-uns de ces enfants qu'ils avaient élevés; et ils ont recueilli sur le sort des autres des renseignements qui ne manquent pas d'intérêt.

Nous allons examiner rapidement ces trois modes de patronage, et en exposer les résultats.

Le nombre des jeunes détenus qui sortent annuellement des établissements d'éducation correctionnelle est assez considérable: il a été de 1162, en 1852, sans compter les enfants qui avaient été enfermés par voie de correction paternelle. On comprend dès lors combien il serait utile de consolider l'existence des œuvres qui s'occupent de ces enfants, et d'en organiser de nouvelles.

Le gouvernement a saisi le conseil d'Etat d'un projet de règlement d'administration publique qui permettra sans doute de tirer parti des trois systèmes qui font l'objet de ce travail.

#### 1.—*Sociétés de patronage.*

Ces sociétés ont été jusqu'à présent peu nombreuses.

Les plus importantes se trouvent dans nos grands centres de population à Paris, à Lyon, à Strasbourg, à Rouen, à Toulouse, etc. L'espace nous manque pour nous occuper séparément de chacune de ces institutions. Nous nous bornerons à parler de celle que dirige à Paris, M. Béranger (de la Drôme). Cette œuvre, qui a servi de modèle à d'autres sociétés analogues, a été fondée en 1833, à l'instigation de M. Ch. Lucas, qui a eu l'honneur de provoquer la création de plusieurs institutions de patronage. Les statuts furent rédigés par un bureau auquel se joignirent plusieurs membres de l'Œuvre qui, comme leur digne président, M. Béranger (de la Drôme), occupent pour la plupart des positions considérables dans le monde officiel.

La Société place en apprentissage ou en condition les enfants sortis des maisons d'éducation correctionnelle à l'expiration du temps de leur détention; et les jeunes détenus que l'administration, en récompense de leur bonne conduite, met provisoirement en liberté, afin de constater quels progrès ils ont faits dans la voie du bien. Ces enfants sont replacés sous la main de l'autorité, lorsque cette épreuve ne leur est point favorable. Les premiers sont appelés libérés définitifs, les seconds libérés provisoires. La Société s'est proposé pour but de donner à ses pupilles les habitudes d'une vie honnête et laborieuse, et par suite de prévenir les récidives.

Les membres qui la composent sont divisés en souscripteurs, patrons et donateurs, sans aucune limitation de nombre, ce qui permet d'étendre, autant que possible, le cercle de son action. Le souscripteur est seulement tenu de verser la somme qu'il a promise. On acquiert le titre de donateur en offrant à la Société, tous les ans, une somme de 100 fr. au moins. Les patrons ont la tâche la plus difficile, parce qu'ils s'occupent directement du placement des jeunes libérés.

Le patronage dure trois ans. La Société reçoit dans un asile tout jeune libéré qui, pendant ce temps, vient à manquer d'ouvrage, ou à tomber malade. Cet asile placé sous le contrôle immédiat de l'agent général, M. de Grellet-Wammy, homme d'un dévouement inaltérable, est situé rue Mézières, n. 9. On y dit la messe tous les dimanches à un autel placé dans la salle des réunions.

La Société est dirigée par un bureau assisté d'un conseil d'administration et aidé de trois comités, de matériel et de finances, de placement et d'enquête.

Le bureau, composé du président, du vice-président, du secrétaire général et du trésorier, est, à vrai dire, le pouvoir exécutif de la Société.

Le conseil d'Administration, composé de douze membres, délibère sur toutes les matières qui intéressent l'œuvre et qui lui sont soumises par le bureau ou par l'un des membres du conseil. Les fonctions du président et du vice-président, celles du secrétaire général et du trésorier ont été soigneusement définies. Les trois comités, présidés chacun par un vice-président, veillent au bon emploi des finances et du matériel, pourvoient au placement des enfants après leur libération définitive et font les enquêtes destinées à éclairer l'Administration sur l'opportunité de mettre un jeune détenu provisoirement en liberté à titre d'essai et de récompense. Enfin, l'assemblée générale est convoquée une fois dans l'année pour entendre le compte rendu des travaux de la Société, et tous les six mois pour entendre les rapports des patrons sur les enfants confiés à leurs soins. Dans ces réunions, l'assemblée nomme aux places de conseillers vacantes ; elle introduit des modifications aux statuts, quand il y a lieu ; enfin, elle distribue des récompenses aux patronnés qui le méritent.

Une agence salariée est chargée soit d'opérer les recouvrements et de faire à mesure, chez les trésoriers, le versement des sommes reçues, soit de rédiger les procès-verbaux, de tenir les registres, de préparer les enquêtes, de prendre des renseignements auprès de l'Administration supérieure et de fournir aux patrons toutes les indications qui leur sont nécessaires pour l'accomplissement de leur mission. L'agent général est aussi chargé de leur aider à placer les libérés, à débiter et à régler avec les chefs d'ateliers les conditions du placement, et même de suppléer momentanément les patrons absents ou malades. Enfin, il est tenu de constater tous les mois la présence de chaque enfant au lieu indiqué par le patron.

La Société a traité avec divers fournisseurs qui lui délivrent tous les objets de vestiaire dont elle a besoin pour habiller les libérés.

Les patrons sont admis, avec les précautions nécessaires, pour garantir à la Société leur moralité. Leurs devoirs ont été tracés dans un manuel *ad hoc*, et ils ne peuvent patronner plus de six libérés à la fois.

Le président représente seul la Société ; il correspond avec les pouvoirs constitués, et c'est à lui que doivent être remises les demandes que les patrons ont à faire aux divers fonctionnaires publics dans l'intérêt de l'Œuvre.

La surveillance la plus active est exercée sur tous les libérés, et principalement sur ceux qui, étant encore sous le coup de l'article

66 du Code pénal, ont été confiés à l'Œuvre par voie de libération provisoire. Ces derniers ne doivent jamais être perdus de vue par le patron, et, lorsqu'ils se montrent paresseux ou désobéissants envers leurs maîtres, le patron, sans attendre des faits plus graves, est tenu de signaler leur inconduite au président.

Celui-ci décide avec le bureau si ces faits sont de nature à provoquer immédiatement une demande de réintégration. Mais, lors même que cette demande aurait été faite, le patron n'est dégagé de ses obligations envers son pupille, qu'autant que celui-ci a été réintégré en vertu d'une décision ministérielle.

Toutes les opérations de la Société sont constatées avec le plus grand soin sur les registres tenus par l'agence. Le principal est un grand livre embrassant à la fois le compte moral et financier de chaque enfant ; on y consigne aussi exactement que possible l'histoire de sa vie, les renseignements recueillis sur sa famille, les progrès qu'il a faits dans le bien, et toutes les dépenses qu'il occasionne à la Société.

Vient ensuite le registre général de tous les membres qui la composent à un titre quelconque, des patrons, donateurs ou souscripteurs, indiquant les cotisations d' chacun d'eux, et contenant une colonne par année, destinée à mentionner la date des paiements.

Un autre registre renferme les noms de tous les patrons en exercice et ceux des enfants qui leur sont confiés.

Un troisième indique le mouvement, par entrée et sortie, du mobilier appartenant à l'Œuvre.

Des registres à souche constatent la recette des souscriptions, les dépenses en argent et les fournitures en nature.

Les placements à la caisse d'épargne au nom des enfants et les retraits de cette caisse sont mentionnés sur deux livres particuliers.

Un autre livre très-important sert à faire connaître, trois mois à l'avance, les jeunes détenus qui doivent sortir des maisons d'éducation correctionnelle à proximité de Paris, et les noms des commissaires qui seront chargés de procéder à une enquête sur la conduite de ces enfants ; il y est, en outre, fait mention de l'acceptation ou du refus du patronage par le libérés.

Les procès-verbaux des séances du conseil d'Administration du comite, de placement et des réunions semestrielles sont inscrits sur autant de livres séparés.

Un registre, dans lequel est copiée la correspondance avec l'Administration, le parquet, le préfet de police et autres fonctionnaires, enfin plusieurs registres secondaires complètent la nomenclature des livres de l'agence.

On voit, par ce qui précède, avec quel soin la Société tient note de ses opérations et les mesures qu'elle prend pour en assurer le succès. L'asile de la rue Mézières, dont la création remonte à l'année 1846, a été très-utile aux jeunes libérés, surtout dans ces temps de crise politique et commerciale que nous venons de traverser. Mais aussi il a occasionné à l'Œuvre de notables sacrifices pour son appropriation et pour la nourriture des enfants qu'il renferme. Ces sacrifices ont profité exclusivement aux jeunes libérés, et tandis que leurs

dépenses vont en augmentant, les traitements des employés<sup>(1)</sup> de l'agence restent stationnaires, bien que l'asile exige de la part de ces derniers un surcroît de travail et d'assiduité.

Les ressources de la Société se composent du produit des collectes que les jurys font à son profit, de subventions que lui accordent le conseil municipal et la préfecture de la Seine, de rentes qui lui ont été léguées, du montant des prix de journée à 70 c. que lui alloue le ministre de l'intérieur pour l'entretien des libérés provisoires, etc.

Elle a reçu, en outre, sur les fonds de ce département, à titre de subventions extraordinaires, 51,450 fr.

Enfin le gouvernement, pour reconnaître les services qu'elle a rendus, lui a conféré l'existence légale par une ordonnance royale du 9 juin 1843.

Depuis le mois de mai 1833, époque de sa fondation jusqu'au 31 décembre 1853, la Société a patronné 2,155 enfants (2), libérés provisoirement ou définitivement.

252 ont renoncé au patronage, 124 ont été abandonnés comme incorrigibles, 112 sont décédés; 964 ont cessé d'être patronnés à l'expiration des trois années; 144 libérés provisoires ont été réintégrés dans des maisons de correction, 506 sont tombés en récidive, dont 88 avaient appartenu à la catégorie des libérés provisoires; 16 ont été placés dans des hospices comme aliénés; le reste a disparu.

Pendant cette période de vingt années, la Société a fait 457,265 fr. 55 c. de recettes; ses dépenses ont été de 381,824 fr. 89 c. Elle avait donc en sa possession, à la fin de 1853, 75,440 fr. 66 c., somme importante qui témoigne de la bonne administration de l'Œuvre, en même temps que de l'utile assistance que lui ont prêté gouvernement et particuliers.

Les recettes de la Société ont été de 25,947 fr. 33 c. en 1854. Les dépenses se sont élevées à 25,342 fr. 10 c. pour 294 jeunes libérés provisoires et définitifs. Chaque enfant a donc coûté, en moyenne, environ 89 fr. Dans ce chiffre, on a fait entrer les dépenses de toute nature, les traitements des agents de l'asile, et une somme de 3,371 fr. 10 c. employée en frais de construction et de réparation dans l'établissement de la rue Mézières.

Sur les 294 enfants que la Société a patronnés en 1854, 65 se sont très-bien conduits; 127 se sont bien conduits; 24 ont laissé à désirer; 13 se sont mal comportés; 1 a disparu; 23 ont renoncé au patronage après y avoir été plus ou moins longtemps soumis; 7 ont été abandonnés comme incorrigibles; 10 ont été réintégrés au pénitencier de la Rouquette; 20 sont tombés en récidive; 4 sont morts. En déduisant du chiffre total 294, les 23 enfants qui ont renoncé au patronage, les 7 qui ont été abandonnés et celui qui a disparu, il reste 263 jeunes gens dont 20 sont tombés en récidive, c'est-à-dire 7,60 pour 100. Cette proportion était de 75 pour 100 avant l'établissement de la Société.

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(1) Ces employés sont: un agent comptable à 1,400 fr., un greffier instituteur à 900 fr., un surveillant à 900 fr., un agent de placement à 800 fr., une femme de charge à 300 fr.; le concierge reçoit 360 fr.

(2) Ces enfants sortaient du pénitencier cellulaire de la Rouquette.

Pendant la même année 1854, la moyenne des patronnés couchés à l'asile a été de 14 par jour, et celle des patronnés nourris dans l'établissement, de 17. La moyenne des enfants qui ont assisté aux réunions tenues à l'asile le premier dimanche de chaque mois a été de 80. Ces chiffres démontrent l'utilité de cette institution.

Il y à Paris une autre Société, très-digne d'intérêt, qui s'occupe du patronage des jeunes filles du département de la Seine, détenues libérées et abandonnées. Fondée par madame de Lamartine et par madame la marquise de la Grange, née Caumont-la-Force, cette Œuvre, depuis 1841 jusqu'au 31 décembre 1853, a étendu son action sur 178 jeunes détenues : 102 ont été placées par ses soins ; 10 sont tombées en récidive ; 66 ont échappé à sa surveillance. Un quartier d'éducation correctionnelle est annexé à cet établissement, dans lequel madame la marquise de la Grange s'efforce d'introduire toutes les améliorations que lui inspire l'élévation de ses sentiments (1).

La Société, pour le patronage des jeunes libérés du Rhône, mérite une mention spéciale pour avoir essayé de prendre sous sa tutelle des sujets appartenant à la classe malheureusement trop nombreuse des jeunes gens mendiants ou vagabonds, qui, bien que n'ayant pas été jugés, n'en sont pas moins un fléau pour le pays. Le dernier compte rendu, publié par la Société en 1847, indique que de 1840 à 1846 elle a pris soin de 22 enfants vicieux non jugés. 16, dont les dispositions morales nécessitaient une surveillance incessante, ont été enfermés au refuge d'Oullins ; on a placé les six autres en apprentissage chez des artisans. 8 de ces enfants se sont bien conduits ; 8 autres ont souvent fait preuve de paresse ou d'insoumission ; 3 sont restés chez leurs maîtres, 1 est retourné dans sa famille. Ces 22 enfants ont coûté à la Société 9,810 fr. 20 cent. ou 445 fr. 91 cent. par tête.

Depuis 1836, époque de sa fondation, jusqu'au 31 décembre 1853, la Société des jeunes libérés du Rhône a patronné 305 de ces enfants. Elle en a placé 279, et 26 se sont engagés. Ces deux catégories ont fourni 68 récidives, ce qui établit entre la récidive et la libération une proportion d'environ 22 pour cent.

## II.—*Patronage administrative.*

Voici comment s'exerce ce patronage, qui a été institué par une décision ministérielle du 17 février 1847. Au moment où un jeune libéré sort d'une maison de correction, le Directeur de l'établissement adresse au ministre de l'Intérieur un rapport dans lequel sont indiqués les dispositions morales et religieuses de l'enfant, le degré de son intelligence, le métier qui lui a été enseigné, le lieu où il a déclaré devoir fixer sa résidence. Les préfets sont chargés de transmettre un résumé de ces documents aux maires des communes dans lesquelles les jeunes libérés ont établi leur domicile, et ces fonctionnaires ont à leur tour à faire connaître tous les six mois à l'administration supérieure quels sont les mœurs, les habitudes, les relations et les moyens d'existence de ces enfants. Les municipalités recuei-

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(1) Madame Lechevalier, inspectrice générale des prisons, a pris une part très-active aux travaux de cette Société.

lent avec le plus grand empressement les renseignements qui leur sont demandés. Mais un patronage qui a seulement pour objet d'observer les actes d'un jeune libéré sans lui venir en aide aux époques de chômage, est à peu près illusoire. D'un autre côté, comme les maires se mettent ordinairement en communication avec les libérés par l'intermédiaire des sergents de ville ou des gardes champêtres, qui n'apportent pas dans ces relations tous les ménagements nécessaires, la position de ces enfants est bientôt connue ; et ceux qui les employaient s'empressent de les renvoyer, croyant avoir affaire à des condamnés placés sous la surveillance de la haute police. Des instructions ont été adressées, il est vrai, aux préfets dans le but de remédier à ces graves inconvénients, et l'on ne pouvait faire davantage en l'absence d'une loi qui permit d'adopter des mesures plus efficaces ? Quoi qu'il en soit, voici quels ont été les résultats du patronage administratif pendant l'année 1853. Les maires ont recueilli des renseignements sur 861 libérés, dont 124 jeunes filles.

197 garçons et 68 filles se sont soustraits au patronage en changeant de résidence et en cachant le lieu de leur nouveau domicile.

Out tenu une conduite

satisfaisante, 304 garçons et 36 filles ;

douteuse, 97 garçons et 12 filles ;

mauvaise, 52 garçons et 5 filles.

49 garçons et 3 filles sont tombés en récidive.

Il y a eu 38 enrôlements dans l'armée de terre et dans la marine.

La récidive (en déduisant les enfants disparus) a été de 9 pour 100 parmi les garçons et de 5 pour 100 parmi les filles.

### III.—*Patronage des Établissements.*

Au moment de leur sortie des établissements d'éducation correctionnelle, les jeunes détenus reçoivent, des vêtements convenables et des secours de route. Les directeurs de plusieurs colonies ont senti la nécessité de suivre dans la vie libre ceux de ces enfants qui étaient orphelins ou qui n'auraient pas trouvé au sein de leur famille les soins et les conseils indispensables pour les maintenir dans la bonne voie. Parmi les établissements qui se sont occupés avec le plus de fruit de leurs libérés, nous citerons la colonie de Mettray, la maison d'éducation correctionnelle de Bordeaux dirigée par M. l'abbé Buchou, celle de Marseille fondée par M. l'abbé Fissiaux, et celle de Toulouse, dont le fondateur, M. l'abbé Barthier, a organisé dans cette ville une Société de patronage.

Depuis 1841 jusqu'au 31 décembre 1853, la colonie de Mettray a prêté assistance à 953 libérés sortis de son sein : 18 se sont soustraits à ce bienveillant contrôle ; 307 ont été placés par l'établissement ; 157 ont été engagés dans l'armée ; 6 sont restés dans l'établissement comme employés ; 4 sont attachés à des corporations religieuses ; 61 sont entrés dans la marine ; 66 ont été pris par le recrutement militaire ; 231 sont retournés auprès de leurs parents ; 103 sont tombés en récidive. Déduction faite des 18 disparitions, on trouve que la récidive a été de 11 pour 100.

Les libérés de Mettray qui se rendent à Paris y reçoivent les soins

de l'agent général, M. Paul Verdier qui apporte à cette œuvre de dévouement une abnégation et un zèle au-dessus de tout éloge (1).

Les nombreux établissements conventuels auxquels l'État confie des jeunes filles détenues conservent dans leurs refuges celles qui, à l'époque de leur libération, se trouvent sans famille ou sans moyens d'existence. Les principaux sont la solitude de Nazareth, près Montpellier (2), le refuge du Dorat dans la Haute-Vienne, le couvent du Bon-Pasteur d'Angers et les communautés qui en dépendent.

Une enquête récente a porté à 12,464 le nombre de jeunes détenus des deux sexes sortis depuis 1837 jusqu'au 31 décembre 1853, des établissements d'éducation correctionnelle publics et privés. Sur ce nombre, on n'a constaté que 528 récidives ; mais aussi a-t-il été impossible de savoir ce qu'était devenue la majeure partie de ces enfants qui ont dérobé leurs traces en changeant de nom ou de résidence, afin de commencer une nouvelle vie, ou de persévérer dans leurs anciennes habitudes. Il est plus que probable que la plupart des garçons auront contribué à grossir la population de nos établissements pénitentiaires. Quant aux jeunes filles le sort de beaucoup d'entre elles aura été plus funeste et plus déplorable. En présence de ces faits, est-il besoin de démontrer la nécessité d'un patronage obligatoire, à la fois secourable et répressif, surtout après avoir signalé les services de cette institution tout incomplète qu'elle est encore.

Jules de LAMARQUE.

*Documents à consulter.*

Loi des 13 juin, 3 juillet et 5 août 1850 sur l'éducation et le patronage des jeunes libérés.

Statistique des prisons et établissements pénitentiaires.

Statistique criminelle.

Etudes sur le système pénitentiaire et les Sociétés de patronage, par M. R. Allier.

Rapport sur un projet de transportation, etc., par M. Louis Perrot.

Les condamnés libérés, par M. A.-E. Cerfberr.

François Perrin ou épreuve et réhabilitation d'un libéré, par M. Léon Vidal.

Comptes rendus de la Société de patronage de Paris, par M. Béranger de la Drôme.

Rapport de madame de Lamartine sur les jeunes filles libérés.

Tableau de la situation morale et matérielle des jeunes détenus, par M. Bucquet.

Comptes rendus de la Solitude de Nazareth, par M. l'abbé Coaral.

Our good friend, Mr. Thomson of Banchoory, who is well known to our readers as the author of *Prevention Better than Cure*, and also as the chief advocate of the Aberdeen Indus-

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(1) M. L. Alcan doit être également cité comme s'occupant du placement des libérés de Mettray.

(2) Voir la notice que nous avons consacrée à la *Solitude de Nazareth* dans les *Annales* du 1<sup>er</sup> novembre 1853.



trial Schools, has kindly forwarded to us the following interesting and important document, which reached us only as we were going to press:—

*Reformatory for Juvenile Offenders at Oldmill, near Aberdeen.*

“At a Public Meeting, held within the Court-house of Aberdeen, on Wednesday the 18th July, 1855, with reference to the Establishment of a Reformatory for Juvenile Offenders, at Oldmill near Aberdeen—On the motion of the Lord Provost of Aberdeen, the Right Hon. the Earl of Kintore was called to preside. By the request of his Lordship, the meeting was opened with prayer by the Rev. Dr. Pirie of Marischal College.

The noble Chairman said, the object of the meeting had been so well stated in the valuable report which had appeared in the newspapers, that it was not his purpose in presence of those assembled to detain them long with any remarks of his in commencing the proceedings. He thought it would be admitted by all that the cause of youth was a sacred one. When they looked at a little boy or girl, and thought what that boy or girl by the commission of sin or abstinence from it might become, they must feel that the matter was a solemn one. All of them who were parents endeavoured in the circle of their own homes, by God's grace, ‘to train up their children in the way they should go,’ having the promise that ‘when they were old they would not depart from it.’ It was a blessed privilege to tell the child that he cannot advance one step in the divine life or in the path of duty on earth without looking to Jesus. And if we felt so deep an interest in those in our own circle, must not our feelings of charity rise towards the hundreds and thousands of children we see cast out around us in our large towns. Was he wrong in thinking that their sympathies were not confined to their own circle? He was sure this would not be the case. Scotchmen had kind hearts, he knew they would not willingly allow their brethren to perish. He was glad to see so many gentlemen here to-day to testify that they at least wished a commencement to be made in this work. (cheers.) In your principal streets you may not find any of those poor outcast children, but go to the outlets, to your closes, and wynds, and ah! you will see sights there that must make the christian man's heart bleed. How has all this vice and misery accumulated? It is sin that has made these children so low in the scale of humanity; but blessed be God, though we are sinners, there are feelings within us which impel us to go on in such a work as this. We will go on and seek to place these children in that state of life which in God's providence they might be fitted for. Was it by recourse to police courts, by gaols, by enforcing the law in all the hardness and severity of justice that they would do this? He knew they would not, for in this age blessed mercy as well as justice has its reign. (Applause.) But we must not stop with merciful feelings and allow them to evaporate at a public meeting; this would be mere sentiment. Sentiment we repudiate. What we want is practical mercy exerted in its proper place. They must all be aware there was situated near this town, by the liberality of an individual whom we cannot forget—

the late Dr. Watt—a place suitable for carrying out this work, and set up in order that this object might be practically attended to. They know that acting upon this scheme we take in poor children to the House of Refuge in Aberdeen, and snatch them as brands from the burning. But stopping here, we might often as well have nothing to do with them. We must not allow them to go back with the tide, for if they return to those homes of misery and vice, say whether they could be benefited in this way? They would at once say No. There was a scheme to draft these children from the House of Refuge, and place them in an institution which might be called in practical language a model house, where they would receive not only mere intellectual instruction, which was good in its place, but one could be set to work in the carpenter's shop, another to learn the duties of a servant within doors, each according to his ability, so as to carry into force that divine command—'Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do with thy might.' (cheers.) He was sure they would have reason to thank God if they pursued the work, trusting in him—doing it as a duty to these children—as due to the memory of Dr. Watt—as a public duty of the citizens of Aberdeen; and he said it with reverence, it was their bounden duty to be up and doing, as a small token of their love and gratitude to our Lord and Saviour, who came to seek and save those who were lost. (Applause.) As Christians they should love as He had loved, and try to do something for his cause. He knew they would not stop with this public meeting, that would be like the rising of the river again to subside. Let them imitate the river in its course, and sail down with the tide in this boat of humanity. Let them use the means at their command, and they would find many of these children turning useful members and ornaments to society. He had been speaking to his friend Sir J. Dalrymple, who had suggested sending the boys to our navy. He (the Chairman) approved of this, and trusted many of them would take their places with honour in both the navy and army, as well as in other stations of life, for it was not rank nor wealth, but the zeal with which work was gone into that made them fit to act well their part in life. We must not stop with a commencement, but go on and on, so that generation after generation will thank God that we have been enabled to set this Institution agoing. His Lordship concluded by commending the Institution to the prayerful consideration of the meeting, urging all to take a practical interest in it by becoming not only subscribers, but visitors, and aiding it on to the highest point of usefulness. (Loud cheers.)

Sir J. D. H. Elphinstone moved.—'I. That this meeting concurring in the report of the Directors of the House of Industry and Refuge, recognises the proposed establishment of a Reformatory at Oldmill as a measure deeply affecting the best interests of society, and one which ought to receive the co-operation of this and the adjoining counties.'—He entirely agreed in the sentiments expressed in this resolution. Without going over facts relating to this proposed Institution which were already completely before the inhabitants of Aberdeen, it was impossible to pass the resolution without stating that he fully concurred in the very great importance to society of

Reformatories, and the great advantage which the Reformatory at Oldmill, carried out in a practical and judicious manner, was likely to confer upon the inhabitants of this city. He had for long doubted whether it was consistent with the spirit of justice that a child should be sentenced to punishment for crime, when it had not, by moral instruction, been taught to know right from wrong, and that feeling was becoming more universal, and hence reformatory institutions had originated. From communications he had seen from Mr. Baker—a friend of his who, with the assistance of a neighbour, had established a very interesting Reformatory on his property near Gloucester—founding upon his (Mr. B's) experience, together with that of the Industrial Schools here—he (Sir James) was clearly of opinion that these schools should be established, not only in every town and considerable community, but that they should not be left entirely to eleemosynary aid, for their funds should be supplemented by the country, in order to the carrying out their object in the most efficient manner. They had abundant proof in the report of evidence taken before a Committee of the House of Commons, which was of great value to all taking an interest in this question, of the expediency of such Reformatory Schools. In setting the School agoing, it was necessary first to erect a suitable building. This building should be in the plainest style—a mere shell, leaving as much as possible for the inmates to perform. This was granted by everybody who had taken an interest in the matter. Again, to begin with too many children was an error. Though they might have as many as 100 boys in schools fully formed, the nuclei should be small. In the outset, it seemed ten were as many as could be overtaken. These should be all about one age, and should be brought completely under control before their number was increased. With respect to the professions which it was most desirable to turn their attention to, as respects the Reformatory at Oldmill, they would be in such a position as few would possess. The extent of land would allow them not only to experiment, but practically to educate the boys in many professions in which labour was in great demand, for instance, gardening and farming, and, what he would particularly recommend—the management of sheep, which qualified boys for readily obtaining situations of trust in New South Wales. With regard to his suggestion as to the boys entering the navy, to which his noble friend in the Chair had alluded, he remembered being on board the Victory, the commander of which was a friend of his own, some years ago, and on board that vessel were several boys, who had been sent from the Industrial School at Edinburgh, and he was told they were the best boys on board the ship. Certainly they were the strongest and best-looking boys. When he went there they were prosecuting their studies with the naval instructor, and decidedly in advance of any boys on board the ship. He had the curiosity to enquire about the boys a few years after, and found that in every ship they had gone on board they received the best character, and were likely to turn out first-rate seamen. The education they received on board men-of-war, to each of which a naval instructor was attached, was such as fitted them for being mates of merchantmen, to keep accounts, &c.,

and the treatment was in every respect good. Keeping this in view, he thought it would not be a bad thing to devote a few of them to the navy. (Cheers.) He would not go further into the subject, as he was happy to see Mr. Thomson present, who would second the resolution, and whose information on the matter before the meeting was probably more extensive than that of any one here. Sir James concluded by expressing his conviction that the resolution would be adopted unanimously by the meeting.

Mr. Thomson of Banchory seconded the resolution, He fully concurred in the remarks of his Lordship, as well as in the practical remarks of Sir James; and he trusted the result of this meeting would be effectually to establish a Reformatory at Oldmill. Such an institution must have several objects in view. They are to be considered as places of repentance for delinquents, as places for training them to useful lives, as places, generally speaking, of reformation. The meeting was aware that criminals were a peculiar class of our people. There were very few crimes, indeed, committed by what he might call casual offenders: the great bulk is committed by persons who are trained to crime as a regular trade or profession, by which they gain their means of support; and all the experience of those criminals themselves is that that service is a hard service. Pursued for a series of years, they find a life of crime a life of sorrow and misery. Perpetually watched by the officers of the law, and consequently exposed to trial and punishment, they generally come to find, after a term of years, that on every account it would be better for them to abandon a life of crime, and turn to a life of honesty. At this stage they were ready for our Reformatories, and on this opportunity we mean to act. When the criminal is at last thoroughly convinced that, for his own sake, he is living a foolish as well as criminal life, then is the time for such an institution to open its doors, and invite him to commence a new life. It may appear to some a hopeless thing to reform a practised thief. We know how crime added to crime hardens the heart and sears the conscience; but we know also, and should realize it in our daily experience, that the greatest criminals may be reformed—that even the greatest sinner may be converted. It is not man's work, but God employs human instrumentality to effect his end. His grace can change the heart of the chief of sinners. The best of men, those who know their own hearts, will be most willing to look on the criminal as one who may be amended, and would be the last to say to their fellow-man, you are so wicked that there cannot be hope for you. Thus, then, looking at the question in this light would lead us to hope for success in such efforts as the present. Consider how those parties are treated in prison. He greatly admired our system of prison discipline, which he believed to be nearly as good as it could be made. But there are inherent defects in it which prevent it from exerting a reformatory influence on criminals. When you get a prisoner within the four walls of a prison, he instantly ceases to be a responsible agent. He is living under strict rules, wisely and prudently administered by governors, chaplains, and warders. He has no liberty of his own, but must conform to every rule of the prison;

so that, while he remains in prison, you can form no real judgment whether his character has undergone any change or not. He is little better than a machine; he almost ceases for the time to be a man, he becomes a piece of clockwork. He must rise in the morning at a given hour, get breakfast and dine at a given hour, accomplish a certain amount of work, devote a certain part of his time to reading and writing; and all this is done under such a system of necessary constraint, that you cannot judge of his moral character. Doubtless, much good is done in prisons by the instruction given, and by the habits of industry acquired; but still no governor, or chaplain, or any one who has had experience of prisons, will form a very sure conclusion of what a man's character is by his behaviour in prison. Many of these criminals earnestly wish to reform, but what opportunity have they to do so? What encouragement do they receive? How are they treated on quitting the prison, after all the expensive care bestowed on them while within its walls? The laws—the public—make absolutely no provision, no preparation to enable them to become honest citizens; and yet the occasional instances in which success has attended the Christian exertions of a wise and kind Governor or Chaplain, to provide a suitable home and procure remunerative labour, plainly tell us what we ought to do. Look at a prisoner dismissed from gaol, at the expiry of his sentence. He is turned into the street without character—without means of subsistence—without a friend, except, as too often happens, he be met at the prison door by old companions in crime, longing to lead him back to his former habits. His relatives disown him—his former masters naturally fear to employ him—respectable workmen shun and avoid him—refuse to work with him—he has not a farthing in his pocket—what can he do? He has the miserable choice—to starve, or to steal: and instead of wondering that so many return to crime, it may be against their own earnest wishes, the wonder rather is that there even should be one who does not. What we require, and what he had long felt we wanted, was a place between the prison and the open world; a place where the criminal is to a certain extent his own master—a responsible being—but yet so under check and control and encouragement as to have every inducement not to break out into his former habits of sin and crime, and such was the nature of the institution he trusted they would have at Oldmill.

We have had a good deal to do in Aberdeen with Industrial Schools. Now the object of these and Reformatories is in point of fact the same. The object of Industrial Schools is to check crime, by preventing children becoming criminals; that of the Reformatory is to reclaim those who have become criminals and are acknowledged as such. When they first set up Industrial Schools in Aberdeen, they had no examples to copy by, and no other schools from which they could get information or advice; and those who were engaged in carrying them on, had just to trust to sound religious principle and good common sense in their direction. But with regard to Reformatories the matter is different. Of late years not a few had been established. He would allude to two of the best conducted and most useful—he presumed the Institution at Oldmill would be

somewhat like a combination of both. First the Colonial Training Institution, near Westminster Abbey in London. The history of that Institution confirmed a remark made by Sir J. Dalrymple, that they ought not to begin with too many scholars. Mr. Nash commenced it with two pupils, and the second day one of these ran away, so that in point of fact he began with one pupil. He applied the only treatment that could ensure success—thoroughly kind and affectionate treatment—to the young persons under his care; he taught them to know that he loved them, that his every exertion was only intended for their good. His Institution rapidly increased. It was at first held in a miserable building, so wretched as to be a fitting type of the moral condition of its miserable inmates. When he (Mr. T.) saw it first, there were twenty or thirty pupils; now there are at all times at least one hundred in a very neat building. The great principle Mr. N. applies in teaching, is to show the pupils that he loves and places confidence in them, and it is only thus that you can expect any good from them. In this institution a test is applied to see whether they wish to reform or not. Any person seeking admission—the more criminal he may have been before, the more welcome he is made—must consent to live a fortnight on bread and water, sleep on the bare floor, and remain in a room by himself, having no communication with any of the other inmates. If he stand this test—a pretty severe one—it is then supposed that he is sincere in his desire for amendment, and he is admitted and set to work, and trained to some of the various industrial employments taught in the school.

In this particular school, the greater part were trained with a view of being sent to the Colonies—hence its name. Now what had been the result. By the fourth annual report, when it had been five years in existence—he found that 257 persons had left the institution, and the Managers had been able to keep sight of every one of them—in this country, America, and Australia. And of the 257, 256 were known to be living respectable, useful, and honourable lives. (Cheers.) One man only, and he remained in this country, had fallen into idleness and vice through drink. Never, he believed, had a moral experiment succeeded better; and to show the progress of opinion that had taken place in regard to the institution, Mr. Nash, when he commenced with his two pupils, was wholly unknown. Gradually the institution grew and attracted public notice, and received the valuable support and energetic superintendence of Lord Ashley, now Earl Shaftesbury. Now it is one of the best known institutions in London, and occupies a good share of attention in Parliamentary speeches and blue books, and had been copied in many places throughout the country.

The other institution to which he had referred was at Redhill, partly supported at the public expense. There was a farm of 150 acres, and from 100 to 200 boys, part of them under sentences, and the others sent by parents or guardians who paid their board. Their treatment was similar to that of the inmates of the institution already spoken of, and they were well employed on the farm. The farm is surrounded only by a slight fence, and there is nothing to prevent

them escaping except the knowledge that they will not be admitted again; yet there have been only two or three attempts at escape. One pleasant feature of these institutions is the honest pride the inmates themselves take in them. One or two cases of thefts, by inmates, had taken place in the Reformatory, and the thieves had absconded. The others had their pride aroused—they were indignant at the crime, and spared no exertion till the culprits were brought to trial and convicted; thus showing that, in the course of a few months, perhaps a few weeks, the inmates had thoroughly learned to appreciate the instruction they received, and that they were not ungrateful to those who had shown kindness to them. It was unnecessary for him farther to detain the meeting, after what had been so well stated by the noble Chairman and Sir James. 'Your Lordship has stated,' continued Mr. T., 'that you take a deep interest in the object of this meeting. If I am not mistaken, you appear for the first time presiding over a meeting of the inhabitants of Aberdeen. I rejoice you have chosen for your first appearance so important an occasion. (Cheers.) I trust you will often favor us with your presence to see how the institution is progressing, and I hope you will never have reason to regret that you have been so far the means of setting it agoing.' I beseech the meeting not to delay—delay is dangerous. I can never forget an incident in connection with the Colonial Training Institution. A young man, twenty years of age, applied there for admission, and could not be admitted for want of room. He applied a second time, and was told, truly, that he could only be admitted by some of the others being turned out. He went away, and fell among his old associates, and, in six weeks thereafter, he died on the scaffold a convicted murderer; and among the last words he uttered to the Clergyman in attendance on him were—'O, Sir, if I had been admitted into the Reformatory, I would not have been here this day.' I say, then, do not delay in carrying forward this Institution. Remember, there is 'joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons who need no repentance.' (Applause.)

Sheriff Watson moved—II. that the following gentlemen be named a Committee to procure subscriptions, and aid the Directors of the House of Refuge in the accomplishment of the object in view:

The Right Hon. the Earl of Kintore, Sir James D. H. Elphinstone, Bart., Alexander Thomson, Esq. of Banchory, Alex. Wallace Chalmers, Esq., Governor of Prisons, Thomas Todd, Esq., Manufacturer, Frederick Holland, Esq., Manufacturer, John Blaikie, Esq. of Craigiebuckler,—Mr. Thomson of Banchory, *Convener*. After the excellent addresses they had heard, it was unnecessary to detain the meeting at any length, but he would just add a word or two in corroboration. Allusion had been made to the establishment of Industrial Schools. The sole object of these, as they all knew, was to prevent young children, who were uncared for, falling into crime. No sooner were they established, than they felt that they had proceeded but one step in the right direction. They all knew that the parents were poor, and many of them dissolute; and though they could prevent the children falling into crime for a few years or months,

yet when they left these schools for employment, still young and ignorant, they fell back into the associations that surrounded their own homes, for they were never separated altogether from these—they fall into bad habits, and soon forget, or rather are unable to carry out, the instruction they received at school, and become criminals. We have only one way of doing with criminals, and he agreed it was unjust to treat as a criminal a poor child who has been kept in ignorance. The magistrate has no other treatment to give, he must punish the child either by imprisonment or by stripes: a few stripes can have little effect, and a few days' imprisonment less, and the result is, that the child is sent from the whipping-post or the prison, having no course to pursue but that of sin and error. A life of crime ensues, which ends in transportation. It had always been felt as a great want, in this and every large town, that there was no Reformatory Institution, where a child who has been convicted of crime could be received. The Industrial school is closed against such a one, and he has no help but pursue a course of crime. This Institution contemplates the care and treatment of the person who has been subjected to punishment, and he trusted many children who had fallen into bad habits, and who, although they had been for years known to be following dishonest courses, had never been brought to trial, would also be sent—there were many such, as was well known to the police, and nothing should prevent them being sent, as well as those who had been convicted. All the want was funds. Allusion had been made to Dr. Watt's liberality—it was in consequence of his munificent donation of £3,000 that the Reformatory School had been suggested. And he hoped, as we had begun the first Industrial School here, we should begin the first Reformatory, for, although Dr. Guthrie had raised considerable funds, they had no land at Edinburgh, whereas we have fifty to sixty acres within three miles of Aberdeen. What was mainly wanted was a suitable building, erected at the cheapest possible rate—as Dr. Watt had directed, with not one shilling expended on ornament. They had plans of a very plain kind for a shell of a building, to be completed by the workmen as it was occupied; still a considerable sum was required, and he trusted there would be no delay in this Committee taking steps, in conjunction with the Directors of the House of Refuge. The House of Refuge had been commenced with £1,000 from Dr. Watt; this sum had also been increased to £2,000, and the Institution had now been conducted for many years with efficiency. The Industrial Schools had started without much money, and have been successful. This should encourage them in their present endeavour—still, if money was needed in commencing any institution, it was in commencing such an Institution as that proposed at Oldmill. (Applause.)

F. HOLLAND, Esq., manufacturer, seconded the resolution. He claimed the privilege of a seconder in being brief, but, in one or two words, would state that he felt deeply the importance of such an institution as that contemplated by the meeting. In his (Mr. H.'s) position he had been able to give employment to many hundreds, most of them being entered at the earliest age at which they were capable of it; and he had well observed the results of both idleness



and industry. Upon this he founded his opinion that, in effecting a practical reformation in the habits of many, the proposed institution would be second to none in the kingdom. He trusted the good which would thus be accomplished would shortly be seen. Aberdeen enjoyed a reputation from her Ragged or Industrial Schools, and, judging from the manner in which these schools had been supported and managed, he hoped the Institution they were met to inaugurate would add to that reputation, and would not only be one of the first of its kind, but would constitute a model to others. He thought there was an appropriateness in commencing such an undertaking in the Court-House, for it was here that the worst effects of idleness were often seen. He trusted we should soon see a lighter calendar of offences, and a diminution of crime, resulting in a large measure from the working of the Institution they were met to set agoing. (Applause.)

The resolutions having been unanimously agreed to,

The Lord Provost said, a very pleasing duty now devolved on him, and one which, he was well aware, would be heartily responded to by every person who heard him. They must all feel indebted to the noble Earl for coming here to-day, and for his able advocacy of the Institution, the establishment of which we are all so anxious for. He trusted the gentlemen who had been appointed a Committee, to act along with the Directors of the House of Refuge, would enter immediately upon their labours, and he felt well convinced they would meet with a cordial reception, not merely from the inhabitants of Aberdeen, but that, throughout the country, subscriptions would be liberal. After what had been so well said as to the establishment of a Reformatory, and so warmly received by this numerous meeting, he did not think it necessary to add one word; but he now asked the meeting to express their heartfelt thanks to the noble Earl for his kindness in presiding here to-day, and for the excellent manner in which he had conducted the business of the meeting. (Loud cheers.)

The noble Chairman acknowledged the compliment. He felt beside such men as Sheriff Watson, Mr. Thomson, and Sir James, as a beginner in this cause, and wished the meeting to regard him as such. He earnestly trusted that the Institution would be the means of doing such good, that many who might be brought under its influence would have reason to thank God for its establishment.

KINTORE, *Chairman.*

The following is the report referred to by the noble Chairman :—

**REPORT** to the **DIRECTORS** of the **ABERDEEN HOUSE** of **INDUSTRY** and **REFUGE**, by a **Committee** of their number appointed to take steps for carrying into effect the Industrial and Reformatory objects of the Institution.

At the last annual Meeting of Subscribers to the Aberdeen House of Industry and Refuge, held 12th September, 1854, the following resolution was adopted, consequent on a report then presented by the Directors, namely: ' That this Meeting earnestly recommend to the Directors now appointed to take immediate and active steps, by

themselves or committees of their number, for carrying into effect the Industrial and Reformatory objects of the Institution, as pointed at in the report now read to the meeting.'

Acting on this resolution, the Directors appointed a Committee of their number to consider and report on this important subject, and the following statement is now submitted by that Committee:—

1. The Aberdeen House of Refuge was established in 1836, as a shelter for the *destitute*, but chiefly 'for the relief and instruction of those young persons who, from the carelessness or loss of parents, were left to wander without a guide and without a home, exposed to every temptation, and too often to the commission of crime.' One of its chief promoters was the late Dr. Watt, of Aberdeen, formerly of Old Deer, whose donation of a thousand guineas, speedily followed by contributions from the public to a large amount, led to the formation of the Institution.

2. Dr. Watt's object from the first was the industrial training of the young, and following out that object, he acquired, and gifted to the Institution in 1839, the lands of Oldmill, situated in the vicinity of Aberdeen—providing in his deed of conveyance, that the principal establishment of the Institution should be transferred to Oldmill, under the designation of the House of Industry and Refuge; that the inmates should be employed in suitable labour; that industry and frugality should be the leading features of the Institution; that the younger inmates should be trained for servants in the colonies, and a spirit of emigration fostered among them; and that the necessary buildings on the property should be constructed on a plan to admit of enlargement for the greatest possible number of inmates at the least possible expense; not one shilling being expended in ornament.

3. For want of means to build at Oldmill, the Directors of the House of Refuge were unable to take immediate steps for its extension in the way contemplated by Dr. Watt, but keeping in view the primary object of the Institution in regard to the industrial training of the young, they sanctioned, in connection with it, the first experiment of an Industrial Feeding School, projected in 1841 by their Vice-President, Mr. Sheriff Watson, and noticed in the House Report for that year as follows:—'In connection with the House of Industry and Refuge, the Committee have much pleasure in calling the attention of their fellow-citizens to the Aberdeen School of Industry, now in operation in Chronicle Lane. The object of the School is to reclaim to habits of industry, and for that end to provide work for those vagrant boys who infest the streets of the city, occupied in begging and stealing. The School is supported by funds raised for its own peculiar object; but in its operation it is supplemental to the House of Industry and Refuge—the boys of which work along with the School inmates in Chronicle Lane, while both classes of inmates are fed at the Refuge, and the School inmates go home at night to their parents.'

4. It was this Industrial Feeding School, thus opened (and still existing) in connection with the House of Refuge, which led to the establishment of those other Industrial Schools in Aberdeen and

elsewhere, the success of which, as a means of reaching and ameliorating the condition of neglected and destitute youth, has been universally admitted. But while such Schools have doubtless accomplished much, and have certainly had the merit of leading public attention to the true principle on which that class of society ought to be treated, it became evident, after ten years' experience, that a farther element was still wanting for their perfect success—namely, compulsory attendance under legislative enactment; and, accordingly, in furtherance of that object, a conference of gentlemen, competent to deal with the question, and convened from Scotland and England, was held at Birmingham, in December, 1851, at which resolutions were adopted of the following import:—

(1.) That the means at present available for the reformation of the juvenile 'perishing and dangerous classes' of society had proved inadequate to check the spread of juvenile delinquency, partly for want of proper Industrial and Reformatory Schools, and partly for want of compulsory attendance.

(2.) That for those children who had not yet become amenable to law, but who, from the vice, neglect, or poverty of their parents, were inadmissible into the existing day schools, the establishment of 'Free Day Schools,' aided by government educational grants, was highly desirable.

(3.) That for those children who had subjected themselves to police interference by vagrancy, mendicancy, or petty infringements of the law, legislative enactments were urgently required in order to aid or establish Industrial Feeding Schools, at which the attendance of such children should be enforced by Magistrates, at the expense of the Parish or some public fund, with relief against parents.

(4.) That legislative enactments were also required for the establishment of Correctional and Reformatory schools for those children who had been convicted of such crimes or offences as involved dishonesty, with power to Magistrates to commit such juvenile offenders to such schools instead of to prison.

5. By this Conference, public attention was awakened to the deep importance of the subject, and several Reformatory schools forthwith sprung up in various parts of England. But the chief result of it was the appointment, in May, 1852, of a select committee of the House of Commons to inquire into the condition of criminal and destitute children; the investigations of which, carried over two sessions of parliament, and reported to the House in June, 1853, embodied an amount of information and evidence which left little more to be known on the subject. They reported, 'that it appears to this Committee to be established by the evidence, that a large proportion of the present aggregate of crime might be prevented, and thousands of miserable human beings, who have before them, under our present system, nothing but a hopeless career of wickedness and vice, might be converted into virtuous, honest, and industrious citizens, if due care were taken to rescue destitute, neglected, and criminal children from the dangers and temptations incident to their position.' This report was followed up by the introduction of a bill into parliament for establishing reformatory schools, which was

withdrawn, owing to the late stage of the session, but on a distinct assurance by Government that the subject would be taken up and dealt with at an early period.

6. To promote the cause thus far advanced, another Conference was summoned, and held at Birmingham, in December, 1853, at which the principles of reformatory agency and the legislative measures necessary for their successful action, were reasserted and discussed; while, about the same time a meeting not less important, was held at Edinburgh, to consider the details of a measure deemed more directly applicable to reformatory and industrial schools in Scotland; the result of all which reiterated expressions of public opinion, so vigorously and earnestly urged, was the introduction into Parliament of those two reformatory measures, which, in August, 1854, were passed into law—the one a Scotch Act, introduced by Mr. Dunlop, titled, ‘An Act to render Reformatory and Industrial Schools in Scotland more available for the benefit of Vagrant Children;’ the other a British Act, introduced by Government, titled, ‘An Act for the better Care and Reformation of Youthful Offenders in Great Britain.’

7. By the Scotch Act, a Magistrate may order any Vagrant boy or girl under fourteen years of age, found begging, or having no home or settled place of abode, or proper guardianship, and without lawful or visible means of subsistence, to be received into ‘any Reformatory School, Industrial School, or other similar Institution, whether established by a parochial board or by an association of individuals,’ there to be detained at the expense of the parents, whom failing, of the parochial board of the boy or girl’s parish, ‘for such period of time as may appear necessary for his or her education and training,’ but not beyond the age of fifteen years without his or her consent; power being given to the Privy Council’s Committee on Education to grant pecuniary aid towards the erection of suitable buildings, and the annual expense of such institutions.

By the British Act, a Magistrate may direct any juvenile offender under sixteen years of age, convicted of any offence punishable by law, whose sentence shall be one of imprisonment for at least fourteen days, to be sent, in addition to, and at the expiration of his sentence, to any Reformatory School sanctioned by the Secretary of State, there to be detained at the expense of Government (failing the cost being recovered from parents), for a period of not less than two, and not exceeding five years; with power to the Secretary of State at any time to order the offender’s discharge.

The Establishment of Free Day Schools, as suggested in the second of the Conference resolutions, was found not to be attainable in connection with Government aid.

8. These two legislative measures are not to be accepted of as perfect or final. They are merely relative to a system of reformatory and industrial training which itself is but of yesterday, and is still in a progressive and experimental condition. But a great object has been accomplished; the cause of neglected youth has been pleaded and gained; the principle of reformation as opposed to mere punishment has been affirmed and stamped with the highest sanction which the country could give it; and it now remains for each par-

ticular section of the community to work out this social problem, with those variations of operation which, tested by experience, will eventually lead to the improvement and perfection of the system generally.

9. Returning now to the Aberdeen House of Industry and Refuge, which thus stands historically connected with the cause of Industrial and reformatory training, there appears to be a concurrence of circumstances pointing to this Institution as the one of all others connected with the city and county of Aberdeen, from which an advance in this cause ought to proceed. The property of Oldmill, fifty-four acres in extent, and distant about three miles from Aberdeen, is peculiarly well adapted, from its situation and command of water, for agricultural and industrial purposes generally. The property and funds of the Institution are worth £5,700, including £3000 as the value of Oldmill, of which a portion may be applied for building purposes. The Directors are now relieved from any obligation to provide for a Penitentiary at Oldmill as contemplated by Dr. Watt, inasmuch as an institution of that nature will soon be established in the vicinity of Aberdeen, under Mr. Harvey of Beedlieston's Trust, which recently came into operation with much larger means at command for that object than Dr. Watt's Trust could have afforded; while in regard to the general purposes of the House of Refuge as originally established, the claims for admission are now fewer, and the expenditure therefore less than formerly, in consequence of the greater facilities which exist for the disposal of cases by means of industrial schools, parish poor-houses, and the operation of the new poor-law generally.

10. With reference to the particular plan to be adopted in the establishment of the proposed Reformatory and Industrial School at Oldmill, your Committee cannot at present do more than indicate a few leading considerations, leaving details for subsequent reports, if necessary. No special rules are prescribed by the statutes referred to, nor among the various industrial or reformatory institutions existing in Scotland and England, are any two, perhaps, to be found conducted on the same footing. The promoters of every such institution are left to follow the plan most in accordance with their own particular views, and the circumstances of the locality where the scheme may be tried. Your Committee are of opinion:—

*First*.—That the Reformatory and Industrial School to be established at Oldmill should be considered as the principal Institution under Dr. Watt's Trust and the general existing management of the house of Industry and Refuge—the House in town being retained as an appendage, not only as a reception House and for meetings of Managers, but also for the sake of its Night Shelter, and in order that, in a large town like this, there might always be an open door for the destitute. By this arrangement the unity of the Institution would not be materially disturbed, while in regard to its funds and property such arrangement might be held to be necessary.

*Second*.—That the buildings at Oldmill should be commenced on a limited scale at first, and in a plain substantial style, but on a well considered plan, admitting of extension as occasion might require;

the number of inmates being at first also very limited, until a system of training should be thoroughly tried, approved of, and adopted.

*Third*.—That beyond all other requisites, a properly qualified Governor should be engaged, with a salary and with accommodation to render the situation desirable and permanent. *On the qualifications of this Officer the success of the Institution would entirely depend.* He must not only be the teacher of the inmates but he must become their friend. No array of management, discipline, or means for mere intellectual instruction or industrial training will avail in reclaiming to permanent habits of virtue and industry, and engrafting into society those poor neglected and vicious youths for whom the Institution is designed, unless such means be also accompanied with an exercise and interchange of the affections between the teacher and the taught. It is by the heart alone that the true melioration of this class can be effected. Without that spring the Institution would be but a prison in disguise. It must be made a *Home*, and the inmates as members of a family must be taught to feel that the Head of the House is their best friend, and that their highest interests here and hereafter form the great object of the Institution and its management. It is, therefore, of the last importance that the Governor should be a man, not merely conscientious in the discharge of his duty, but one imbued with the true spirit of religion, feeling the deep responsibility of his situation, and, having his heart in his work, performing it with the utmost zeal and vigour.

*Fourth*.—That the Institution should not be considered as in any way superseding the Industrial Schools in town, but as auxiliary to them. For want of ulterior means, many of the children who leave these Schools, with no one to guide or look after them, must doubtless fall back into their old courses, and may become the more dangerous to society in proportion to the degree of instruction they may have received. For such as these, the Institution at Oldmill would afford an asylum till, by the confirmation of good habits, the acquisition of some industrial pursuit, and the ability to earn a livelihood, they were fit to be sent out into society. It will also be matter for future consideration how far the Institution, by the adaptation of the buildings and grounds, and the classification of the inmates, could be made available for the benefit of other classes of youth, such as orphans and others boarded out by parishes, or even for adults, who, with the means of paying for their board, might desire a refuge from habits and associates fast leading them to ruin.

Your Committee, as already said, do not propose here to enter into details, because it appears to them that these can only be matured, and well worked out, by the Directors making a commencement on a small scale, and feeling their way, taking such advantage as is attainable from the experience of similar Institutions, although these, in so far as this country is concerned, are as yet in their infancy.

The subject, however, has happily now taken fast hold of the public mind, and it is matter of congratulation to know, that many

persons in this city and county are eager to afford their aid in carrying forward the movement.

Were incitement wanting, it is to be found in the annual report of the talented Governor of the Aberdeen Prison, presented to the Prison Board, on the 7th instant, where the astounding fact occurs, that there exists in this town of Aberdeen an *'organised system of what may be called Training Schools for young thieves, which they are enticed to visit by old experienced criminals, who treat them with some trifling luxuries, supply them with lodgings, instruct them how and what to steal, and receive and dispose of the stolen property'*—a fact well calculated to arouse all to a work which may be hoped, under God's providence, to exercise the most beneficial influence on the framework of society.

Although the funds of the House of Industry and Refuge, and the farm of Oldmill, form an important nucleus for the Institution, more funds are wanting; and it appears to your Committee, that the exertions which now become necessary for the final accomplishment of the scheme should not rest exclusively on a few Gentlemen managing a local charity, but that, by publishing the present or any other report which may be agreed on, the Directors should call the general public to their aid, so that the city and county, and, if it shall be thought fit, the adjoining counties, may be united with them in the formation, on the most Catholic basis, of an Institution worthy of the high objects which are its aim:

*(Subscribed by Members of the Committee.)*

Subscriptions will be received by Alexander Anderson, Advocate, 75, Union Street, Aberdeen, Treasurer; John Watt, Advocate, 2 Correction Wynd, Secretary; By any of the Members of Committee within named; or at any of the Banking Offices in Aberdeen.

In Ireland our Inspectors-General of Prisons, and our Directors of Convict Prisons are carrying out, fully and ably, the principles of enlightened management to which, in our last number, we referred. However, the former gentlemen are thwarted, and their best efforts rendered useless by the absurd system which leaves the appointment of the officers of County prisons in the hands of county authorities. This opinion here expressed is fully supported by the following passages from the reports of the Inspectors-General; referring to Galway prison, Mr. Felton Hervey observes:—

“The defects in this gaol, which have been pointed out on previous inspections, have not been in any case removed, and in some points have materially increased. The want of classification, the very limited employment for females, the now total absence of educational instruction for both sexes, and the insufficient number and additional duties of turnkeys, are all matters to which I venture to call the attention of the authorities; and I beg to suggest to them, that unless they are disposed to entertain the project for the amalga-

mation of the two Galway gaols, they should take some steps to remedy these crying evils; and more especially, to provide some means of instruction for the juveniles, of which class there are, generally, a considerable number in the town gaol."

Referring to the City of Limerick prison, Mr. Hervey writes:—

"This gaol, considering the many defects in its construction, was very clean and orderly and generally in a creditable state; but there are several points to which I wish to direct the attention of the Board, they are—the state of the bedding and clothing, the slovenly appearance of many of the prisoners, the want of proper educational instruction for females, and the insubordinate feeling exhibited by several of the juveniles. With respect to the bedding, I hope, as I have above stated, that the deficiencies will be immediately remedied. As to the clothing, I must urge upon the Board the absolute necessity of taking some steps to supply the prisoners with such prison dresses as will at least, ensure decency; the state of the clothing of some of the juveniles at the time of my visit having been such that I felt considerable difficulty in forbearing to exercise the powers enjoined upon the Inspector-General by the 87th section of 7. Geo. IV., cap 74. Most of the male prisoners had very long hair, which for many reasons is very undesirable. The governor, however, at once ordered their hair to be cut, and will, I hope, take care that this matter is in future attended to. Instruction is very imperfectly imparted to the females by the matron, and no registry of progress is kept. I would suggest that an arrangement should be made to enable the schoolmaster to instruct the females in the presence of the matron, and that a registry similar to that in use for the males should be established.

With respect to the condition of the juveniles, I am induced by various reasons to think that some change in their discipline and management is urgently required. Several of them made evidently frivolous complaints of their dietary; others complained that they were maltreated by the turnkeys, for which charge I could discover no foundation; and generally their bearing and language indicated the necessity of some change in their treatment."

Comment is here unnecessary.



## NOTES OF A VISIT TO THE AGRICULTURAL SCHOOL, GLASNEVIN.

In the Sixteenth Number of *THE IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW*, is a paper entitled "National, Factory, and Reformatory Schools—First Paper, National Schools," we placed before the reader the history of the rise, of the progress, and of the present position of National Education in these Kingdoms, directing our attention, chiefly, to the position of the System, in its literary phases, in Ireland.

With much labor and with considerable care we prepared this paper, for we had, in wading through the two enormous *Blue Books*, forming the *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords, appointed to inquire into the practical working of the System of National Education in Ireland*, no *Index* to guide us, but the labor was to us a labor of love. We believed the system to be as perfect as the constitution of parties and sects in Ireland would permit. We knew that the system had flourished, despite the growls of Protestant Cashel, and notwithstanding the thunders of Roman Catholic Tuam, and we thought then, as we think now, that if the system, in its integrity as a system of MIXED EDUCATION, adapted to a population of MIXED RELIGIONS, who are to be reared to understand and respect each other, religiously and politically, is to be, unfortunately, destroyed, the destruction will come neither from the enmity of Cashel, nor the uncertain alliance of Connaught, but from the insidious plans and schemes of Ossory.\*

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\* We think it right here to state what the plan of the Bishop of Ossory is. He proposes, *in effect*, that for the future all schools approved by the Board, shall be entitled to the grants from the Board, but that each patron shall be at liberty to teach any religion he pleases, at all hours and times, to the pupils, who shall be obliged to attend this instruction, or to leave the school: at *present*, be it remembered, the time of religious instruction must be indicated by the exhibition of a printed notice, that religious instruction is about to commence, and any child whose parents desire its absence from the instruction, can withdraw; therefore, the Ossory plan is not a plan of Mixed Education, and noncompulsive, as the present system.

However, having written the history of the literary progress of the System, we have long contemplated the writing of its industrial phases, and we have arranged that such a history shall appear in our next, the March Number, and we shall then show, not alone what the Irish Commissioners have performed, but shall likewise show the present position of the Industrial branches of the system of instruction promoted by the Council of Education in England.

Meanwhile, we request attention to the following notes, in letter form, of a Visit to the Agricultural School, Glasnevin:—

Sir,—As Agriculture is now assuming a most important feature in the Industrial Education of the poorer classes of Ireland, I am sure, from the interest you have always taken in the cause of popular education, you will be good enough to insert this letter in the forthcoming number of the IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, with a view to lay before its readers, a summary account of what is now being done by the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, to diffuse a knowledge of this all important subject, on the most improved principles, amongst the long neglected peasantry of our country.

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But, in addition, the Bishop of Ossory is unfair in another phase of his scheme; he contends that all schools now established under the Board shall remain *in all points as at present*, and that his plan shall only apply to schools to be established after it shall have been adopted. Now the simple meaning of this is, that many Protestant Bishops, and, as a matter of course, most of their clergy, having been opposed to the National System during these twenty-three years past, shall now be at liberty to obtain the grant, on principles totally opposed to the spirit and letter of the System, whilst the Roman Catholics and Protestants who have aided the Board shall be bound by rules to which they acceded in good faith and honest intentions.

We consider that any such compromise as this must be unfair, and grossly unjust. If THE IRISH NATIONAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION is, after its twenty-three years of usefulness and of wondrous success, to be sacrificed in its great principle—Mixed Education, let all, old and new, claiming under the Board, have common rights as to the mode of religious teaching, and let the country, if it will, encumber itself with a staff of paid Commissioners, and with cohorts of classified Inspectors.

We have written thus, as we are painfully aware that most erroneous opinions prevail, in otherwise well informed quarters, as to the meaning of "The Ossory Scheme."—ED.

To attempt agricultural reform in Ireland some years ago, would subject the peasant to the ridicule of his ignorant neighbours, who, clinging with the greatest tenacity to the system of husbandry pursued by their ancestors, would only laugh at the introduction of any other. Thus it was that agriculture remained, till a few years back, nothing more than a mechanical art, and there is every reason to suppose it would continue so to the present time, had not the sciences of Chemistry and Geology, after a long and difficult struggle, attained their present exalted position in the scientific world, and when there, claimed agriculture as their adopted sister ; then, and then only, did agriculture obtain the appellation of a science, a title which, in the present age, few are likely to question. If ever there was a country requiring the introduction of improved principles in Agriculture, that country is Ireland, and if ever there was an education harmonious to the wants of the Irish people, that education is industrial. The importance of a proper system of agriculture in this country is manifest, from the single fact of two-thirds of the population being actually dependent on land for their support. With this fact before us, it would be difficult to overrate the importance of the great work undertaken by the Commissioners, namely, the Agricultural Education of the Irish peasantry. Not a county of Ireland at the present moment, but has its agricultural schools, and year after year the number of these schools has been steadily increasing. From the last report of the Board of Education, it appears that the average number of agricultural schools in each county in Ireland is five. No less than twenty of these schools have been attached to various workhouses during the past year, making in all 90 workhouse agricultural schools at present in Ireland. The importance of having such schools attached to workhouses, calls forth no comment from me : witnessing the effects of those schools on the inmates of the workhouses I have visited from time to time, it has often occurred to me what a wise thing it would be were the Directors of Prisons in Ireland to take the necessary steps to have such schools established in connection with the Convict Prisons throughout the country.

As it is not my intention at present to enter at any length upon the working of the Agricultural schools under the Board of National Education, I shall confine myself to one I visited a few days since.

The school I refer to is situate about an English mile from Glasnevin, a village in the barony of Coolock, three miles north of the city, and is known as the "*Albert Agricultural Training Institution*," attached to which is a farm comprising 180 statute acres, consisting of arable and pasture lands, and husbanded by the pupils themselves under the superintendence of Dr. Kirkpatrick, a gentleman who has contributed more to raise agriculture to its present state in Ireland, than perhaps any other individual under the British Government.\*

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\* Early in the present year Prince Albert presented Dr. Kirkpatrick with a service of plate, as a testimony of his qualifications, both as a writer and as an agriculturist. Dr. Kirkpatrick is Head Inspector of Agricultural Schools, in connexion with the Commissioners of National Education.

On my arrival at the Albert Institution, I was conducted to the school room, where there was assembled one division of students receiving literary instruction. The other division I was informed was at work. The establishment is so managed that while one division is engaged at study the other is employed on the farm. I subjoin for the information of the public a copy of the prospectus of the Institution, which I have no doubt will be read with interest by the heads of all kindred institutions in the United Kingdom :—

*Prospectus of the Albert National Agricultural Training Institution, Glasnevin, Dublin.*

**PATRONS.**—The Commissioners of National Education in Ireland.

**SUPERINTENDENT.**—Thomas Kirkpatrick, Esq., M.D., Agricultural Inspector.

**LECTURERS.**

*Animal Physiology and Pathology.*—John F. Hodges, Esq., M.D., Professor, Queen's College, Belfast.

*Botany and Vegetable Physiology.*—D. Moore, Esq. M.R.I.A., A.L.S., and Curator, Royal Botanic Gardens, Glasnevin.

*Chemistry and Geology.*—W. K. Sullivan, Esq., Ph.D., Professor and Chemist, Museum of Irish Industry.

*Practical Agriculture.*—Mr. Baldwin.

*Horticulture.*—Mr. Campbell.

**OBJECTS.**—This Institution, which was established by the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, in the year 1838, is designed to supply such instruction both in the *science* and *practice* of Agriculture, as will qualify young men for discharging the important duties of Teachers of Agriculture, Land Stewards, Farmers, &c., &c.

**THE FARM.**—The Farm, which is situated about three miles north of Dublin, and lies between the public roads leading to Santry and Swords, contains 180 statute acres. With a view of exemplifying the most approved systems of culture, various rotations of cropping are followed upon separate divisions of the farm. The system of House-feeding cattle is pursued both Summer and Winter. The arrangements for affording to the pupils as large an amount of information as possible upon every branch of the business of farming, including Dairy Husbandry, the Fattening of Cattle, the Breeding and Rearing of different kinds of Live Stock, the various operations of field culture, and the permanent improvement of the soil, are such as to place within their reach an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the practical details of every department of agriculture.

**THE TRAINING INSTITUTION.**—The Training Institution is situated on the farm. The new buildings (which were completed in 1853) comprise, Dormitories, Dining Hall, Lecture and School-Room for seventy-five resident pupils; Museum, Library, and Laboratory; a comprehen-

sive range of farm-offices, and apartments for the Superintendent, Matron, Land Steward, Second Literary Teacher and Servants.

**MANAGEMENT.**—The chief supervision of the Institution devolves upon the Superintendent. The Agriculturist, who resides on the farm, and is assisted by an efficient Land Steward, carries out the practical working of the farm under the direction of the Superintendent. The Literary instruction of the pupils is conducted by two competent teachers; and a Gardener of practical experience has charge of the Horticultural department.

**INSTRUCTION.**—The course of instruction imparted by the Literary teachers embraces all the branches which constitute a sound English Education; namely, English Grammar and Composition, Arithmetic, Book-keeping, and Mathematics, including Land Surveying, Levelling and Mapping.

Each of the Lecturers of the Institution delivers two sessional courses of lectures, annually. By these lectures, which are illustrated by means of numerous and carefully executed diagrams; valuable collections of minerals; plants, &c., and chemical apparatus, an opportunity is afforded the pupils to acquire a thorough knowledge of the principles of their profession.

In order that the pupils may become fully acquainted with improved practical husbandry they are called upon to take part in the performance of every farm operation—the feeding and management of live stock. They are made practically acquainted with the most recent application of steam power to agricultural purposes, and also with the uses of a very select collection of farm implements.

A Certificate founded on the reports of the Lecturers and Officers, will be granted to each pupil by the Superintendent, at the termination, of his period of training, provided his conduct and proficiency warrant it.

**ADMISSION.**—Two classes are admitted to the institution. The first consists of two divisions, one of which is composed of young men who intend to become Land Stewards, or Farmers, and who are boarded, lodged, and educated at the public expense.

A pupil is admitted into this division by application to the Secretaries on the following conditions, viz.:—

1. That he has acquired fair literary attainments either at one of the minor National Agricultural Schools, or at an elementary National School.

2. That he has attained the age of seventeen years, is of sound constitution, and free from disease.

3. That he produces satisfactory certificates of character, as regards his industrial habits, sobriety and general morality.

The period of training is two years.

The second division of this Class consists of Literary Teachers who are qualifying themselves for conducting Agricultural Schools. The

members of this division are also boarded, &c., gratuitously; and are admitted on the following conditions:—That they have been previously trained in the Literary Department; and are able to produce similar satisfactory testimonials of character, &c., as those required on the part of the first division. The period of training in this division only extends to one year.

The *second Class* is composed of young men who board and lodge at their own expense, in the immediate neighbourhood of the farm.

The members of this Class are admitted upon the following terms:—

1. That they engage in the ordinary farm work.
2. That they attend punctually, with the Intern Pupils, all the lectures delivered at the Institution.
3. That they be amenable to all its rules and regulations.
4. That each pays an entrance fee of two guineas to the Commissioners, which is appropriated to the purchase of Agricultural Books for the Library of the Institution.

No specified time is set apart for the training of "Pupils" of this Class.

#### GENERAL RULES AND REGULATIONS TO BE OBSERVED BY PUPILS.

1. To pay prompt obedience to the orders of all the officers.
2. To attend punctually to all duties as laid down in "Time Table;" and to make no unnecessary noise within the building.
3. To appear in becoming apparel, and to cultivate habits of cleanliness and neatness. To wear slippers always within doors, and "school" coats when at study, and never to wear them out of doors.
4. Smoking and the use of spirituous liquors are strictly prohibited.
5. Not to suffer any garment, book, implement, or other article, to lie about in a slovenly or irregular manner.
6. The expense of repairing or replacing any article belonging to the Institution, injured or mislaid through the carelessness of any pupil, must be borne by him.
7. To observe a respectful, kind, and gentle demeanour in their intercourse with each other.
8. Not to enter the culinary department without permission. Undue intercourse with parties in the neighbourhood is not allowed; and intimacy with the servants of the Institution is prohibited.
9. It is not permitted to become a member of any political society, nor to take part at any meeting of a sectarian character. Newspapers, books, and periodicals, of a political or polemical character, are prohibited; also discussions on these subjects.

10. Neglect of attendance at Divine Worship on Sunday, and other days set apart for religious duty, will be looked on as a serious offence; and pupils are expected to pay strict attention to their respective clergymen, and otherwise attend to their religious duties.

11. No pupil is to wear or injure any article the property of another.

12. Not to leave the premises on any occasion without permission.

13. *Out-Door Labour*.—Both Classes are to engage in all descriptions of farm labour; to exhibit anxiety and zeal in performing same: to take due care of implements, &c., and are liable to be called on for extra work at any busy season of the year.

14. *Yard Officers*.—are appointed in their turn to feed, clean, and otherwise attend to the Live Stock, and to keep the Farm Yard and Offices clean and neat. They are to be assisted by the entire class each morning and night, Sundays and Holydays excepted.

15. *Stable*.—Each pupil is called upon in his turn to take charge of a horse, which he is to clean and litter, under the direction of the ploughman.

## GENERAL TIME TABLE OF THE ALBERT INSTITUTION.

The entire Class is divided into two divisions, A and B, which are so employed, on alternate days that while Class A is at work, Class B is at study, and *vice versa*.

*Summer half year.*

Time.	Employment of Class A, during one day.	Employment of Class B, during the same day.
H.M.		
At 5 0 A.M.	Rise.	Same as Class A.
From 5 0 to 5 30	Dress and say Prayers.	" "
5 30 „ 6 0	Feed and clean Stock, work in Yard and on Farm.	" "
6 0 „ 6 30	Wash, dress, and prepare for Study.	" "
6 30 „ 8 0	Study in School-room.	" "
8 0 „ 9 0	Attend Lecture.	" "
9 0 „ 9 30	Breakfast.	" "
9 30 „ 10 0	Prepare for Study.	Prepare for Work.
P.M.		
10 0 „ 2 0	Literary Instruction.	Work on Farm.
P.M.		
2 0 „ 3 0	Dinner.	Same as Class A.
3 0 „ 6 0	Literary Instruction.	Work on Farm.
6 0 „ 6 30	Relaxation.	Prepare for Study.
6 30 „ 8 30	Study in School-room.	Same as Class A.
8 30 „ 9 0	Supper.	" "
9 0 „ 9 30	Feed and clean Stock.	" "
9 30 „ 10 15	Enter Dormitories; Devotional Exercises; prepare for bed.	" "
10 15	Lights extinguished in Dormitories.	" "

N.B.—In Winter the pupils rise at 6 o'Clock and work till twilight.

By order of the Board,

MAURICE CROSS, }  
JAMES KELLY, } *Secretaries.*

*Office of National Education, Dublin,  
July, 1855.*



This table may be taken as an index to the character of the Institution, which, if equalled, is certainly not surpassed by any other of its kind in Europe. The Institution is at present, I may say, only in its infancy, indeed not completely finished, but even for the short period of its existence it has conferred most important benefits upon the country. The young men who have been trained there from its opening to the present, are now scattered over the country, filling the positions of agricultural teachers, or stewards, or, better still, farming on their own account—the one instructing his pupils on the same principles that he himself was taught, and the others affording by their great skill and knowledge of the soil an example to the neighbouring landed proprietors and farmers, and proving the importance of such an Institution to the country.

The Albert Institution may be considered the Agricultural University of Ireland, but unlike the Queen's Colleges it has its feeders, and therefore is sure of always having a sufficient supply of students. The Commissioners, I am proud to say, did not fall into a similar mistake with the government, under whose auspices those colleges were erected; namely, "to build a house without a stairs." No, Agricultural schools under the National Board always have in readiness pupils to draft to the Albert Institution, every vacancy in which is watched for with almost incredible anxiety, by the friends of pupils who have served the required time in any of those schools, throughout the country. Here let me observe, that no candidate for admission to the Institution is considered qualified unless he has attended a National School for a certain time previously. Of course when I say a candidate for admission, I mean a candidate, whose expenses during the time of training are to be defrayed by the Commissioners of National Education. Those students not having attended National Schools, are obliged to pay the fees mentioned in the prospectus, which I have above inserted.

On leaving the school-room I was conducted to the Dining-room, in which I found seated about ninety students, young men, apparently from eighteen to twenty-four years of age, having placed before them food of the most substantial and wholesome nature, which they appeared to enjoy in a manner that indicated neither want of health nor appetite. Looking on them at the time of dinner, they reminded me of the words of the celebrated and happy Swiss teacher, Vehrli, who one day at dinner with his English guests, Dr. Kay and Mr. Tuffnell, speaking of his pupils and the frugal meal before them, said,

"these potatoes are our own, we won them from the earth, and therefore we need no dainties, for our appetite is gained by labor, and the fruit of our toil is always savory."

After dinner, the class which was working previously on the farm, adjourned to the school-room, there to prosecute its studies, while the other repaired to the farm to supply its place. In going over the farm I was much pleased with everything I saw, but which I cannot fully describe just now. What pleased me more perhaps than all I had seen, was the cheerfulness with which labour, the most menial, was performed by those young men, who in a few years will be dispersed over Ireland, to sow the seed of industry, and I trust contentment, among the youthful peasantry of the country.

Believe me, Sir, when I state that I have never witnessed anything that gave me greater satisfaction, or afforded me more delight, than what I now allude to: what, let me ask, could be more calculated to instil the spirit of loyalty into the breasts of the Irish peasantry, and to prove to them that the amelioration of their social condition was an object of anxiety to their Sovereign, than the establishment of a Board of Education, whose duty is to educate, train, and send amongst them men of agricultural and literary ability, to spread the doctrines of peace, industry, and virtuous exertion taught them at this invaluable institution? The institution is, as I said, only in its infancy, but judging from the amount of good it has already effected, and the benefits it has conferred upon those districts in which teachers trained there are now imparting to the young minds of their pupils, that knowledge they themselves have acquired, I cannot but feel assured that ere the present century will have come to a close, we shall have in Ireland a type of peasantry, not to be surpassed in the world for industry and intelligence. I may be considered as over enthusiastic in my anticipations, but to those who would think so, I would merely say, go visit the institution and see what I have seen, examine it in all its bearings; go as unprejudiced visitors, and sit in the school-room, and hear these young men debate upon the various systems of agriculture, pursued by different agriculturists, both in their own country and in every nation in the globe, do this and pronounce if I have over-rated the merits of this noble institution. I would have my readers bear in mind, that those young men are the sons of Irish peasants, and received their education in one or other of the national schools of the country. And it is due to the government and the commissioners of education to say, that the education far exceeds that which the wealthy landed

proprietors of Ireland now or heretofore ever enjoyed. The finishing course of instruction given at the Albert Institution would do credit to any kindred establishment of the age, embracing as it does every subject that bears on, or is essential to practical and scientific agriculture.

The sketch I have given of the institution will no doubt be found hasty and imperfect, as I have unavoidably abstained from giving the details I would otherwise offer: to those interested in the amelioration of the social condition of the peasantry of our country, I would say, go visit the Albert Agricultural Training Institution, and doubtless you will feel with me, that brighter and happier days will soon dawn upon Ireland, sectarian distinction be forgotten, and peace and brotherly love follow in the wake of industry and virtue.

Sincerely yours,

A Friend of Irish Industrial Progress.

November 20th. 1855.



## ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF CRIMINAL LAW IN IRELAND.

*To The Editor of "The Irish Quarterly Review."*

SIR,

Custom blinds us to many abuses in our social system. A further reason for neglect is, that those whose attention is more particularly drawn to these abuses, or rather, who are, from their position, brought into contact with them, and thus more competent to judge of the extent of an evil are, for the most part, the last to set about reform.

The great mass of the people, or, to speak more correctly, the public, knew but little of the frightful injustice which our recently exploded Chancery procedure inflicted upon those who were so unfortunate as to become suitors in that court. There have always been numbers of successful lawyers, members of the legislature—these men knew of the evil, they were acquainted with its workings, the rottenness of the entire system had been exposed to their gaze, and yet, it was not until public opinion imperatively demanded legislation and reform, that any attempts at improvement were made. So with regard to our sanguinary penal code, which visited the stealing of a watch with the same punishment as wilful and deliberate murder, and for so many years continued in force a disgrace to a civilised community; none had the extent of the evil forced upon their view as lawyers had, and yet for years, we might say centuries, the evil was without remedy or an attempt at remedy. Although lawyers were the instruments by which these reforms were eventually effected, one is disposed to give them (with a few exceptions, however, as Sir S. Romilly and Lord Brougham, and one or two others) but little credit for what they did. They were the instruments, not the active agents. On the other hand, however, neither should they be visited with that sweeping censure to which, of late years especially, they have been exposed. There is something in the course of study to prepare a lawyer for his profession, and in the course of practice of a successful one, which renders him the last person in the world from whom to expect legal reforms. It is not that he is attached to the abuse as is often flippantly remarked, because when a profession is open, there can be no unfair advantage or monopoly, and further, even if there were an existing abuse which had the effect of giving lawyers larger incomes than they otherwise should have, it must be remembered that men who have worked their way in the profession of the law, and attained to those offices which lead to the bench, who have passed, as it may be said, from the bar, have not that direct personal interest which can alone induce men to shut their eyes and ears to patent and crying abuses. Lawyers are interpreters, not makers of laws, and as I have already said, the deadening effect of custom blunts the sense, and it is only when an outcry has been made and public attention has been drawn to the subject, and the matter begins to be discussed in the public journals and to be talked over at the clubs and dinner-tables, that the lawyer perceives, in their true colours, the enormities at which he has been so long unconsciously gazing, and becomes roused to activity at the same time with the non-professional public. Let any man who has dealings with his humbler fellow, whether as landlord, manufacturer, farmer, or em-

ployer of any kind, look a little closely into some of those things which he requires or sanctions, and which have only custom for their approval, and he might find many an evil and many a wrong which he would not knowingly and willingly inflict, but which is not regarded or thought of because it is customary.

One of the great popular writers of the day has adverted to the disgraceful fact, that while we have one of the judges of the superior courts sitting at Westminster or the circuit court house, in all that state and circumstance which is so becoming in a court of justice, with an intelligent and respectable jury, and a bar of some five or six counsel engaged to enquire whether John Styles, whose dog had worried Thomas Nokes' sheep, whereby one of said sheep was killed and the others very much agitated and depreciated in value and good looks, knew that the said dog was a dog of evil habits and ill-regulated mind, with an illegitimate taste for mutton, or not, the inquest as to the manner in which a fellow creature came by a sudden and violent death, is held in a pot house by the first twelve stragglers that can be picked up by a constable before a man who is certainly not a Denman, though he may very fluently lay down "crowners' quest law." Now my complaint though it does not seem so startling as the above, is with regard to a system which more widely affects the general population, and the administration of criminal justice.—The extensive jurisdiction of courts of quarter sessions in criminal cases, and the system which allows the judge of assize to be engaged in the trial of a case of petty larceny, while the assistant barrister may have the disposal of the most serious outrages upon personal property. In order to enable general readers to understand the extent of this jurisdiction, it will be necessary to explain the constitution of these courts.

The assistant barrister's jurisdiction in criminal cases is created by his appointment as chairman of the court of quarter sessions, as upon his nomination he becomes a justice of the peace for the county to which he has been appointed, with the same powers and privileges as the other justices. The authority of the justices assembled at quarter sessions is derived from an old Statute of Edward the Third, and the commission under the great seal forwarded to each magistrate upon his appointment, which is in the following words:—

"We have also assigned, and by these presents, do assign you or every two or more of you, &c., to inquire by the oath of good and lawful men of our county aforesaid, and by all other lawful ways and means by whom the truth of the matter may be known, of all, and all manner of treasons, murders, manslaughters, burnings, unlawful assemblies, felonies, robberies and witchcrafts, enchantments, sorceries, magic arts, trespasses, forestalling, regratings, engrossings, and extortions whatsoever, and of all and singular other misdeeds and offences of which the justices of our peace can, or ought lawfully to inquire by whomsoever and howsoever, done or committed, or attempted, &c. And also, of all those who presume by unlawful assemblies, to be disturbers of our peace and of our people within our county, and also, of all those who in the county aforesaid, have either gone or ridden, or that hereafter shall presume to go or ride in companies with armed force against our peace, to the disturbance of our peace, and also, of all those who in like manner have lain in wait, or hereafter shall presume to lie in wait, to maim or kill our people, &c., and also, a provision that they should inquire into offences against the laws regulating weights and measures."

The above commission, which would seem to include every possible

class of crime, is qualified by the following recommendation, which, as the assistant-barrister always presides at quarter sessions, comes within the description of counsel learned in the law, goes for nothing.

Provided always, "that if a case of difficulty upon the determination of any of the premises shall happen to arise before you, or any two or more of you, then do not you or any two or more of you proceed to give judgement thereon, except it be in the presence of one of our justices of one or other bench, or one of the barons of our exchequer, or one of our counsel learned in the law."

As a matter of right, therefore, the courts of quarter sessions in Ireland have jurisdiction in all cases, even of life and death, with the exception of cases of treason excepted in the commission. Now it would be a reasonable ground of complaint, that so great a power should be vested in such a tribunal, even if it were not exercised to the extent to which it might. It must be borne in mind, that the recommendation contained in the commission, and the instructions for the guidance of magistrates issued by the Lord Lieutenant for the time, and to which I shall presently advert, are not mandatory. My objection, however, is of a more practical nature, as I think the extent to which the jurisdiction is actually exercised is most improper. It has been usual to forward instructions to magistrates from the castle, to which of course attention is paid, although those instructions are given by way of recommendation. In Nunn and Walsh's *Justice of the Peace*, Vol. I, p. 440, I find the substance of the latest instructions.

"By instructions transmitted by circular to the magistrates by command of the Lord Lieutenant, and in which the propriety of returning all cases, whether the parties be held in custody, or admitted to bail, for trial at the first competent tribunal is particularly enforced, it is further recommended to magistrates to return for trial at the quarter sessions, if they shall occur before the assizes, a class of felonies which it had not been theretofore the practice to return for trial to the sessions, viz., all felonies, though punishable with transportation, for a term longer than seven years, (what had been the extreme punishment for simple or petty larceny,) if punishable with any term of transportation less than transportation for life." Circular of 3rd June, 1840. Here then we find the most extensive jurisdiction given to the court of quarter sessions in criminal cases, and the only limit recommended is, that cases punishable with transportation, for not less than for life, should be held over for the judge of assize. I may observe, that from the working of this recommendation, magistrates are not alone at liberty, but enjoined to send to quarter sessions, if they should be held before the assizes, all cases inferior to murder, and the very few statutable offences, which cannot be visited with any lesser punishment than transportation for life.† As a matter of practice, however, I believe that cases of manslaughter and a few others not coming strictly within the description of excepted cases mentioned in the circular are transmitted to the judge of assize. Before I enquire into the constitution of the Court of Quarter Sessions, and the objections to which such a tribunal is, as it seems to me open, I should mention, that in England they have made this matter the subject of express legislative

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\* The words in the commission issued in England are instead of "one of our counsel learned in the law," "one of our justices appointed to hold the assizes in the aforesaid county."

† I should observe, that they are recommended not to send cases of political or religious riot or of an insurrectionary character.

enactment, although the courts of quarter sessions there did not exercise their jurisdiction to the same extent as they now do in this country. By the 5 & 6 Vic. c. 38, after reciting that it was desirable to define the limits of the jurisdiction of courts of quarter sessions, and excepting from the operation of the statute, the Recorder's courts of some of the principal towns, it was enacted, that courts of quarter sessions should not inquire into cases of misprision of treason, perjury, forgery, malicious burning, bigamy, abduction, concealing child birth, offences against the bankruptcy laws, a number of other cases unnecessary to give or detail, as those which I have named will be sufficient to shew the scope and policy of the Act. Our local authorities, that is the latest who interfered in the matter (1840,) have thought proper to encourage the exercise of the widest jurisdiction of these courts while the English legislature has been reducing them to reasonable and proper limits.

Permit me now to say a few words with regard to the tribunal to which this fearful power is entrusted.

It is far from my intention to make any observations of an injurious character upon the Assistant Barristers of this country. As a body they are competent and honorable men, upon whose conscientious and correct discharge of their duties reliance may be placed; many of them are men of commanding abilities and great legal attainments, who would adorn the bench. It seems to me however, that the two great, I might say the only safe guards for protection from abuse are wanting in those courts—the presence of a bar, and the influence of public opinion. Such enormous power for good or evil wielded even by an honest and capable man, when subject to no proper control, must be looked upon with the gravest apprehension. If in addition we bear in mind, that the magistracy of the county have a right to take their seat upon the bench with the Assistant Barrister, to take part in the conduct of the criminal business and form part of the court, to talk over the case with the presiding judge of the court, to make impressions favorable, or otherwise upon his mind with regard to the prisoner upon trial, it would be a rash thing to assert that such a tribunal is the most satisfactory, is even a fair one, especially when having to deal with cases of the magnitude of those which they are in the habit of disposing of. I mean to convey no imputation on either Assistant Barristers or magistracy. Country gentlemen who are in the commission know not of the necessity for a perfectly unprejudiced and dispassionate frame of mind, in entering upon an enquiry as to guilt or innocence. They know not of the jealous care which the constitution requires to be observed when questions regarding the liberty of the subject are entertained, and although the Assistant Barrister may try to disabuse his mind of any impressions made by the observations of his brother magistrates, he must insensibly and to a greater or less extent be influenced. I do not lay so much stress on the fact that the accused has not the assistance of counsel, as the judge in the discharge of his high duties when perfectly unbiassed, and it may be with a bar before him, to remind him of those duties, will give the prisoner every proper assistance, deeply impressed as he must be with the presumption of innocence, until guilt be established. If a man of any rank or means be brought into the Court of Quarter Sessions to take his trial upon a criminal charge, he has it in his power to furnish himself with a certain amount of protection; he can bring down special counsel for his defence, and pay reporters for a special report of the case, and thus if there has been any undue interference or any misconduct, he can through the medium of the press, bring public opinion to bear on the abuse. When the accused person has something of social position superior to the



peasantry, he is generally, though not always, sent to the assizes to take his trial, when the poor man under similar circumstances, or on a similar charge, would be sent to the Court of Quarter Sessions. The Peasant, although by a conviction he does not lose so much as those above him in the social scale, who in addition to the punishment directed by the Court, forfeit character and position, should be as amply cared for, as the other members of the community; and to a reflecting mind it must be grievous to think that an unsatisfactory tribunal has to enquire into the charge brought against an humble man, and still worse, that an unsatisfactory tribunal has to mete out the punishment, with, in most cases, a fearfully large discretion entrusted to it, as for instance, as regards transportation a range of from seven to fifteen years and upwards, and from imprisonment for a few months to two years, together with the full discretion given to the judge at assizes, in all those cases in which penal servitude is substituted for transportation. I care not how upright or conscientious the Assistant Barrister may be, the constitution of his court tends to make him the irresponsible despot of that court; and though it may be for the public interest that the numerous paltry cases of stealing fowl or linen by vagrants, or of squabbles in pot houses should be disposed of with reasonable celerity and at a small cost at Quarter Sessions, it must be deprecated that the wide and extensively exercised jurisdiction of these inferior courts should not be very considerably limited. A return of the number and class of cases tried at Quarter Sessions, together with the convictions and nature and amount of the punishments, has I understand been ordered by the proper authorities to be made, and until that return appears, one cannot enter fully or satisfactorily upon the question; even without the light, however, which this return will throw upon the subject, one can come to a conclusion by looking to the constitution of these courts, their large jurisdiction, the extent to which that jurisdiction is exercised, and the vast discretion as to punishments, confided to the judge, or if the magistrates think well to interfere to the majority of the court, and the gross defects and objections, which I have rather glanced at than fully discussed.

I have considered the objections to the present system solely as they effect the accused. There is however, another, though not quite so important, a view in which the wide jurisdiction of the Court of Quarter Sessions will appear objectionable, viz., as regards prosecutions. The gentlemen, who appear at Quarter Sessions to conduct the crown business, although they are generally of very considerable capacity and astuteness, are chosen from the solicitors who practise at the Assistant Barrister's court, and without entering upon such dangerous ground, as discussing the relative merits of barristers and solicitors as advocates, I may observe that I can see no reason why a case which at Quarter Sessions would be conducted for the Crown by a solicitor, if it is brought on in the Court of Assize, requires two or three Counsel, for an effective prosecution. Justice to the accused on one hand, and a due regard to the public peace and security, on the other, seem to demand that in serious cases, the most competent tribunal should alone be entrusted with a task which is now frequently assumed by Courts of Quarter Sessions, and I am so confident that the evil requires only to be pointed out, to be remedied, that I shall for the present rest content with having thus glanced at this evil practice.

Before parting with this subject there is a matter which has recently caused a good deal of discussion in legal circles, as materially affecting the administration of the law, upon which I should wish to make a few

observations. A gentleman of whose qualifications for the office there can be no controversy, has recently been removed by the Attorney General, from the post of crown prosecutor on the Connaught circuit, on the ground of his declining to act upon the instructions, that permanent crown counsel should not hold civil briefs in the towns in which they were to conduct the prosecutions for the crown. Such a proceeding is one disagreeable to all concerned, and unless the removal were on clearly sufficient grounds would establish a most unfair and improper precedent. Looking however to all the circumstances of the case, one must conclude the Attorney General acted rightly, and that odious as the task must have been to him, that he must be considered as merely discharging a high duty which he owed to the public. It is a matter of notoriety, that when there has not been some stipulation of this kind, that the interests of the crown, or rather, the public business, was shamefully neglected, and that crown prosecutors, who held as it were a patent office, whenever the interests of their private clients in the record court clashed with the discharge of their public duty, have entirely neglected the latter. That public opinion is with the Attorney General is beyond all doubt. Amongst his brethren however, there is some controversy on the propriety of his conduct, as it is said by the few who think him wrong, that this is but a step to degrade the bar, and to place on them a restraint previously unknown, and which should not be tolerated. If this were so, we do not think that Mr. Keogh was right, as a paramount care must be taken for the privileges of those whose integrity, high character, and freedom from control is so essential to the preservation of public and private rights, that anything which should trench upon their privileges, must eventually be a public calamity. Considering however, what is urged by those who object to Mr. Robinson's forced retirement, I cannot think that any privilege of the bar has been trespassed upon. The principal objection to the Attorney General's instructions, is that it is unusual and improper to attempt to impose any conditions on counsel when giving him a brief, and that the conduct of the Attorney General is the same as that of a private individual, who should send a brief to counsel, requiring an undertaking that while the case was on he should not leave court. The latter, no barrister would tolerate. If he be not a man in the most extensive practice, likely to be called elsewhere, his own honor as well as his own interests are involved in attending to his client's case. If he be a man in large practice, the client knows this before hand, and is ready to pay his fee for the chance of his attendance during the whole or the greater part of the case, and is forced to have, perhaps, an additional leading counsel, when these gentlemen will make as is usual such arrangements amongst themselves as to provide for the proper conduct of their client's case. There seems, however, to be an essential difference between the Attorney General requiring the constant presence of the crown counsel in the crown court, and that of a private client, or an attorney making the same request. The Attorney General appoints to an office, and the crown solicitor is bound to send the brief in every case to his appointee. There is an obligation imposed upon the crown solicitor, which is not and could not be imposed on an attorney. The appointment to a crown prosecutorship, rather resembles that to the chairmanship of a county, with this difference, that now the chairman is paid by a fixed salary, while the crown prosecutor is paid by fees. The Assistant Barrister is bound by Act of Parliament to sit at certain periods for the discharge of the public duty, and I need hardly say that this is quite inconsistent with his being engaged as counsel at the same time, and

yet I have never heard it objected, that there was any unfair condition imposed on those gentlemen who are appointed to preside at the different Courts of Quarter Sessions. Some of our Assistant Barristers are men in considerable practice, and yet no person ever heard them complain that they were bound to sit at certain periods, to the loss of their practice in the superior courts, that the restriction or whatever it may be called, was an unfair one, or that they were badly treated, in not being allowed to choose their own time for holding their courts, and in not having the entire discharge of their public duty left to their own discretion. We should be jealous of the slightest infringement on the privileges of the bar, but at the same time before an outcry is raised, we ought to examine carefully and ascertain whether or not those privileges have been invaded. I know as a matter of fact, that the senior crown prosecutor on one of the northern circuits, who was appointed many years ago, was requested to give his undivided attention to the criminal business, and on that account declined taking civil briefs, and has continued to do so. The result is, that the gentleman of whom we speak, is one of the best informed criminal lawyers in this country, and discharges his duty in the most efficacious and satisfactory manner. He has suffered considerably it is true, in completely losing his circuit practice, but then he has had his choice. If a gentleman who is offered one of those posts, thinks that the crown business will not give those opportunities for displaying either great learning or great abilities, of which he may be the conscious possessor, he may decline the office and thus play a more ambitious game, and take a course which would in his opinion be more for his benefit. It must be, and is a very considerable injury to men in extensive practice, to take the chairmanship of a county, and they may feel that it is irksome to have any duty to discharge, which can interfere with their private practice. It is for them however, to balance the advantages and the disadvantages of accepting the post, and until we hear that assistant barristers have made out a case of undue hardship or interference with their privileges as counsel, one cannot allow that such a stipulation as the Attorney General imposes on the permanent crown prosecutors can be fairly objected to, neither can one help thinking that the course adopted by Mr. Robinson, knowing, as we all do, his connection with a party who hesitate at nothing which could damage or discredit the present ministry, was mainly intended to put the Attorney General into a false position, and force upon him the odious and unpopular task of dismissing a brother barrister, and nursing a grievance to be made use of whenever the opportunity should present itself.

Although from the scanty materials attainable I have been unable to do more than make a few crude observations on the present system of sending serious cases for trial to Quarter Sessions, I have no doubt that calling attention to the subject, and awakening public interest will help to remedy the evil, and that even with the scanty information we possess, that every person who gives the matter a thought will perceive the necessity for some amendment in the existing law, and I should be anxious to learn why it is, that an enactment such as the 5 & 6 Vic., c. 36, to which I have already adverted, should be considered advisable in England, and not in this country.

I am, Sir, etc.,

AN APPRENTICE TO THE LAW.

[We have inserted the foregoing letter, not as a defence of the Attorney General's proceedings, but because we consider its arguments and suggestions of very considerable importance. In fact, we know that in most circuits the Crown business has been frequently neglected, when a due attention to his duties interfered with the private practice of the Prosecutor. It would be desirable to retain, if possible, lawyers of standing as Prosecutors and as Assistants, but if for the public service gentlemen of standing and ability cannot be secured, it is in our mind a matter of paramount necessity, that these gentlemen should be permitted to retain their private practice, and that in their places as public Prosecutors, gentlemen of equal ability and honor, though perhaps not of equal standing, should be appointed as their successors. We are not of that class who believe that a lawyer's knowledge is to be estimated by the date of his call, and we believe that a Crown prosecutorship should be the mark of Government appreciation of learning and aptitude, not as a thing obtained through judicial connexion, family influence, or political time-serving.—ED. I. Q. R.]

*To the Editor of "The Law Magazine ; or Quarterly Review of Jurisprudence ;" for February, 1855, Vol. 53,—No. 106.*

DUBLIN, FEBRUARY 15TH, 1855.

Sir,

A few days ago I received, I believe through your attention, a number of *The Law Magazine*, for February, 1855 ; and, looking to its table of contents, I felt considerable satisfaction in reading *there*, the title of one of the papers—"The New Invitations to Juvenile Crime." I knew that your *Magazine* had advocated Juvenile Criminal Reformation ; I knew that you were perfectly well aware of the total unfitness of our common gaols to produce any but more gross criminals from the young prisoners confined in them, and I really expected to find your "New Invitations to Juvenile Crime," a plain exposition of the semi-failure of Parkhurst, and a defence of the various Judges and Magistrates who have, within the past six months, advocated Reformatory Schools, despite the poo pooing of official opponents ; you can, Sir, therefore, comprehend my very great astonishment, when on turning to the paper itself I found it to be but eight and a-half pages of very patent sneering at Mr. Recorder Hill, and of very virulent misrepresentation, or miscomprehension, of the sentiments actuating that learned gentleman, Mr. Recorder Hall and myself ; rounded off with a general and sweeping charge against the *Youthful Offenders' Act*, and all who appeal to that "kind of rash charity and miscellaneous benevolence held forth in that remarkably foolish Act of Parliament ;" and when I couple this sentiment, with the warning thrust upon us all by that venerable line,

"Fools rush in where angels fear to tread,"

I feel no horror in contemplating my fallen condition, knowing that I am one of the rushing fools to whose order belong Lord Brougham, Lord Lyttelton, Lord Harrowby, the Earl of Shaftesbury, Sir John Pakington, Mr. Adderley, Mr. Joseph Sturge, Mr. Recorder Hill, the Rev. Mr. Clay, Mr. Recorder Hall, Mr. Thompson of Banchory, Mr. Dunlop, the Magistrates of Devonshire, the Corporation of Liverpool, and lastly, certainly not leastly, Miss CARPENTER, Lady Noel Byron, Mr Nash, Mr. Russell Scott, and, as your contributor, with inane

facetiousness calls him—"good-natured shepherd Ellis," and I had rather be a rushing fool with these, odd as it may seem to him, than a fearful angel with your contributor.

I am no admirer of catholicons—I have no belief in Holloway, no faith in Morrison; but, on the other hand, I have no confidence in that system as taught by *Martineus Scriblerus*, in his "Uncommon Practice of Physic," by which, upon the homœopathic scheme, we are offered a special cure for every bodily ill; but, Sir, I have great confidence in a system which has sprung up, which has been forced into active working by the total unsuitableness of our Common Prisons for any purpose of useful punishment or of juvenile reformation; a system which has been found excellent, (that is useful and successful) beyond all doubt and above all question—The Reformatory School System, Voluntary, or aided by Government. What the Reformatory School System is, I know; but, I do not comprehend the system advocated by your contributor. He tells us that the Rev. Sydney Turner, the excellent chaplain of the Red Hill Farm School, "sides with Solomon and not with the modern Solons, who are superseding his maxims, and holds to the adage about sparing the rod and spoiling the child." He adds, and really, my good Sir, the passage is so very foolish, so palpable an attempt at being sarcastic and argumentative, so absurd a dose of what may be called, the Sydney-Smith-and-water-style, that I wonder you did not perceive its weakness. He writes, that Mr. Turner

"Is just now in great disgrace with the philanthropic party. He has written two letters in which, harsh man! he actually advocates the correction of crime even in youthful offenders! He is more than half suspected even of smiling in his sleeve at the touching discipline of Mr. Recorder——, who would kiss the dear delinquents into goodness; and of questioning the wisdom of the Saltley system of turning its inmates loose into Birmingham, that they may missionarize in the alleys and closes of that not immaculate city, and of bringing fresh lambs to the fold of good-natured shepherd Ellis."

Who ever asserted that Mr. Turner was in disgrace with the friends of the Reformatory Movement?—who ever accused him of having wilfully embarrassed the cause? I do not deny that I declared his two letters, addressed last June to *The Times*, were ill advised. *The Times* misunderstood him, and he misunderstood the Report of M. De Persigny, as I clearly showed in the paper published in the September number of *THE IRISH*

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\*For an account of Mr. Ellis, see the Record at end of this number, p. 171.

QUARTERLY REVIEW, and to which your contributor so flippantly objects. I argued the case fairly, honestly, and gravely; my paper appears to have given offence to your contributor, but I regret to find that he has endeavoured to conceal the shallowness of his opinions by a mockery of sarcasm very pitiable in one who writes on a great and solemn question. Who is the "Mr Recorder——, who would kiss the dear delinquents into goodness," and who would turn the inmates of Saltley into the streets of Birmingham? Doubtless Mr. M. D. Hill is meant, and it may be very amusing to some men to form fancy sketches of the Recorder kissing "the dear delinquents into goodness," the damp-nosed delinquent now weeping hypocritical tears on the philanthropist's neck, and now looking slyly over his shoulder, and winking fraternally at your contributor, whilst he takes what is called "a sight" at "good-natured shepherd Ellis."

But, Sir, is this a true picture? Is this the result of the training at Saltley, at Kingswood, at Hardwicke Schools, or at Mr. Nash's Reformatory Institution? We have tried, in our prisons, every stupid severity that ignorance, rendered callous by custom, could permit; but still the population of juvenile criminals increased, and the gaol was proved to be but the seed-plot of crime. Other nations knew these facts—we, at length saw the necessity for a speedy change in our system, and whilst Germany, Switzerland, France, Belgium, Holland, and America had long possessed Reformatories—they were, as the late lamented Mr. Fletcher stated, but "struggling into existence" in England.

Sir, your contributor has done to me, and to all those with whom I think in common, a grievous, a malicious wrong. My paper appeared in this REVIEW last September; during five months he pondered the arguments, and facts there recorded. I wrote with no object save one—that of spreading abroad a general knowledge of all the facts connected with the rise and progress of the Reformatory School Movement; I gave to each advocate of the cause his admitted praise, and whilst dissenting in some points from the opinions of Mr. Turner, I gave every one the fullest merit. Your contributor now, after a lapse of five months, attempts to fasten upon me the charges of maudlin philanthropy, and endeavours to show that my chief objection to Mr. Turner's two letters was directed against a portion of the first, which gave *The Times* an opportunity of indulging in a raw-head-and-bloody-bones tone of leader, and which compelled Mr. Turner to write to that Journal, on the 8th of June, thus:—

"Is it not, because in spite of trials by jury and summary conviction, whippings, and imprisonments, the amount and intensity of juvenile crime have increased, that our Government and Legislature are now concurring with our philanthropists in devising some more effectual remedy; and 2ndly, what's the real object which society (for its own advantage) seeks in the young offender's treatment? Is it only the retribution of punishment for his misdoings, or the deterring others by his sufferings? Is it not, and looking to his age, his helplessness, his exposure, without defence or power of escape, to depraving influences—ought it not to be also his reformation? What else can secure the community against the mischiefs of his future influence and example? What is gained by the inflicting of a thousand whippings and sentences of imprisonment, if the subjects of these penalties come forth into the world (as now) only more hardened in vicious purposes and more capable for mischief? Reformations, like revolutions, are not made 'by rose water;' but, surely, it cannot be impossible to devise a course of treatment at once corrective for the past, and persuasive for the future, uniting, like the Divine dealings, righteousness and judgment with loving kindness and mercy; such a system as, while it punishes what is bad, and represses what is lawless, awakes and trains to action the better feelings and more useful impulses which are to be found more or less in every nature. The problem is to secure this for the scarcely responsible child, while we seek out and press upon the more guilty and fully responsible parent. At present, the parent may neglect, brutalise, and deprave his child, and make him a public nuisance with entire impunity. These things ought not so to be. Let us see what can be done in coercing and restraining the parents and step-parents, usually the real sources of evil. When we have done what justice and the public interest require on this head, we shall be able with a clearer conscience and a more steady hand to deal with the young offender himself as he will then deserve that we should."

These, Sir, were the opinions held last June, by the Chaplain of the Philanthropic—it was in advocating of such sentiments I wrote, and that Mr. Turner is fully supported in them by the concurrent testimony of the Rev. John Clay, of the Rev. W. C. Osborne, of Sir John Pakington, of Miss Carpenter, and Mr. Recorder Hill, your contributor must clearly know, unless he be of that class whom Socrates, in *The Platonic Dialogues*, ironically compliments, by saying, "you are fortunate, Callicles, to have been initiated at the great mysteries, without proceeding through the lesser." Had he borne in mind the opinions expressed upon the Reformatory School system, at the Birmingham Conferences, he would never have written the following passage, a passage which, in its egotism and in its folly, reminds one of Boileau's lines:—

"Mais il ne'est point de fou qui par bonnes raison  
Ne loge son voisin aux petites-maison."



He writes :—

"We are most anxious to see reformatories properly constituted and universally established, but to effect their purpose they must be always *penal* in their preliminary stage. *We* developed the proper principles in which such institutions should be founded in a series of articles some years ago, and they not only met with the assent and approval of those best acquainted with the subject at the time, but they have been corroborated by all subsequent experience."

Because "we developed" principles, which somebody approved and assented to, properly constituted Reformatories "*must be always penal.*" My dear Sir, this self-laudation is very ridiculous, and the principle is very false—it is precisely like a passage in Saunders' *Reports* where he writes—"Here Twysden, Justice, reprov'd Saunders of counsel, for that he pleaded too subtilly—but *Saunders was right.*" Doubtless your contributor thinks that Reformatories "must be always penal in the preliminary stage," he developed the principle, therefore I, and all who think as I, must be wrong; or, as he writes with mild jocularly, "The philanthropy of the movement is doubtless most engaging and laudable. No one questions its complete amiability or singlehearted integrity of purpose; but, oh! for a little prudence, and a wholesome modicum of diffidence!"

We have never yet heard it said, that the Rev. Mr. Osborne, or the Rev. John Clay wanted experience, "a little prudence," or "a wholesome modicum of diffidence,"—yet, at the first Birmingham Conference, the former excellent Chaplain spoke as follows :—

"I would, however, refer for a moment to whipping in prison. It has been determined lately to introduce whipping as an element of punishment. I do not think it is attended with any good effects. It is no uncommon thing to hear these children say, 'Oh, sir, whipping will do me no good: I know all about that: I have had enough of it before.' They have been cuffed and knocked about their whole life long by drunken and brutal fathers and mothers, so to them it is no new thing; and I point to the state of our gaols to show that this system of whipping in our prisons is not calculated to reform but to harden."

The Rev. Mr. Clay spoke thus :—

"It was not that these children stood most in need of reading and writing, of learning their catechism, of committing to memory chapters from the Holy Scriptures—they stood most in need of what had never yet approached them—of something to touch, soften, and humanise their hearts and desires. I believed that, in almost every instance, these misled creatures had never in their lives heard words or tones of kindness or affection; that they never had dared to sup-

pose that any one cared for them, or desired, for their own sakes, that they should learn to speak and do things that are right. I endeavoured to show them their mistake—that there were people who felt for them, who pitied them, who loved them; who earnestly desired to promote their happiness both here and hereafter. These endeavours were not unsuccessful; and I found that as the heart softened and opened, so the mind expanded:—and the reading and Scriptural teaching, which, otherwise, would have been mechanical and irksome, were received with eager thankfulness, as something conducive to the great object of repentance and amendment. I must resist the temptation to dwell upon this topic, yet I would beg to say one word more, viz., that whatever measure of success has been granted to us in regard to the reformation of young criminals, it dates from the time when, seven or eight years ago, at my earnest entreaty, our Court of Quarter Sessions abolished the punishment of whipping.”

“Do not imagine, however, that I have more reliance upon the prison than the school—as you contemplate it—as a means of reforming young delinquents. Far otherwise. I agree entirely with my friend Mr. Osborne, as well as with other gentlemen, that one of the greatest social wants of our time and country is the Reformatory School—in which the neglected, outcast, child may be trained to occupy his right place as a fellow subject and a fellow Christian.”

At the second Conference, Sir John Pakington said:—

“The English system has been, when a child has transgressed the law, to send him to prison and so punish him. The question now is whether, when a child has transgressed the law, wisdom and sound policy do not combine to tell us that the right way to treat him is to reform and educate him. The choice lies between harsh punishment and judicious kindness; but let not our views be misunderstood. We do not wish to hold out any absurd idea that children are to be exempt from all punishment. That is a false view of the case. We all know, from the very highest authority, that the child must be corrected, and what we have to do is to discover sound principles for dealing with the criminal and destitute, instead of acting upon those that are false, cruel, and inefficient. What does our evidence say upon this? It gives us facts, and there can be nothing better for our guidance in a matter like the one before us. In all these establishments it is shown by the evidence, not that punishment is dispensed with, but that kindness is the rule. One of the most important witnesses we had was Mr. Playfair, who takes a great interest in the House of Refuge at Glasgow. Speaking of the children, he says—‘We learn their history, and we deal kindly with them.’ Again he says—‘We try to make the boys feel at home by dealing kindly with them.’ When speaking of a gentleman named Clarke, he observed—‘He brought this establishment into a highly improved state, and that through a system of kindness.’ Let me now turn to a remarkable passage in the evidence of the Rev. Dr. Guthrie, of the Free Kirk, at Edinburgh. He was asked the question—‘What kind of punishment have you?’ His reply was,—‘I am happy to say we have hardly any punishment at all. We find the best influence we can

bring to bear upon these children is not punishment but kindness, and nothing has surprised me more than the singular ease with which we can manage them, and the readiness with which boys fall into the ranks who have been picked off the streets, and who have led a wandering life before. It is a most surprising phenomenon connected with our school, how soon they fall into regularity and order, and how little difficulty we have in breaking them in by the power of kindness and steady training.' This shows how completely justified was the Conference of 1851 in the opinion that prisons, however exemplary the system adopted therein might be, are not the places for the correction and complete reformation of juvenile criminals. We all know how susceptible are children to kindness and affection, and we must not confine this susceptibility to the children of the affluent and the educated classes. Can we doubt that the germs of the same feelings exist in the breasts of the destitute orphan or the most humble outcast of society?"

At this same Conference, Mr. Osborne said:—

"They must get rid of the children from the gaols—a point on which he felt very strongly. He would agree to probationary wards being established in the schools, to be regulated in their use by the committee, but he contended that the principle of giving punishment preparatory to reformation ought not to be approved by that Conference."

Mr. Recorder Power said:—

"Punishment could not be got rid of, but what he and others protested against was arbitrary punishment, not with a view to reformation, but vengeance because he had committed a wrong against society. The child was not without condition. It had committed a crime against society, but society had inflicted a grievous wrong upon the child, and it was adding insult to injury that they punished the child for an ignorant breach of the criminal law."

The Rev. Sydney Turner said:—

"If you go to Salford you will see what can be done when love and duty are built upon. I trust from this day forward there will be an impulse to try the principle elsewhere and everywhere, and it will never be tried in vain. If you trust and appeal to that sense of kindness which is at the very bottom of our human nature, you will succeed in raising those emotions which shall accomplish in the human heart more than the prison cell or prison labour can ever effect; you will succeed in recalling to society many and many an one who shall prove a good citizen and an upright man."

Thus far, Sir, I have cited authorities against the statement of your contributor, in which he attempts to show that practical philanthropists, men with "a little prudence, and a wholesome modicum of diffidence" are evidently of one mind with him. But to prove this matter more clearly, I must refer to the Birmingham Conference of 1853. I beg you to remember that every man in these kingdoms, qualified to give an opinion upon the subjects before the

country, attended the memorable Birmingham Conference of December, 1853, and those who could not attend personally, wrote expressing their confidence in the "prudence" and good sense of these who were present—the chief topics then urged were the excellence of Reformatory School training, and the necessity of a stringent law of Parental Responsibility. Upon the former branch of the subject I have, I believe, advanced sufficient authority in support of my views, but that neither the Conference nor I deserve the charge made against us, by your contributor, that charge which informs us that we are modern Solons, and that the Rev. Sydney Turner backs Solomon against us in our weak point which renders us, as your contributor elegantly expresses it, forgetful of the "maxim about sparing the rod and spoiling the child," is clearly proved by the statement made at the closing of the Conference by Mr. Recorder Hill, when he said, and none dissented:—

"I could not be silent in the hour of the triumph of a cause which has for long years interested my heart and employed my thoughts—a cause in which I have grown gray. I have seen the small beginnings of this now glorious and flourishing enterprise. I have been met by sneers of utter disbelief: I have been called a sentimentalist and a visionary for entertaining doctrines to which you are now affixing the seal of public opinion in this the capital of the Midland Districts of England. And here let me for the thousandth time ask for one moment of your attention to defend myself against an impression which is utterly mistaken and unfounded, but which still remains—I would sanction the infliction of any pain necessary to produce reformation. I am not one of those who believe that either man or boy may be raised by namby-pamby indulgences out of crime into virtue; but I hold that he who inflicts one single pang which is not directed to a reformatory object, if he act unconsciously, has fallen into a great error; if consciously, into a great crime."

Sir, this passage appears to me to want neither "a little prudence," nor "a wholesome modicum of diffidence;" had it wanted these, the Rev. Sydney Turner was present and could have corrected the error, had he considered it necessary; he could have declared for Solomon, and might have silenced one of the "modern Solons"—"Mr. Recorder——" the friend of petted criminal juveniles. Mr. Turner was the fifth speaker after Mr. Hill; he did not declare his dissent from any principle advanced by the Recorder, he did not sneer at M. Demetz, he did not attempt to detract from the merit of Mettray, he did not deny, he has never denied, the excellence of that institution, as worthy of the French people, as its success is honorable to M. Demetz.

I have, Sir, thus far defended myself from the charge of inane

philanthropy—(indeed your contributor appears to use the term philanthropist as if he considered it but a synonyme for anthropophagist); I have shown how, in all my views on this subject of Reformatory training, I am supported by the best, and most experienced men in these kingdoms, who were capable of speaking authoritatively upon the subject.

The paper of your contributor contains only three other topics worthy of notice: the first is a perfectly quixotic attack on Mettray; the second, a very foolish attempt to misrepresent my argument in favor of the principle that the law of Parental Responsibility is of the chiefest importance in suppressing juvenile and adult vagrancy; the third topic is a most ludicrous, palpable, and incomprehensible effort to prove, by garbelling a letter addressed by Lord Brougham to Mr. Recorder Hill, that his Lordship has lost confidence in the success of the Reformatory System.

Upon the first topic, Mettray, your contributor has no ground whatever of objection to the Colony—but, with a virulence of bigotry, and a total want of all reasoning power he writes:—

“It is in some respects, doubtless, a well-managed institution; but that it is, as we have often heard, a complete seminary of popery, we hardly expected such convincing evidence as this—Mr. Hall, in his account, says—‘All the colonists at Mettray are Roman Catholics, but this is only to avoid the inconvenience of mixing children of different persuasions.’ The remedy is very convenient, doubtless.”

That a Roman Catholic country should possess Roman Catholic Reformatory Schools, is, one would suppose, perfectly natural; and as to the sneer that Mettray is, as your contributor “has often heard,” a complete seminary of Popery, the objection is about as ridiculous as if M. Demetz, or M. Paul Verdier, or M. De Persigny were, with atrociously bad taste, only surpassed by its stupid intolerance, to state to the French people, that they had “often heard” that Red Hill, or Saltley was “a complete seminary” of Protestantism—even whilst admitting that “it is in some respects, doubtless, a well managed institution,” the question being not as to the religion taught, but the reformations, through God’s grace, and by his servants’ faith and charity, achieved.

Sir, your contributor has not quoted Mr. Robert Hall’s Lecture, from which he extracts, fairly. I wish that that estimable, able, and christian gentleman, whose ability is but the worthy accompaniment of “a little prudence, and a wholesome modicum of diffidence,” were sufficiently restored to health to reply, by the publication of his notes

of his *last* summer's visit to Mettray, for he, Sir, visited Mettray twice, and writes of what he has seen, not of what he has "often heard." But I can answer for him in one respect, and that is, that in his Lecture upon his second visit to Mettray, delivered last winter in Leeds, he expressed his increased admiration of all he had seen, and of which, in his first Lecture, he had expressed his opinions.

Your contributor has called Mettray "a complete seminary of popery," and he quotes part of a sentence in Mr. Hall's Lecture. I shall now print the sentence in full, and by it shall prove that if Mettray is Roman Catholic for convenience, Sainte Foy is Protestant for the like reason, and we know that this separation has been made with the concurrence of the excellent President of the Society, M. le Comte de Gasparin, a Protestant. The sentence is as follows:—

"All the colonists at Mettray are Roman Catholics, but this is only to avoid the inconvenience of mixing children of different persuasions. *M. le Comte de Gasparin, the president of the society, is himself a Protestant; children of that faith are sent to a Protestant colony at Sainte Foy; if by any rare accident a non-christian child should be sent to one of these colonies, it must follow the religious instruction of the rest. There is family prayer in each house morning and evening.*"

So far of the no popery objection to Mettray; as to its excellence as a Reformatory, the Lecture of Mr. Hall, the Letter of Mr. Recorder Hill to Lord Brougham, or the various earlier accounts of the Colony, will prove; but I do not appeal to them, I rely upon the words of the Rev. Sydney Turner who, at the second Birmingham Conference said:—

"About five years ago the attention of those who sought to effect the reformation of young offenders was excited to what was going on in France. We heard that a sort of miracle had been wrought, that a great number of juvenile prisoners had been gathered together, and kept together, by nothing more stringent, no bond more strong, than the exercise of loving kindness. I went and saw Mettray. My first feeling on seeing it was despondency. I said to myself, 'How can any one equal this in England? there we have nothing that can be compared with this.'"

The second topic to which I have above referred, as rendering your contributor vicious in his opposition, is Parental Responsibility considered as a check upon Juvenile crime and adult vagrancy. Referring to my paper, and intending as usual, by misconstruction, to refute my arguments, he writes.—"The fact is, that though the principle is excellent, parental responsibility is impracticable in three cases out of four. And yet without it, we are told that no security

can be given by the friends of the reformatory movement that the objects of the schools may not be abused."

We still hold this opinion—we contend that if the parents can pay, they must be compelled to pay—if they *cannot* pay, it proves nothing against the system; and if combined with a stringent vagrant law, could not fail to produce the most satisfactory results, and if, in but one case out of four the parent could be compelled to support his child whilst in the School, other parents would thereby learn that the law holds all liable for the discharge of those duties to which before God and man they are bound. These are opinions supported by Mr. Clay, by Mr. Thomson of Banchory, by Mr. Pearson, by Mr. Frederick Hill, and by all who have thought more deeply upon the subject than your contributor.\* In the paper to which your contributor refers, I have condensed all the facts and authorities bearing upon the question;† and as they are indisputable—clearly so—as even your contributor can only snarl at them, it is unnecessary to reproduce them in this letter.

Having exhausted his spleen upon my facts, your contributor relieves his temper by indulging in his peculiar style of fiction, and as usual in condemning the opinions of his opponents, he totally misrepresents their sentiments, and occasionally the common meaning of words. You know, I presume, that Lord Brougham is a very sincere supporter of the Reformatory Principle; and you are aware, I dare say, that having visited Mettray in the early part of 1854, he expressed his opinions of it in the most decided and most approving manner. On the 18th of last December Mr. Recorder Hill addressed a letter to his Lordship upon the practical working of Reformatory Schools—and to this most admirable letter Lord Brougham, the following day, thus replied:—

" GRAFTON-STREET,  
Dec. 19th, 1854.

MY DEAR HILL,

I have received your letter, and have read it carefully with all the interest which you may believe I feel in the important subject.

You don't require my praises of the manner in which you have treated the matter, but you wish for my opinion upon the positions you lay down, and I can say most conscientiously that I agree entirely

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\* See in the Record, at end of this number of the REVIEW, some observations on this question, from Lieut.-Col. Jebb's last Report.

† See IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW—Vol. IV. No 15, pp. 709 to 716.

with you on almost all of them ; *though on one or two things of subordinate importance I may have some little doubt.*

To the correctness of your statements respecting Mettray, I can bear testimony, having deemed it my duty last spring to visit that most admirable Institution, which does honor, not only to its Founders and Directors, but to the Country.

The progress making in England is truly gratifying. I hope and trust that the war, deplorable on all accounts, though altogether just and quite unavoidable, will not, among its other evils, occasion obstruction in either country to any of their great plans of benevolence, let me rather say beneficence.

Believe me,

Ever most sincerely yours,

H. BROUGHAM.

M. D. HILL, Esq., K.C."

I consider this reply in all respects satisfactory, and it certainly expresses, in plain terms, Lord Brougham's full belief in the excellence of Reformatory training, and his gratification at witnessing the success of the movement in England—but with this letter before him your contributor thus writes, misquoting Lord Brougham's words, and misrepresenting his opinions :—" We hear of many of these institutions springing up, nothing deterred by the utter impossibility of finding fit men to undertake their management. This alone ought to give force and effect to the *significant warning of Lord Brougham, in his short but pithy reply to Mr. Hill's recent letter, ' I have my doubts '* "

This attempt at mystification requires no comment from me ; it is nothing more than an insidious effort to weaken public confidence in the Reformatory system—an effort of which your contributor gave evident indication even in the first half page of his paper, in which he expresses his fears that the schools must fail because we cannot always hope for "men like Mr. Recorder Hill"—(is this a mis-print for "Mr. Recorder —," ) "Mr. Turner, Mr. Baker, or Mr. Bengough, or women so eminently gifted for the work as Miss Carpenter and Lady Noel Byron," to whom the management can be entrusted. If, sir, this were true, it would offer, indeed, a disheartening prospect, and in the long vista of the future one could easily form a vision of little "City Arabs" and "Home Heathens," growing up in a love of crime and a contempt of gaolers, and counting the number of committals by double the number of their years, despite the "dose of pain" system of those who back Solomon against "the modern Solons," and who, improving upon his counsels, will spare neither the rod nor the child. Sir, if all the estimable persons



named by your contributor were to-morrow called before that God of Mercy whose precepts they so well observe—doing unto the least of his little ones as he would they should do unto himself—there would still be men and women in England, capable and willing to carry out the plans of Reformation formed by those “modern Solons.” I hold this opinion strongly; I remember the history of John Howard, of John Pounds, of Sarah Martin, of Elizabeth Fry, of John Ellis, of Mr. Nash. I have great faith in the philanthropy of the Nation, and I should no more despair of the success of the Reformatory schools if our present leaders were to die, than I should feel anxiety lest, after the decease of Sir Benjamin Brodie, lithotomy could no longer be safely performed, or sigh for the anticipated hopeless woes of our parturient matrons upon the demise of Doctor Locock.

Sir, the entire spirit of your contributor's attack on me is plainly evident in the first nine lines of his paper. I believe, as all who have thought upon the subject believe, that the Birmingham Conference of 1853 was of the very greatest importance to the country, whilst of this same assembly your contributor thus expresses himself:—

“When the Birmingham Conference last hoisted its great flag and blew a loud trumpet, in laudation of reformatories, alarm was engendered in the minds of all prudent friends to that great movement,—after the parade of vague generalities and studied avoidance of practical details which characterized the speeches and proceedings of that goodly gathering—that the movement would fall into the hands of untoward enthusiasts and mere philanthropists, who would speedily discredit a good cause by the blunders of bad administration.”

This statement, sir, is fully as correct as the construction of Lord Brougham's letter to Mr. Hill. If you desire to know the feeling of the country upon the matter, I refer you to the *Record* at the end of this number of this Review. You will there find a complete answer to your contributor's sneers; you will discover an overwhelming mass of evidence, and one which must prove the mischievous tendency of his paper, if its fictions and fancies were permitted to remain unimpeached.

If, sir, your contributor had advanced a cherished theory in opposition to the Reformatory system, I could understand the temper of his paper. Doubtless a long prized theory is dear to the heart, and hard of relinquishment, and its possessor feels towards it, as Bonofonius to his mistress, and can adopt the sentiment of his lines:—

“Vale melque meum, atque amaritudo,  
Vale nilque meum, meumque totum.”

But, sir, he has not such reason ; he has no inciting principle, apparent from his paper, save spleen—bitter, virulent spleen—against all who support the genuine Reformatory system—a system which has succeeded at Mettray, at Stretton-on-Dunsmore, at Saltley, at Kingswood, at Hardwicke, at Smith-st., in Glasgow, in Edinburgh, and in Aberdeen—a system against which your contributor would set up one, the foundation of which I have discovered in Henry Mayhew’s *London Labour and the London Poor*, and which is that practised among the costermongers, one of whom, having been discovered beating his mistress for some offence, by Mr. Mayhew, and who, when remonstrated with for adopting this system of reformatory treatment, silenced the “modern Solon” by proclaiming, “The more a chap licks ‘em the more they loves him.”

I, Sir, do not agree with the costermonger, or with your contributor, in the plan of reformation of which they seem to approve with wonderful unanimity. I believe that God has given our juvenile criminals hearts, feelings, hopes and desires like my own, and I would reach their hearts, hardened and perverted it may be, by teaching them that all the world is not their enemy—I would, in the noble thought of Channing “supply moral wants, snatch every child from perdition, and awaken in him the spirit and energy of a man.” I would appeal to all who are aiding the Reformatory School Movement, and whilst urging them to active exertion, I would warn them against self-deception, in the emphatic, and eloquent, and wise words addressed by Mr. Hill in his letter to Mr. Adderley, (printed in the last number of *The Law Review*,) saying—

“This philanthropy, which exhibits itself in every variety of ramification, and, what is better, makes itself felt through every hour of the day, must become the subject of careful reflection by the inquirer. Let him ask himself what are his own motives in his undertaking? Is he moved to exertion simply by the dictates of reason? Does he think only of protecting the upper classes from annoyance, and their pockets from taxation, by reforming young offenders? Or does his heart yearn towards the poor outcasts themselves—the little prodigals, who, though sufficiently disposed to ‘waste their substance with riotous living,’ if they had any substance to waste, are far better acquainted with the second vicissitude of the Parable—the feeding on ‘the husks which the swine did eat!’ Does he earnestly desire to snatch them from perdition, and to restore them to the fold?

Doubtless all that he and others are doing may be defended on

grounds of a wise and enlarged policy. But such considerations have not vitality enough to carry the Reformatory labourer through his toils. Unless the heart unite with the head in the task, no progress will be made. No handling of the rudder, however skilful, will set the ship in motion :

‘ Reason the card, but *passion* is the gale.’

Without an attachment to the pursuit which it is not extravagant to call passionate, the task will soon be abandoned in despair ; for difficulties and discouragements are as abundant as the advocates of the old system and the opponents of the new could desire. But minds of the right stamp are never discouraged by difficulties. Obstacles are stimulants.”

These, Sir, are the sentiments of “ a modern Solon”—they may not be in accordance with some counsels of Solomon—but they are in accordance with the teaching of Jesus Christ.

In my paper to which your contributor objects, I have, at length, and fully, explained the facts and figures of that Report of M. De Persigny—which is, if read in its *entirety*, a complete defence of Mettray and of the Reformatory System. It declares :—

“ Le comte général de l’administration de la justice criminelle, qui a résumé les résultats de la période de 1842 à 1850, a constaté que le nombre moyen des récidives, parmi les libérés de sept établissements principaux avait varié de 10 à 11 p. 100. Si l’on compare cette proportion à celle qui est signalée plus haut pour les adultes (35 p. 100 pour les hommes, et 27, p. 100 pour les femmes), on n’a pas à regretter les sacrifices que l’Etat s’impose pour la régénération morale de cette population.”

Sir, Mettray requires no defence from me, the approbation of the world is its safety against all contemners ; its wisely founded system is its best security of success ; and its eulogy is truly written in the last annual Report of M. Demetz :—“ Il est des systèmes qui ne réalisent rien, mais c’est parce qu’ils imaginent l’impossible. Mettray a posé la limite, le point de départ entre le progrès, et l’utopie, c’est pourquoi Mettray a rencontré des imitateurs.”

You know, sir, that Mettray has had successful imitators ; you know that Mettray is a glory to the French Nation, and that in the noble roll of philanthropists, and amongst those who have been the most successful in their heaven-inspired efforts, the name of Demetz will ever shine beside those of Howard, and of De l’Epée. If, sir, you desire to know the history of the most perfect imitation of Mettray (now that Stretton-on-Dunsmore is closed) procure and consider well, a pamphlet “ On Reformatory Schools. By T. Barwick Lloyd Baker, Esq., Read at the Meeting of the British Association

at Liverpool, September 26, 1854." In the pages of this pamphlet you will discover the true principles upon which English Reformatories should be established, and you will know that a wise, practical English philanthropist, notwithstanding your sneer at the "kind of rash charity and miscellaneous benevolence held forth in that remarkably foolish Act of Parliament," *The Youthful Offenders' Act*, trusts that ere long the wisdom of the legislation may be proved "not only by the mere increase of the number of Schools, but by a decrease of general crime, remembering that our object is not so much to benefit the individual criminal as to benefit the children of the honest neighbour whom that criminal would corrupt."

I am, Sir,

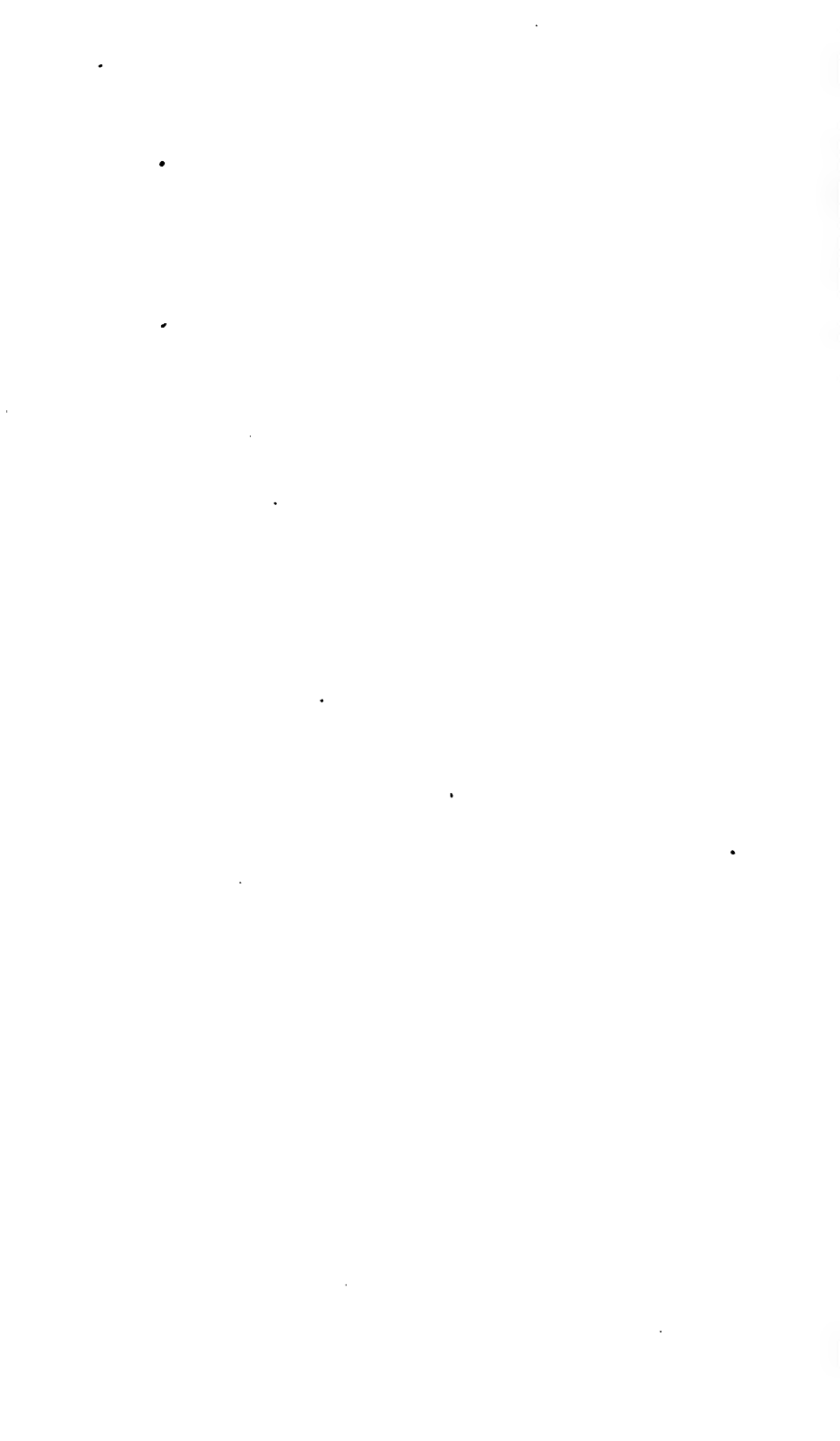
Your most obedient servant,

The Writer of the paper "Reformatory Schools  
in France and England," in *THE IRISH  
QUARTERLY REVIEW*, No. 15.

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**TO THE**

**FIFTH VOLUME OF THE IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW.**



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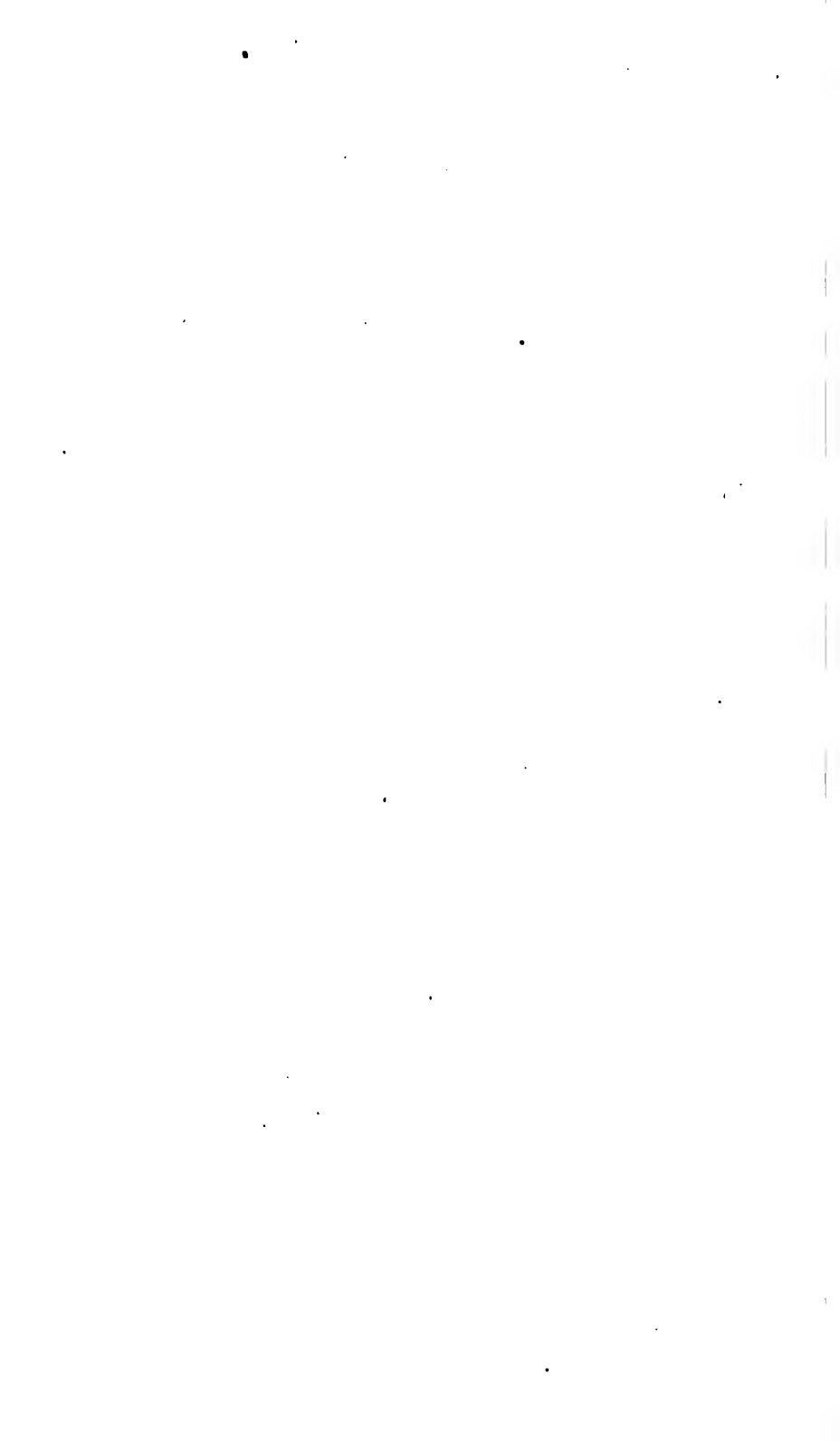
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